SAINT AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO

LETTERS

Epistolas

VOLUME I · VI

SABBATISMUS

Saint Augustine of Hippo (354–430)
Epistolas · Letters

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

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S. AURELII AUGUSTINI HIPPONENSIS EPISCOPI EPISTOLAE SECUNDUM ORDINEM TEMPORUM NUNC PRIMUM DISPOSITAE, ET QUATUOR IN CLASSES DIGESTAE (C,S)*

Classis I continet epistolas quas scripsit nondum episcopus, ab anno Christi videlicet 386 ad 395. ---II, quas episcopus ante collationem Carthaginensem cum Donatistis habitam, et ante detectam in Africa Pelagii haeresim scripsit, ab anno 396 ad 410. ---III, quas scripsit reliquo vitae tempore, ab anno 411 ad 430. ---IV, nonnullas ipso etiam episcopo scriptas complectitur, quarum tempus minus compertum.

PRIMA CLASSIS.

EPISTOLA PRIMA. Consilium aperit Augustinus suorum librorum de Academicis, et Hermogenianum sententiam rogat de eo quod sub finem tertii libri de iisdem philosophis pro nuntiavit.

HERMOGENIANO AUGUSTINUS.

1. Academicos ego, ne inter jocandum quidem, unquam lacessere auderem: quando enim me tantorum virorum non moveret auctoritas, nisi eos putarem longe in alia, quam vulgo creditum est, fuisse sententia? Quare potius eos imitatus sum quantum valui, quam expugnavi, quod omnino non valeo. Videtur enim mihi satis congruisse temporibus, ut si quid sincerum de fonte Platonico flueret, inter umbrosa et spinosa dumeta potius in pastionem paucissimorum hominum duceretur, quam per aperta manans, irruentibus passim pecoribus, nullo modo posset liquidum purumque servari. Quid enim convenientius pecori est, quam putari animam corpus esse? Contra hujusmodi homines opinor ego illam utiliter excogitatam Dei veri artem atque rationem. Hoc autem saeculo cum jam nullos videamus philosophos, nisi forte amiculo corporis, quos quidem haud censuerim dignos tam venerabili nomine, reducendi mihi videntur homines (si quos Academicorum per verborum ingenium a rerum comprehensione deterruit sententia) in spem reperiendae veritatis: ne id quod eradicandis altissimis erroribus pro tempore accommodatum fuit, jam incipiat inserendae scientiae impedimento esse.

THE LETTERS OF SAINT AURELIUS AUGUSTINE, BISHOP OF HIPPO ARRANGED FOR THE FIRST TIME ACCORDING TO CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER, AND DIVIDED INTO FOUR CLASSES (C,S)*

Class I contains the letters which he wrote while not yet a bishop, specifically from the year of Christ 386 to 395. ---II, those which he wrote as bishop before the conference held at Carthage with the Donatists, and before the Pelagian heresy was detected in Africa, from the year 396 to 410. ---III, those which he wrote during the remainder of his life, from the year 411 to 430. ---IV, includes several written by him also as bishop, the time of which is less certain.

FIRST CLASS.

LETTER I. Augustine discloses the plan of his books On the Academics, and asks the opinion of Hermogenianus regarding what he pronounced near the end of the third book about the same philosophers.

AUGUSTINE TO HERMOGENIANUS.

1. I would never dare to attack the Academics, even in jest: for when would the authority of such great men not move me, unless I thought they held an opinion far different from what is commonly believed? Therefore, I have rather imitated them as much as I was able, than fought against them, which I am not at all able to do. For it seems to me to have been quite suited to the times that if any sincere truth flowed from the Platonic fountain, it should be led into the pastures of a very few men among shady and thorny thickets, rather than flowing through open spaces, where, with cattle rushing in from all sides, it could in no way be kept clear and pure. For what is more appropriate for cattle than to think that the soul is a body? Against men of this kind, I believe that art and reason of the true God was usefully devised. But in this age, when we see no philosophers, except perhaps by the cloak of the body, whom indeed I would hardly consider worthy of so venerable a name, men seem to me (if any have been deterred from the comprehension of things by the opinion of the Academics through the skill of words) to be brought back to the hope of finding the truth: lest that which was adapted for a time to eradicate the deepest errors should now begin to be an obstacle to the sowing of knowledge.

2. Tantum enim tunc variarum sectarum studia flagrabant, ut nihil metuendum esset nisi falsi approbatio. Pulsus autem quisque illis argumentis ab eo quod se firmum et inconcussum tenere crediderat, tanto constantius atque cautius aliud quaerebat, quanto et in moribus major erat industria, et in natura rerum atque animorum altissima et implicitissima latere veritas sentiebatur. Tanta porro nunc fuga laboris et incuria bonarum artium, ut simul atque sonuerit, acutissimis philosophis esse visum nihil posse comprehendi, dimittant mentes et in aeternum obducant. Non enim audent vivaciores se illis credere, ut sibi appareat quod tanto studio, ingenio, otio, tam denique multa multiplicique doctrina, postremo vita etiam longissima Carneades invenire non potuit. Si vero etiam aliquantum obnitentes adversus pigritiam, legerint eosdem libros, quibus quasi ostenditur naturae humanae denegata perceptio; tanto torpore indormiscunt, ut nec coelesti tuba evigilent.

3. Quamobrem cum gratissimum habeam fidele judicium tuum de libellis meis, tantumque in te momenti ponam, ut nec error in tuam prudentiam, nec in amicitiam simulatio cadere possit, illud magis peto diligentius consideres, mihique rescribas utrum approbes quod in extremo tertii libri suspiciosius fortasse quam certius, utilius tamen, ut arbitror, quam incredibilius putavi credendum. Equidem quoquo modo se habeant illae litterae, non tam me delectat quod, ut scribis, Academicos vicerim (scribis enim hoc amantius forte quam verius), quam quod mihi abruperim odiosissimum retinaculum, quo ab philosophiae ubere desperatione veri, quod est animi pabulum, refrenabar.

Epistola II.

Zenobio desiderium exponit suum, ut disputationem inter se coeptam, inter se finiant.

ZENOBIO AUGUSTINUS.

1. Bene inter nos convenit, ut opinor, omnia quae corporeus sensus attingit, ne puncto quidem temporis eodem modo manere posse, sed labi, effluere et praesens nihil obtinere, id est, ut latine loquar, non esse. Horum itaque perniciosissimum amorem, poenarumque plenissimum, vera et divina philosophia monet frenare atque sopire; ut se toto animus, etiam dum hoc corpus agit, in ea quae semper ejusdem modi sunt, nec peregrino pulchro placent, feratur atque aestuet.

2. For at that time the zeal for various sects was so burning that nothing was to be feared except the approval of the false. But anyone driven by those arguments from what he had believed himself to hold firm and unshaken, sought another thing so much more constantly and cautiously, as there was greater industry in morals, and truth was felt to lie hidden very deep and very much entangled in the nature of things and minds. Furthermore, there is now such a flight from labor and neglect of good arts that as soon as it has sounded that it seemed to the most acute philosophers that nothing can be comprehended, they dismiss their minds and cover them over for eternity. For they do not dare to believe themselves more vigorous than those, so that it might appear to them what Carneades could not find with such great study, genius, leisure, and finally so much and manifold learning, and lastly even a very long life. But if, even resisting laziness somewhat, they read those same books by which the perception of human nature is shown as if denied, they fall asleep in such a lethargy that they do not even wake up at the heavenly trumpet.

3. Therefore, since I hold your faithful judgment about my little books as most welcome, and place so much importance in you that neither error can fall into your prudence, nor pretense into our friendship, I ask this rather: that you consider more diligently and write back to me whether you approve what I thought should be believed in the end of the third book, perhaps more suspiciously than certainly, yet more usefully, as I think, than incredibly. Indeed, in whatever way those letters hold themselves, it does not so much delight me that, as you write, I have conquered the Academics (for you write this perhaps more lovingly than truly), as that I have broken off for myself a most hateful bond by which I was restrained from the breast of philosophy by the despair of truth, which is the food of the mind.

Letter II.

He explains to Zenobius his desire that the discussion begun between them should be finished between them.

AUGUSTINE TO ZENOBIUS.

1. We agree well between ourselves, as I think, that all things which the bodily sense touches cannot remain in the same way for even a point of time, but glide away, flow out, and possess nothing present—that is, to speak in Latin, they are not. Therefore, true and divine philosophy warns to restrain and put to sleep the most destructive and most penalty-filled love of these things; so that the mind with all its being, even while it acts in this body, may be carried and glow toward those things which are always of the same kind, and do not please by a foreign beauty.

Quae cum ita sint, et cum te verum ac simplicem, qualis sine ulla sollicitudine amari potes, in semetipsa mens videat, fatemur tamen congressum istum atque conspectum tuum, cum a nobis corpore discedis, locisque sejungeris, quaerere nos, eoque dum licet cupere. Quod profecto vitium, si te bene novi, amas in nobis; et cum omnia bona optes charissimis et familiarissimis tuis, ab hoc eos sanari metuis. Si autem tam potenti animo es, ut et agnoscere hunc laqueum, et eo captos irridere valeas, nae tu magnus atque alius. Ego quidem quamdiu desidero absentem, desiderari me volo. Invigilo tamen, quantum queo, et enitor, ut nihil amem quod abesse a me invito potest. Quocum officio commoneo te interim, qualiscumque sis, inchoatam tecum disputationem perficiendam, si curae nobismetipsis sumus. Nam eam cum Alypio perfici nequaquam sinerem, etiamsi vellet. Non vult autem. Non enim est humanitatis ejus nunc mecum operam dare, ut in quam multis possemus litteris te nobiscum teneamus, nescio qua necessitate fugientem.

Epistola III.

Nebridio respondet Augustinus immerito se ab ipso vocari beatum, qui tam multa ignoret. Qua in re sita sit vera beatitudo.

NEBRIDIO AUGUSTINUS.

1. Utrum nescio quo, ut ita dicam; blandiloquio tuo factum putem, an vere ita se res habeat; incertum apud me est. Nam repente accidit, nec satis deliberatum est, quatenus debeat committi fidei. Exspectas quid istuc sit. Quid censes? Prope persuasisti mihi, non quidem beatum esse me; nam id solius sapientis praedium est; sed certe quasi beatum: ut dicimus hominem, quasi hominem in comparatione hominis illius quem Plato noverat; aut quasi rotunda et quasi quadra ea quae videmus, cum longe ab eis absint quae paucorum animus videt. Legi enim litteras tuas ad lucernam jam coenatus; proxime erat cubitio, sed non ita etiam dormitio: quippe diu mecum in lecto situs cogitavi, atque has loquelas habui, Augustinus ipse cum Augustino: Nonne verum est quod Nebridio placet, beatos nos esse? Non utique; nam stultos adhuc esse, nec ipse audet negare. Quid, si etiam stultis beata vita contingit? Durum quasi vero parva, vel alia ulla miseria sit quam ipsa stultitia. Unde ergo illi visum est? an lectis illis libellis etiam sapientem me ausus est credere?

Since these things are so, and since the mind sees you in itself as true and simple, such as can be loved without any anxiety, we confess nevertheless that we seek this meeting and sight of yours, when you depart from us in body and are separated by locations, and we desire it while it is permitted. Which fault indeed, if I know you well, you love in us; and though you wish all good things for your dearest and most intimate friends, you fear that they might be healed of this. But if you are of such a powerful mind that you are able both to recognize this snare and to mock those caught by it, then truly you are great and unique. I indeed, as long as I desire one who is absent, wish to be desired myself. Yet I watch, as much as I can, and strive that I may love nothing that can be absent from me against my will. By which duty I remind you meanwhile, whatever you may be, that the discussion begun with you must be completed, if we are of care to ourselves. For I would by no means allow it to be finished with Alypius, even if he wished it. But he does not wish it. For it is not of his humanity now to give effort with me, so that we might hold you with us in as many letters as we could, since you are fleeing by I know not what necessity.

Letter III.

Augustine answers Nebridius that he is undeservedly called happy by him, since he is ignorant of so many things. In what matter true happiness is placed.

AUGUSTINE TO NEBRIDIUS.

1. Whether I should think it has been done by some, so to speak, of your smooth-talking, or whether the matter truly stands so; it is uncertain with me. For it happened suddenly, and it has not been sufficiently deliberated how far it ought to be committed to trust. You wait to hear what that is. What do you think? You have almost persuaded me, not indeed that I am happy; for that is the property of the wise man alone; but certainly as if happy: as we call a man, as if a man in comparison with that man whom Plato knew; or as if round and as if square those things which we see, since they are far away from those things which the mind of a few sees. For I read your letter by the lamp after having already dined; bedtime was very near, but not yet sleep: for lying for a long time in bed I thought to myself, and had these conversations, Augustine himself with Augustine: Is it not true what pleases Nebridius, that we are happy? Certainly not; for even he does not dare to deny that we are still fools. What if a happy life happens even to fools? Hard, as if indeed there were any small, or any other misery than folly itself. Whence therefore did it seem so to him? Or after reading those little books did he even dare to believe me wise?

Non usque adeo temeraria est laetitia gestiens, praesertim hominis cujus quanti ponderis consideratio sit, bene novimus. Illud igitur est: scripsit quod nobis putavit dulcissimum fore; quia et illi dulce factum est quidquid posuimus in illis litteris, et scripsit gaudens, nec curavit quid committendum gaudenti calamo esset. Quid, si Soliloquia legisset? Laetaretur multo exundantius, nec tamen reperiret plus aliquid, quod me appellaret, quam beatum. Cito ergo summum nomen effudit in me, nec sibi aliquid reservavit quod de me laetior asseveret. Vide laetitia quid faciat!

2. Sed ubi est ista beata vita? ubi? ubinam? O si ipsa esset, repelleret atomos Epicuri. O si ipsa esset, sciret nihil deorsum esse praeter mundum. O si ipsa esset, nosset extrema sphaerae tardius rotari quam medium, et alia similia quae similiter novimus. Nunc vero quomodo vel qualiscumque beatus sum, qui nescio cur tantus mundus sit, cum rationes figurarum per quas est, nihil prohibeant esse, quanto quis voluerit, ampliorem? Aut quomodo non mihi diceretur, imo non cogeremur confiteri corpora in infinitum secari, ut a certa velut basi in quantitatem certam certus corpusculorum numerus surgeret? Quare cum corpus nullum esse minimum sinitur, quo pacto sinamus esse amplissimum, quo amplius esse non possit; nisi forte illud quod Alypio aliquando dixi occultissime, habet magnam vim: ut quoniam numerus ille intelligibilis infinite crescit, non tamen infinite minuitur, nam non eum licet ultra monadem resolvere; contra sensibilis (nam quid est aliud sensibilis numerus, nisi corporeorum vel corporum quantitas?) minui quidem infinite, sed infinite crescere nequeat. Et ideo fortasse merito philosophi in rebus intelligibilibus divitias ponunt, in sensibilibus egestatem. Quid enim aerumnosius quam minus atque minus semper posse fieri? Quid ditius, quam crescere quantum velis, ire quo velis, redire cum velis, quousque velis, et hoc multum amare quod minui non potest? Quisquis namque intelligit istos numeros, nihil sic amat ut monadem; nec mirum, cum per eam fiat, ut caeteri amentur. Sed tamen cur tantus est mundus? poterat enim esse vel major, vel brevior. Nescio: tale est enim. Et cur hoc loco potius quam illo? Nec in ea re debet esse quaestio, ubi quidquid esset, quaestio esset. Unum illud multum movebat, quod infinite corpora secarentur. Cui fortasse responsum est, de vi contraria intelligibilis numeri.

Joy exulting is not so rash, especially of a man whose consideration we well know of what great weight it is. It is this then: he wrote what he thought would be most sweet to us; because whatever we put in those letters was made sweet to him also, and he wrote rejoicing, nor did he care what should be committed to a rejoicing pen. What if he had read the Soliloquies? He would rejoice much more overflowingly, yet he would not find anything more to call me than happy. Quickly therefore he poured out the highest name upon me, nor did he reserve anything for himself that he might assert more joyfully about me. See what joy does!

2. But where is that happy life? Where? Where indeed? Oh, if it were itself, it would repel the atoms of Epicurus. Oh, if it were itself, it would know that nothing is downward except the world. Oh, if it were itself, it would know that the extremes of the sphere are rotated more slowly than the middle, and other similar things which we likewise know. But now how or in what way am I happy, who do not know why the world is so great, when the reasons of the figures through which it exists prohibit nothing from being as much larger as anyone would wish? Or how would it not be said to me, or rather how would we not be forced to confess that bodies are cut into infinity, so that from a certain base, as it were, into a certain quantity a certain number of small bodies would rise? Why, since no body is allowed to be the smallest, in what way do we allow there to be a greatest, than which there can be nothing greater; unless perhaps that which I once said very secretly to Alypius has great force: that since that intelligible number increases infinitely, yet it is not infinitely diminished, for it is not permitted to resolve it beyond the monad; on the other hand, the sensible (for what else is sensible number but the quantity of corporeal things or bodies?) can indeed be diminished infinitely, but cannot increase infinitely. And therefore perhaps the philosophers rightly place riches in intelligible things, and poverty in sensible things. For what is more wretched than to be able always to become less and less? What is richer than to grow as much as you wish, to go where you wish, to return when you wish, as far as you wish, and to love this much which cannot be diminished? For whoever understands those numbers loves nothing so much as the monad; nor is it a wonder, since through it it happens that others are loved. But yet why is the world so great? For it could be either larger or shorter. I do not know: for it is such. And why in this place rather than in that? Nor should there be a question in that matter, where whatever it were, it would be a question. This one thing moved much: that bodies were cut infinitely. To which perhaps the answer has been given from the contrary force of the intelligible number.

3. Sed exspecta; videamus quid sit hoc nescio quid, quod suggeritur menti: certe sensibilis mundus nescio cujus intelligibilis imago esse dicitur. Mirum autem est quod in imaginibus videmus, quas specula referunt: nam quamvis ingentia specula sint, non reddunt majores imagines, quam sunt corpora etiam brevissima objecta. In parvis autem specillis, sicut in pupillis oculorum, etsi magna facies sese opponat, brevissima imago pro modo speculi formatur. Ergo et imagines corporum minui licet, si specula minuantur: augeri, si augeantur, non licet. Hic profecto aliquid latet, sed nunc dormiendum est. Neque enim Nebridio beatus quaerendo videor, sed fortasse aliquid inveniendo. Id autem aliquid quid est? an illa ratiocinatio, cui tanquam unicae meae blandiri soleo, et ea me nimis oblectare?

4. Unde constamus? Ex animo et corpore. Quid horum melius? Videlicet animus. Quid laudant in corpore? Nihil aliud video quam pulchritudinem. Quid est corporis pulchritudo? Congruentia partium cum quadam coloris suavitate. Haec forma ubi vera melior, an ubi falsa? Quis dubitet ubi vera est, esse meliorem? Ubi ergo vera est? In animo scilicet. Animus igitur magis amandus est quam corpus. Sed in qua parte animi ista est veritas? In mente atque intelligentia. Quid huic adversatur? Sensus. Resistendum ergo sensibus totis animi viribus? Liquet. Quid si sensibilia nimium delectant? Fiat ut non delectent. Unde fit? Consuetudine iis carendi appetendique meliora. Quid si moritur animus? Ergo moritur veritas, aut non est intelligentia veritas, aut intelligentia non est in animo, aut potest mori aliquid in quo aliquid immortale est: nihil autem horum fieri posse Soliloquia nostra jam continent, satisque persuasum est; sed nescio qua consuetudine malorum territamur atque titubamus. Postremo etiamsi moritur animus, quod nullo modo posse fieri video, non esse tamen beatam vitam in laetitia sensibilium, hoc otio satis exploratum est. His rebus fortasse atque talibus Nebridio meo si non beatus, at certe quasi beatus videor: videar et mihi; quid inde perdo, aut cur parcam bonae opinioni? Haec mihi dixi: deinde oravi, ut solebam, atque dormivi.

3. But wait; let us see what this "I know not what" is, which is suggested to the mind: certainly the sensible world is said to be the image of I know not what intelligible world. But it is wonderful what we see in images which mirrors reflect: for although the mirrors may be huge, they do not return larger images than are the bodies even of the shortest objects placed before them. But in small mirrors, as in the pupils of the eyes, even if a large face opposes itself, a very short image is formed according to the measure of the mirror. Therefore, the images of bodies can also be diminished if the mirrors are diminished: but to be increased if they are increased is not permitted. Here truly something lies hidden, but now I must sleep. For I do not seem to Nebridius happy by seeking, but perhaps by finding something. But what is that "something"? Is it that reasoning, which I am accustomed to flatter as if it were my only one, and to delight myself too much in it?

4. Of what do we consist? Of soul and body. Which of these is better? Clearly the soul. What do they praise in the body? I see nothing else than beauty. What is the beauty of the body? The congruence of parts with a certain sweetness of color. Where is this form better: where it is true, or where it is false? Who would doubt that where it is true, it is better? Where therefore is it true? In the soul, of course. The soul therefore is more to be loved than the body. But in what part of the soul is that truth? In the mind and intelligence. What is opposed to this? The sense. Must we then resist the senses with all the strengths of the soul? It is clear. What if sensible things delight too much? Let it be done so that they do not delight. Whence is it done? By the custom of lacking them and seeking better things. What if the soul dies? Then truth dies, or intelligence is not truth, or intelligence is not in the soul, or something in which something immortal is can die: but our Soliloquies already contain that none of these things can happen, and it is sufficiently persuaded; but by I know not what custom of evils we are terrified and we falter. Finally, even if the soul dies, which I see can in no way happen, nevertheless that the happy life is not in the joy of sensible things has been sufficiently explored in this leisure. By these things perhaps and such as these I seem to my Nebridius if not happy, at least as if happy: let me seem so to myself also; what do I lose thereby, or why should I spare a good opinion? These things I said to myself: then I prayed, as I was accustomed, and I slept.

5. Haec placuit scribere tibi. Delectat enim me quod mihi gratias agis, si nihil te quod in buccam venerit celem; et gaudeo, quia sic tibi placeo. Apud quem igitur libentius ineptiam, quam cui displicere non possum? At si in potestate fortunae est, ut hominem amet homo, vide quam beatus sim, qui de fortuitis tam multum gaudeo, et talia bona, fateor, desidero mihi ubertim accrescere. Fortunae autem bona verissimi sapientes, quos solos beatos fas est vocari, nec timeri voluerunt, nec cupi, an cupiri, tu videris. Et belle accidit. Nam volo me declinationis hujus gnarum facias. Cum enim adjungo verba similia, incertior fio. Nam ita est cupio, ut fugio, ut sapio, ut jacio, ut capio; sed utrum fugiri an fugi, utrum sapiri an sapi, sit modus infinitus, ignoro. Possem attendere jaci et capi, ni vererer ne me caperet, et pro ludibrio jaceret quo vellet, qui aliud jactum et captum, aliud fugitum, cupitum, sapitum esse convinceret. Quae item tria, utrum penultima longa et inflexa, an gravi brevique pronuntianda sint, similiter nescio. Provocaverim te ad epistolam longiorem; peto, ut paulo diutius te legam. Nam non queo tantum dicere, quantum volupe est legere te.

Epistola IV.

Augustinus Nebridio, significans ei quantum profecerit in secessu, contemplatione rerum aeternarum.

NEBRIDIO AUGUSTINUS.

1. Mirum admodum est, quam mihi praeter spem evenerit, quod cum requiro quibus epistolis tuis mihi respondendum remanserit, unam tantum inveni quae me adhuc debitorem teneret, qua petis ut tanto nostro otio, quantum esse arbitraris tecum, aut nobiscum cupis, indicemus tibi quid in sensibilis atque intelligibilis naturae discernentia profecerimus. Sed non arbitror occultum tibi esse, si falsis opinionibus tanto quisque inseritur magis, quanto magis in eis familiariusque volutatur, multo id facilius in rebus veris animo accidere. Ita tamen paulatim ut per aetatem proficimus. Quippe cum plurimum inter puerum et juvenem distet, nemo a pueritia quotidie interrogatus se aliquando juvenem dicet.

5. These things I was pleased to write to you. For it delights me that you give thanks to me, if I hide nothing from you that comes into my mouth; and I rejoice, because I please you in this way. Before whom therefore would I more willingly speak foolishness, than before him whom I cannot displease? But if it is in the power of fortune that man should love man, see how happy I am, who rejoice so much in chance occurrences, and such good things, I confess, I desire to increase abundantly for me. But the most true wise men, who alone are rightfully called happy, wished that the goods of fortune should neither be feared nor desired (cupi), or whether it should be cupiri, you shall see. And it happens beautifully. For I wish you would make me knowledgeable of this declension. For when I add similar words, I become more uncertain. For so is cupio, as fugio, as sapio, as jacio, as capio; but whether it is fugiri or fugi, whether sapiri or sapi, be the infinitive mood, I do not know. I could attend to jaci and capi, if I did not fear lest he might catch (caperet) me, and for a mockery throw (jaceret) me where he wished, who would convince me that one thing is thrown (jactum) and caught (captum), and another is fled (fugitum), desired (cupitum), known (sapitum). Which three likewise, whether the penultimate is long and inflected, or to be pronounced with a grave and short accent, I similarly do not know. I would provoke you to a longer letter; I ask that I may read you for a little longer time. For I cannot say as much as it is a pleasure to read you.

Letter IV.

Augustine to Nebridius, signifying to him how much he has proficed in withdrawal, by the contemplation of eternal things.

AUGUSTINE TO NEBRIDIUS.

1. It is quite wonderful how it has happened to me beyond expectation that, when I look for which of your letters remained to be answered by me, I found only one which still held me as a debtor, in which you ask that in so much of our leisure, as much as you think there is with you, or wish there were with us, we should indicate to you what we have profited in the discernment of sensible and intelligible nature. But I do not think it is hidden from you that, if anyone is inserted more into false opinions the more he rolls around in them and more familiarly, this happens much more easily to the mind in true things. Yet we profit so gradually as if by age. For since there is a very great difference between a boy and a youth, no one questioned daily from childhood will at some time say that he is a youth.

2. Quod nolo in eam partem accipias, ut nos in his rebus quasi ad quamdam mentis juventutem firmioris intelligentiae robore pervenisse existimes. Pueri enim sumus, sed, ut dici assolet, forsitan belli, et non mali. Nam plerumque perturbatos et sensibilium plagarum curis refertos mentis oculos illa tibi notissima ratiuncula in respirationem levat, mentem atque intelligentiam oculis et hoc vulgari aspectu esse meliorem: quod non ita esset, nisi magis essent illa quae intelligimus, quam ista quae cernimus. Cui utrum nihil valide inimicum sit, peto mecum consideres. Hac ego interim recreatus, cum Deo in auxilium deprecato, et in ipsum, et in ea quae verissime vera sunt attolli coepero, tanta nonnunquam rerum manentium praesumptione compleor, ut mirer interdum illa mihi opus esse ratiocinatione, ut haec esse credam, quae tanta insunt praesentia, quanta sibi quisque sit praesens. Recole tu quoque; nam te fateor hujus rei esse diligentiorem, ne quid forte nesciens rescriptis adhuc debeam. Nam mihi non facit fidem tam multorum onerum, quae aliquando numeraveram, tam repentina depositio: quamvis te accepisse litteras meas non dubitem, quarum rescripta non habeo.

Epistola V.

Augustinum Nebridius deplorat, quod nimium interpelletur civium negotiis ab otio contemplationis.

AUGUSTINO NEBRIDIUS.

Itane est, mi Augustine, fortitudinem ac tolerantiam negotiis civium praestas, necdum tibi redditur illa exoptata cessatio? Quaeso, qui te tam bonum homines interpellant? Credo qui nesciunt quid ames, quid concupiscas. Nullusne tibi est amicorum, qui eis amores referat tuos? nec Romanianus, nec Lucinianus ? Me certe audiant. Ego clamabo, ego testabor te Deum amare, illi servire atque inhaerere cupere. Vellem ego te in rus meum vocare, ibique acquiescere. Non enim timebo me seductorem tui dici a civibus tuis, quos nimium amas, et a quibus nimium amaris.

Epistola VI.

Scribit Nebridius videri sibi memoriam sine phantasia esse non posse; tum etiam phantasiae vim non a sensu, sed a se potius imagines rerum habere.

AUGUSTINO NEBRIDIUS.

2. Which I do not wish you to take in such a part as to think that we have reached in these things as if a certain youth of mind by the strength of a firmer intelligence. For we are boys, but, as it is accustomed to be said, perhaps pretty ones, and not bad. For mostly to the eyes of the mind, disturbed and filled with the cares of sensible blows, that very well-known little reasoning of yours lifts them into a breathing of relief: that the mind and intelligence are better than the eyes and this common sight; which would not be so, unless those things which we understand were more than these which we perceive. Whether there is nothing strongly hostile to this reasoning, I ask you to consider with me. Recreated meanwhile by this, when, with God called upon for help, I begin to be raised both into him and into those things which are most truly true, I am sometimes filled with such a presumption of remaining things that I wonder at times that I have need of that reasoning, so that I may believe these things to be, which are in us with such a presence, as much as each one is present to himself. Recollect you also; for I confess that you are more diligent in this matter, lest perhaps unknowingly I still owe something in replies. For such a sudden laying down of so many burdens, which I had once numbered, does not produce faith in me: although I do not doubt that you have received my letters, of which I do not have the replies.

Letter V.

Nebridius deplores Augustine, because he is too much interrupted by the business of the citizens from the leisure of contemplation.

NEBRIDIUS TO AUGUSTINE.

Is it so, my Augustine: do you provide strength and tolerance to the business of the citizens, and is that longed-for cessation not yet returned to you? I ask, who are these men who interrupt you so good a man? I believe they are those who do not know what you love, what you desire. Is there none of your friends who would report your loves to them? neither Romanianus, nor Lucinianus? Let them certainly hear me. I will cry out, I will testify that you love God, and desire to serve him and to cling to him. I would wish to call you to my country estate, and there to rest. For I will not fear to be called a seducer of you by your citizens, whom you love too much, and by whom you are loved too much.

Letter VI.

Nebridius writes that it seems to him that memory cannot exist without phantasy; then also that the power of phantasy has the images of things from itself rather than from the sense.

NEBRIDIO TO AUGUSTINE.

1. Epistolas tuas perplacet ita servare ut oculos meos. Sunt enim magnae, non quantitate, sed rebus, et magnarum rerum magnas continent probationes. Illae mihi Christum, illae Platonem, illae Plotinum sonabunt. Erunt igitur mihi, et ad audiendum propter eloquentiam dulces, et ad legendum propter brevitatem faciles, et ad intelligendum propter sapientiam salubres. Curabis ergo quod tuae menti sanctum bonumve fuerit visum, me docere. His autem litteris respondebis, cum de phantasia et memoria subtilius aliquid disputaris. Mihi enim ita videtur, quod quamvis non omnis phantasia cum memoria sit, omnis tamen memoria sine phantasia esse non possit. Sed dicis: Quid, cum recordamur nos intellexisse, aut cogitasse aliquid? Contra haec ego respondeo, et dico propterea hoc evenisse, quia cum intelleximus vel cogitavimus corporeum ac temporale aliquid, genuimus quod ad phantasiam pertinet: nam aut verba intellectui cogitationibusque nostris adjunximus, quae verba sine tempore non sunt, et ad sensum vel phantasiam pertinent: aut tale aliquid intellectus noster cogitatione passus est, quod in animo phantastico memoriam facere potuisset. Haec ego inconsiderate ac perturbate, ut soleo, dixi: tu explorabis, et falso rejecto, veritatem in litteris conferes.

2. Audi aliud: cur, quaeso te, non a se potius quam a sensu phantasiam habere omnes imagines dicimus? Potest enim, quemadmodum animus intellectualis ad intelligibilia sua videnda a sensu admonetur potius quam aliquid accipit, ita et phantasticus animus ad imagines suas contemplandas, a sensu admoneri potius quam aliquid assumere. Nam forte inde contingit, ut ea quae sensus non videt, ille tamen aspicere possit: quod signum est, in se et a se habere omnes imagines. De hac re quoque quid sentias, respondebis.

Epistola VII.

Augustinus quaestionem utramque a Nebridio motam discutit. Memoriam sine phantasia esse posse. Animam sensibus non usam carere phantasiis. Objectio resolvitur.

NEBRIDIO AUGUSTINUS.

CAPUT PRIMUM.---Memoriam sine phantasia esse posse.

1. Prooemio supersidam, et cito incipiam quod me jamjamque vis dicere, praesertim non cito desiturus. Memoria tibi nulla videtur esse posse sine imaginibus vel imaginariis visis, quae phantasiarum nomine appellare voluisti: ego aliud existimo. Primum ergo videndum est non nos semper rerum praetereuntium meminisse, sed plerumque manentium. Quare, cum sibi memoria praeteriti temporis vindicet tenacitatem; constat eam tamen partim eorum esse quae nos deserunt, partim eorum quae deseruntur a nobis.

1. It pleases me very much to save your letters like my eyes. For they are great, not in quantity, but in matters, and they contain great proofs of great matters. Those will sound to me of Christ, those of Plato, those of Plotinus. They will be to me, therefore, both sweet for hearing on account of their eloquence, and easy for reading on account of their brevity, and healthful for understanding on account of their wisdom. You will care therefore to teach me what has seemed holy or good to your mind. But you will answer to this letter, when you have disputed something more subtly about phantasy and memory. For it seems so to me: that although not every phantasy is with memory, yet every memory cannot be without phantasy. But you say: What, when we remember that we have understood or thought something? Against these things I answer and say that this has happened because, when we understood or thought something corporeal and temporal, we begot what pertains to phantasy: for we either joined words to our understanding and thoughts, which words are not without time and pertain to sense or phantasy; or our understanding suffered something such in thought which could have made a memory in the phantastic soul. These things I have said inconsiderately and confusedly, as I am accustomed; you will explore them, and with the false rejected, you will bring truth together in your letter.

2. Hear another thing: why, I ask you, do we not say that phantasy has all its images from itself rather than from the sense? For it can be that, just as the intellectual soul is reminded to see its intelligible things by the sense rather than receiving anything, so also the phantastic soul is reminded to contemplate its images by the sense rather than assuming anything. For perhaps it happens therefrom that those things which the sense does not see, it nevertheless can look upon: which is a sign that it has all images in itself and from itself. About this matter also what you feel, you will answer.

Letter VII.

Augustine discusses both questions moved by Nebridius. That memory can be without phantasy. That the soul not using the senses lacks phantasies. An objection is resolved.

AUGUSTINE TO NEBRIDIUS.

CHAPTER ONE. That memory can exist without phantasy.

1. I shall omit the preface, and quickly begin what you now want me to say, especially as I am not about to stop soon. It seems to you that no memory can exist without images or imaginary sights, which you have wished to call by the name of phantasies: I think otherwise. First, therefore, it must be seen that we do not always remember passing things, but mostly remaining things. Wherefore, since memory claims for itself the tenacity of past time; it is established nevertheless that it is partly of those things which desert us, and partly of those which are deserted by us.

Nam cum recordor patrem meum, id utique recordor quod me deseruit, et nunc non est: cum autem Carthaginem, id quod est, et quod ipse deserui. In utroque tamen generum horum, praeteritum tempus memoria tenet. Nam et illum hominem, et istam urbem, ex eo quod vidi, non ex eo quod video, memini.

2. Hic tu fortasse quaeris: Quorsum ista? praesertim cum animadvertas utrumlibet horum non posse in memoriam venire, nisi viso illo imaginario. At mihi satis est sic interim ostendisse, posse dici earum etiam rerum, quae nondum interierunt, memoriam. Verum quid me adjuvet, facito intentus accipias. Nonnulli calumniantur adversus Socraticum illud nobilissimum inventum, quo asseritur, non nobis ea quae discimus, veluti nova inseri, sed in memoriam recordatione revocari; dicentes memoriam praeteritarum rerum esse, haec autem quae intelligendo discimus, Platone ipso auctore, manere semper, nec posse interire, ac per hoc non esse praeterita: qui non attendunt illam visionem esse praeteritam, qua haec aliquando vidimus mente; a quibus quia defluximus, et aliter alia videre coepimus, ea nos reminiscendo revisere, id est, per memoriam. Quamobrem si, ut alia omittam, ipsa aeternitas semper manet, nec aliqua imaginaria figmenta conquirit, quibus in mentem quasi vehiculis veniat, nec tamen venire posset, nisi ejus meminissemus, potest esse quarumdam rerum sine ulla imaginatione memoria.

Caput II.

Animam sensibus non usam carere phantasiis.

3. Jam vero quod tibi videtur anima etiam non usa sensibus corporis corporalia posse imaginari, falsum esse convincitur isto modo. Si anima priusquam corpore utatur ad corpora sentienda, eadem corpora imaginari potest, et melius, quod nemo sanus ambigit, affecta erat antequam his fallacibus sensibus implicaretur, melius afficiuntur animae dormientium quam vigilantium, melius phreneticorum quam tali peste carentium; his enim afficiuntur imaginibus, quibus ante istos sensus vanissimos nuntios afficiebantur: et aut verior erit sol quem vident illi, quam ille quem sani atque vigilantes; aut erunt veris falsa meliora.

For when I remember my father, I remember that which certainly has deserted me, and now is not: but when I remember Carthage, I remember that which is, and which I myself deserted. In both of these kinds, however, memory holds the past time. For both that man and that city I remember from that which I saw, not from that which I see.

2. Here you perhaps ask: Whither these things? especially since you notice that neither of these can come into the memory except by that imaginary sight. But it is enough for me thus meanwhile to have shown that memory can be said even of those things which have not yet perished. But make sure you receive attentively what helps me. Some people cavil against that most noble Socratic discovery, by which it is asserted that those things which we learn are not inserted into us as new, but are recalled into memory by recollection; saying that memory is of past things, but these things which we learn by understanding, with Plato himself as author, always remain, nor can they perish, and through this they are not past: who do not attend to the fact that that vision is past by which we once saw these things with the mind; from which because we have flowed away, and have begun to see other things in another way, we revisit those things by remembering, that is, through memory. Wherefore if, to omit other things, eternity itself always remains, nor does it seek any imaginary figments by which it might come into the mind as if by vehicles, nor yet could it come unless we remembered it, there can be a memory of certain things without any imagination.

Chapter II.

That the soul not having used the senses lacks phantasies.

3. Now indeed, that it seems to you that the soul even not having used the senses of the body can imagine corporeal things, is proved to be false in this way. If the soul, before it uses the body to perceive bodies, can imagine those same bodies, and it was better affected (which no sane person doubts) before it was entangled in these deceptive senses, then the souls of those sleeping are better affected than those waking, and the souls of the phrenetic better than those lacking such a plague; for they are affected by these images by which they were affected before those most vain messengers, the senses: and either the sun which those see will be truer than that which the sane and waking see; or false things will be better than true ones.

Quae si absurda sunt, sicuti sunt, nihil est aliud illa imaginatio, mi Nebridi, quam plaga inflicta per sensus, quibus non, ut tu scribis, commemoratio quaedam fit ut talia formentur in anima, sed ipsa hujus falsitatis illatio, sive, ut expressius dicatur, impressio. Quod sane te movet, qui fiat ut eas facies formasque cogitemus quas nunquam vidimus, acute movet. Itaque faciam quod ultra solitum modum hanc epistolam porrigat; sed non apud te, cui nulla est pagina gratior, quam quae me loquaciorem apportat tibi.

4. Omnes has imagines, quas phantasias cum multis vocas, in tria genera commodissime ac verissime distribui video: quorum est unum sensis rebus impressum, alterum putatis, tertium ratis. Primi generis exempla sunt, cum mihi tuam faciem, vel Carthaginem, vel familiarem quondam nostrum Verecundum , et si quid aliud manentium vel mortuarum rerum, quas tamen vidi atque sensi, in se animus format. Alteri generi subjiciuntur illa quae putamus ita se habuisse vel ita se habere, velut cum disserendi gratia quaedam ipsi fingimus nequaquam impedientia veritatem, vel qualia figuramus cum legimus historias, et cum fabulosa vel audimus vel componimus vel suspicamur. Ego enim mihi ut libet atque ut occurrit animo, Aeneae faciem fingo, ego Medeae cum suis anguibus alitibus junctis jugo, ego Chremetis et alicujus Parmenonis. In hoc genere sunt etiam illa, quae sive sapientes, aliquid veri talibus involventes figuris, sive stulti, variarum superstitionum conditores, pro vero attulerunt; ut est tartareus Phlegethon, et quinque antra gentis tenebrarum, et stylus septentrionalis continens coelum, et alia poetarum atque haereticorum mille portenta. Dicimus tamen et inter disputandum, puta esse tres super invicem mundi, qualis hic unus est; et, puta quadrata figura terram contineri; et similia. Haec enim omnia ut se cogitationis tempestas habuerit, fingimus et putamus. Nam de rebus quod ad tertium genus attinet imaginum, numeris maxime atque dimensionibus agitur: quod partim est in rerum natura, velut cum totius mundi figura invenitur, et hanc inventionem in animo cogitantis imago sequitur; partim in disciplinis tanquam in figuris geometricis et rhythmicis musicis, et infinita varietate numerorum: quae quamvis vera, sic ut ego autumo, comprehendantur, gignunt tamen falsas imaginationes quibus ipsa ratio vix resistit; tametsi nec ipsam disciplinam disserendi carere hoc malo facile est, cum in divisionibus et conclusionibus quosdam quasi calculos imaginamur.

Which if they are absurd, as they are, then that imagination is nothing else, my Nebridius, than a blow inflicted through the senses, by which not, as you write, a certain commemoration occurs so that such things are formed in the soul, but the very bringing in of this falsehood, or, to speak more expressively, the impression. Which indeed moves you—how it happens that we think of those faces and forms which we never saw—it moves acutely. Therefore, I shall do what would extend this letter beyond its accustomed measure; but not with you, to whom no page is more welcome than that which brings me to you more talkative.

4. I see that all these images, which you call phantasies with many others, are most conveniently and most truly distributed into three kinds: of which one is impressed by things perceived (sensa), another by things thought (putata), and the third by things reasoned (rata). Examples of the first kind are when the mind forms in itself your face, or Carthage, or our former familiar friend Verecundus, and whatever else of remaining or dead things which I nonetheless saw and perceived. To the second kind are subjected those things which we think to have been so or to be so, as when for the sake of discussion we ourselves feign certain things in no way hindering the truth, or such as we figure when we read histories, and when we either hear or compose or suspect fabulous things. For I feign for myself as it pleases and as it occurs to the mind, the face of Aeneas, I that of Medea with her snakes joined to the yoke of winged creatures, I that of Chremes and of some Parmeno. In this kind are also those things which either the wise, involving something of truth in such figures, or the foolish, founders of various superstitions, have brought forward as true; such as is the Tartarean Phlegethon, and the five caves of the nation of darkness, and the northern pillar containing the heaven, and a thousand other portents of poets and heretics. We say also even in the midst of disputing: suppose there are three worlds one above the other, such as this one is; and, suppose the earth is contained in a square figure; and similar things. For all these things we feign and think according as the tempest of thought has held itself. For concerning things which pertain to the third kind of images, it is dealt mostly with numbers and dimensions: which is partly in the nature of things, as when the figure of the whole world is found, and the image in the mind of the one thinking follows this discovery; partly in the disciplines as in geometric figures and rhythmic musics, and the infinite variety of numbers: which although they are comprehended as true, as I assert, nevertheless they beget false imaginations which reason itself can hardly resist; although it is not easy even for the discipline of disputing itself to be without this evil, when in divisions and conclusions we imagine certain things like counters.

5. In hac tota imaginum silva, credo tibi non videri primum illud genus ad animam, priusquam inhaereat sensibus, pertinere; neque hinc diutius disputandum: de duobus reliquis jure adhuc quaeri posset, nisi manifestum esset animam minus esse obnoxiam falsitatibus, nondum passam sensibilium sensuumque vanitatem: at istas imagines quis dubitaverit istis sensibilibus multo esse falsiores? Nam illa quae putamus et credimus, sive fingimus, et ex omni parte omnino falsa sunt, et certe longe, ut cernis, veriora sunt quae videmus atque sentimus. Jam in illo tertio genere quodlibet spatium corporale animo figuravero, quanquam id rationibus disciplinarum minime fallentibus cogitatio peperisse videatur, ipsis rursum rationibus arguentibus, falsum esse convinco. Quo fit ut nullo pacto animam credam nondum corpore sentientem, nondum per sensus vanissimos mortali et fugaci substantia verberatam, in tanta falsitatis ignominia jacuisse.

Caput III.

Objectio resolvitur.

6. Unde ergo evenit ut quae non vidimus cogitemus? Quid putas, nisi esse vim quamdam minuendi et augendi animae insitam, quam quocumque venerit necesse est afferat secum? quae vis in numeris praecipue animadverti potest. Hac fit, verbi gratia, ut corvi quasi ob oculos imago constituta, quae videlicet aspectibus nota est, demendo et addendo quaedam, ad quamlibet omnino nunquam visam imaginem perducatur. Hac evenit ut per consuetudinem volventibus sese in talibus animis, figurae hujuscemodi velut sua sponte cogitationibus irruant. Licet igitur animae imaginanti, ex his quae illi sensus invexit, demendo, ut dictum est, et addendo, ea gignere quae nullo sensu attingit tota; partes vero eorum quae in aliis atque aliis rebus attigerat. Ita nos pueri apud mediterraneos nati atque nutriti, vel in parvo calice aqua visa, jam imaginari maria poteramus; cum sapor fragorum et cornorum, antequam in Italia gustaremus, nullo modo veniret in mentem. Hinc est quod a prima aetate caeci, cum de luce coloribusque interrogantur, quid respondeant non inveniunt. Non enim coloratas ullas patiuntur imagines, qui senserunt nullas.

5. In this entire forest of images, I believe it does not seem to you that that first kind pertains to the soul before it cleaves to the senses; nor should we dispute longer about this: concerning the remaining two, it could still be rightly asked, unless it were manifest that the soul is less liable to falsehoods, not yet having suffered the vanity of sensible things and of the senses: but who would doubt that those images are much falser than these sensible things? For those things which we think and believe, or feign, are both false in every part and entirely, and certainly, as you see, those things which we see and perceive are far truer. Now in that third kind, whatever corporeal space I shall have figured in the mind, although thought may seem to have begotten it by the least deceptive reasons of the disciplines, with those same reasons again arguing against it, I prove it to be false. Whereby it happens that in no way do I believe that the soul, not yet perceiving by the body, not yet beaten through the most vain senses by mortal and fleeting substance, has lain in such an ignominy of falsehood.

Chapter III.

The objection is resolved.

6. Whence therefore does it happen that we think of things which we have not seen? What do you think, except that there is a certain power of diminishing and increasing implanted in the soul, which it must bring with it wherever it comes? Which power can be noticed especially in numbers. By this it happens, for instance, that an image of a raven constituted as if before the eyes, which is of course known to the sight, by taking away and adding certain things, may be brought to any image whatsoever that has never been seen. By this it happens that, for those souls rolling themselves in such things by custom, figures of this kind rush into their thoughts as if of their own accord. It is permitted therefore to the imagining soul, from those things which the sense brought to it, by taking away, as was said, and adding, to beget those things which it touches as a whole by no sense; but the parts of those things which it had touched in various and different objects. Thus we, as boys born and nourished among Mediterranean people, with water seen even in a small cup, could already imagine seas; while the taste of strawberries and cornel-cherries, before we tasted them in Italy, could in no way come into the mind. Hence it is that those blind from their first age, when they are questioned about light and colors, do not find what they should answer. For they suffer no colored images, who have perceived none.

7. Nec mirere quo pacto ea quae in rerum natura figurantur et fingi possunt, non primo in anima quae omnibus inest commista volvantur, cum ea nunquam extrinsecus senserit. Nam etiam nos cum indignando aut laetando, caeterisque hujuscemodi animi motibus, multos in nostro corpore vultus coloresque formamus, prius nostra cogitation quod facere possimus tales imagines concipit. Consequuntur ista miris illis modis, et committendis cogitationi tuae, cum in anima sine ulla corporalium figura falsitatum numeri actitantur occulti. Ex quo intelligas velim, cum tam multos animi motus esse sentias expertes omnium, de quibus nunc quaeris, imaginum, quolibet alio motu animam sortiri corpus quam sensibilium cogitatione formarum, quas eam, priusquam corpore sensibusque utatur, nullo modo arbitror pati posse. Quamobrem pro nostra familiaritate, et pro ipsius divini juris fide sedulo monuerim, charissime mihi ac jucundissime, nullam cum istis infernis umbris copules amicitiam, neve illam quae copulata est, cunctere divellere. Nullo enim modo resistitur corporis sensibus, quae nobis sacratissima disciplina est, si per eos inflictis plagis vulneribusque blandimur.

Epistola VIII.

Quanam coelestium potestatum in animam actione fiat, ut imagines ac somnia dormienti subrepant.

AUGUSTINO NEBRIDIUS.

1. Festinanti mihi ad rem pervenire, nullum prooemium, nullum placet exordium. Qui fit, mi Augustine, vel qui modus est ille, quo utuntur superiores potestates, quas coelestes intelligi volo, cum eis placet nobis dormientibus aliqua somnia demonstrare? Qui, inquam, modus est; id est, quomodo id faciunt, qua arte, quibus manganis, quisbusve instrumentis aut medicamentis? animumne nostrum per cogitationes suas impellunt, ut nos etiam ea cogitando imaginemur? an ipsa in suo corpore, vel in sua phantasia, facta nobis offerunt et ostendunt? Sed si in suo corpore ea faciunt, sequitur ut et nos alios oculos corporeos intrinsecus habeamus cum dormimus, quibus illa videamus quae illi in suo corpore formaverint. Si vero ad istas res non corpore adjuvantur suo, sed in phantastico suo ista disponunt, atque ita phantastica nostra contingunt, et fit visum quod est somnium; cur, quaeso te, non ego phantastico meo tuum phantasticum ea somnia generare compello, quae mihi primo in eo ipse formavi?

7. Nor should you wonder in what way those things which are figured in the nature of things and can be feigned, are not first rolled around in the soul which is mixed and present in all things, when it has never perceived them from without. For even we, when by being indignant or rejoicing, and other such movements of the soul, we form many countenances and colors in our body, first our thought conceives that we can make such images. Those things follow in those wonderful ways, and to be committed to your thought, when in the soul without any figure of corporeal falsehoods hidden numbers are frequently enacted. From which I would wish you to understand, since you perceive that so many movements of the soul are free from all images of which you now ask, that the soul obtains a body by any other movement than by the thought of sensible forms, which I think it can in no way suffer before it uses the body and the senses. Wherefore, according to our familiarity, and for the faith of the divine law itself, I would sedulously warn you, my dearest and most pleasant friend, that you join no friendship with those infernal shadows, nor delay to tear away that which has been joined. For in no way is resistance made to the senses of the body, which is our most sacred discipline, if we flatter the blows and wounds inflicted through them.

Letter VIII.

By what action of the celestial powers upon the soul it happens that images and dreams creep upon the one sleeping.

NEBRIDIUS TO AUGUSTINE.

1. To me hastening to reach the matter, no preface, no introduction pleases. How does it happen, my Augustine, or what is that mode which the superior powers use (which I wish to be understood as celestial), when it pleases them to show some dreams to us while we are sleeping? What, I say, is the mode; that is, how do they do it, by what art, by what machinations, or by what instruments or medicines? Do they impel our mind through their own thoughts, so that we also imagine those things by thinking them? Or do they offer and show to us things made in their own body, or in their own phantasy? But if they do those things in their own body, it follows that we also have other corporeal eyes within when we sleep, with which we see those things which they have formed in their own body. If indeed they are not aided for those things by their own body, but arrange those things in their own phantastic soul, and thus touch our phantastic souls, and that which is a dream becomes a vision; why, I ask you, do I not by my phantastic soul compel your phantastic soul to generate those dreams which I first formed for myself in it?

Certe et mihi est phantasia, et quod volo potens est fingere, cum omnino nullum tibi facio somnium, sed ipsum corpus nostrum video in nobis somnia generare. Nam cum semel habuerit per affectum quo animae copulatur, cogit nos idipsum miris modis per phantasiam simulare. Saepe dormientes cum sitimus, bibere somniamus, et esurientes quasi comedentes videmur; et multa talia, quae quasi commercio quodam a corpore in animam phantastice transferuntur. Haec pro sui obscuritate, pro nostraque imperitia, ne mireris si minus eleganter minusque subtiliter explicata sunt: tu id facere quantum poteris laborabis.

Epistola IX.

Quaestioni de somniis per superiores potestates immissis respondet.

NEBRIDIO AUGUSTINUS.

1. Quanquam mei animi cognitor sis, fortasse tamen ignoras quantum velim praesentia tua frui. Verum hoc tam magnum beneficium Deus quandoque praestabit. Legi rectissimam epistolam tuam, in qua de solitudine questus es, et quadam desertione a familiaribus tuis, cum quibus vita dulcissima est. Sed quid aliud hic tibi dicam, nisi quod te non dubito facere? Confer te ad tuum animum, et illum in Deum leva, quantum potes. Ibi enim certius habes et nos, non per corporeas imagines, quibus nunc in nostra recordatione uti necesse est; sed per illam cogitationem, qua intelligis non loco esse nos simul.

2. Epistolas tuas cum considerarem, quibus non dubium tibi quaerenti magna respondi, vehementer me illa terruit, qua percontaris quomodo fiat ut nobis a superioribus potestatibus vel a daemonibus, et cogitationes quaedam inserantur et somnia. Magna enim res est, cui tu quoque pro tua prudentia perspicis, non epistola, sed aut praesenti collocutione, aut aliquo libello respondendum esse. Tentabo tamen, callens ingenium tuum, quaedam quaestionis hujus lumina praeseminare, ut aut caetera tecum ipse contexas, aut posse ad rei tantae probabilem investigationem perveniri minime desperes.

3. Arbitror enim omnem motum animi aliquid facere in corpore. Id autem usque ad nostros exire sensus, tam hebetes, tamque tardos, cum sunt majores animi motus; velut cum irascimur, aut tristes, aut gaudentes sumus. Ex quo licet conjicere, cum etiam cogitamus aliquid, neque id nobis in nostro corpore apparet, apparere tamen posse aeriis aethereisve animantibus , quorum et sensus acerrimus, et in cujus comparatione noster ne sensus quidem putandus est.

Certainly I also have a phantasy, and it is powerful to feign what I wish, while I make absolutely no dream for you, but I see our body itself generate dreams in us. For once it has held by the affection by which it is joined to the soul, it forces us to simulate that very thing in wonderful ways through phantasy. Often while sleeping when we thirst, we dream of drinking, and when hungry we seem as if eating; and many such things, which as if by a certain commerce are transferred phantastically from the body into the soul. Do not wonder if these things, on account of their obscurity and our unskillfulness, are explained less elegantly and less subtly: you will labor to do that as much as you can.

Letter IX.

He answers the question about dreams sent through superior powers.

AUGUSTINE TO NEBRIDIUS.

1. Although you are a knower of my mind, perhaps nevertheless you are ignorant of how much I wish to enjoy your presence. But God will at some time provide this so great a benefit. I read your most upright letter, in which you complained about solitude, and a certain desertion by your familiar friends, with whom life is most sweet. But what else should I say to you here, except what I do not doubt you are doing? Betake yourself to your own soul, and lift it into God as much as you can. For there you have us more certainly, not through corporeal images, which it is now necessary to use in our recollection; but through that thought by which you understand that we are not together in place.

2. When I considered your letters, to which I answered great things to you seeking without doubt, that one vehemently terrified me, by which you inquire how it happens that both certain thoughts and dreams are inserted into us by superior powers or by demons. For it is a great matter, which you also perceive according to your prudence, that it must be answered not by a letter, but either by a present conversation, or by some little book. I will try nevertheless, knowing your genius, to sow beforehand certain lights of this question, so that you may either weave the rest with yourself, or by no means despair that it is possible to arrive at a probable investigation of so great a matter.

3. For I think that every movement of the soul does something in the body. Moreover, that this goes out as far as our senses, so dull and so slow, when the movements of the soul are greater; as when we are angry, or are sad, or are rejoicing. From which it is possible to conjecture, that even when we think something, and it does not appear to us in our body, it can nevertheless appear to aerial or ethereal living beings, whose sense is most sharp, and in comparison with which ours is not even to be thought a sense.

Igitur ea quae, ut ita dicam, vestigia sui motus animus figit in corpore, possunt et manere, et quemdam quasi habitum facere; quae latenter cum agitata fuerint et contrectata, secundum agitantis et contrectantis voluntatem, ingerunt nobis cogitationes et somnia; atque id fit mira facilitate. Si enim nostrorum corporum terrenorum et tardissimorum exercitationes, agendis organis musicis, seu in funambulo, caeterisque hujuscemodi spectaculis innumerabilibus, ad quaedam incredibilia pervenisse manifestum est; nequaquam est absurdum, eos qui aerio vel aethereo corpore aliquid in corporibus agunt, quae naturali ordine penetrant, longe majore uti facilitate ad movendum quidquid volunt, non sentientibus nobis, et tamen inde aliquid perpetientibus. Neque enim etiam quomodo fellis abundantia nos ad iram crebriorem cogat sentimus; et tamen cogit, cum haec ipsa, quam dixi, abundantia facta sit irascentibus nobis.

4. Sed hoc tamen si non vis simile a nobis paetereunter accipere, versa id cogitatione quantum potes. Nam si animo existat assidue aliqua difficultas agendi atque implendi quod cupit, assidue irascitur. Ira est autem, quantum mea fert opinio, turbulentus appetitus auferendi ea quae facilitatem actionis impediunt. Itaque plerumque non hominibus tantum, sed calamo irascimur in scribendo, eumque collidimus atque frangimus; et aleatores tesseris, et pictores penicillo, et cuique instrumento quilibet, ex quo difficultatem se pati arbitratur. Hac autem assiduitate irascendi fel crescere etiam medici affirmant. Cremento autem fellis rursus et facile ac prope nullis causis existentibus irascimur. Ita quod suo motu animus fecit in corpore, ad eum rursus commovendum valebit.

5. Possunt latissime ista tractari, et multis rerum testimoniis ad certiorem plenioremque perduci notitiam. Sed huic epistolae adjunge illam quam tibi nuper de imaginibus et de memoria misi, et eam diligentius pertracta: nam minus plene a te intellecta, rescripto tuo mihi apparuit. Huic ergo quam nunc legis, cum adjunxeris de illa quod dictum ibi est, de naturali quadam facultate animi minuentis et augentis cogitatione quodlibet; fortasse etiam formae corporum, quas nunquam vidimus, vel cogitando apud nos vel somniando figurentur .

Epistola X.

De convictu cum Nebridio et secessione a mundanarum rerum tumultu.

NEBRIDIO AUGUSTINUS.

Therefore those things which, so to speak, the soul fixes as footsteps of its movement in the body, can both remain, and make a certain kind of habit; which when they have been secretly moved and handled, according to the will of the one moving and handling them, they bring thoughts and dreams to us; and that happens with wonderful facility. For if it is manifest that the exercises of our earthly and most slow bodies, in playing musical instruments, or on the tightrope, and other innumerable spectacles of this kind, have arrived at certain incredible things; it is by no means absurd, that those who by an aerial or ethereal body do something in bodies, which they penetrate by a natural order, use a far greater facility for moving whatever they wish, without our perceiving it, and yet we suffer something from it. For we do not even perceive how an abundance of bile compels us to more frequent anger; and yet it compels us, when this very abundance, which I have mentioned, has been made while we were being angry.

4. But nevertheless if you do not wish to receive this likeness from us in passing, turn it over in your thought as much as you can. For if some difficulty of acting and fulfilling what it desires assiduously exists for the soul, it is assiduously angry. But anger is, as far as my opinion goes, a turbulent appetite for removing those things which hinder the facility of action. And so for the most part we are angry not only with men, but with the pen in writing, and we dash it and break it; and gamblers with the dice, and painters with the brush, and anyone with whatever instrument from which he thinks he suffers difficulty. But physicians also affirm that the bile grows by this assiduity of being angry. Moreover, by the increase of bile, in turn we are angry easily and with almost no causes existing. So that which the soul by its own movement has made in the body, will be strong for moving it again.

5. Those things can be treated most widely, and be led to a more certain and fuller knowledge by many testimonies of things. But join to this letter that which I recently sent to you about images and about memory, and treat it more diligently: for it appeared to me by your reply that it was understood less fully by you. Therefore to this which you now read, when you have joined from that what was said there, about a certain natural faculty of the soul diminishing and increasing anything by thought; perhaps even the forms of bodies, which we never saw, are figured in us either by thinking or by dreaming.

Letter X.

On living together with Nebridius and withdrawal from the tumult of worldly things.

AUGUSTINE TO NEBRIDIUS.

1. Nunquam aeque quidquam tuarum inquisitionum me in cogitando tenuit aestuantem, atque illud quod recentissimis litteris tuis legi, ubi nos arguis quod consulere negligamus ut una nobis vivere liceat. Magnum crimen, et, nisi falsum esset, periculosissimum. Sed cum probabilis ratio demonstrare videatur, hic nos potius quam Carthagini, vel etiam ruri, ex sententia posse degere, quid tecum agam, mi Nebridi, prorsus incertus sum. Mittaturne ad te accommodissimum tibi vehiculum? nam basterna innoxie te vehi posse noster Lucinianus auctor est. At matrem cogito, ut quae absentiam sani non ferebat, imbecilli multo minus esse laturam. Veniamne ipse ad vos? At hic sunt qui nec venire mecum queant, et quos deserere nefas putem. Tu enim potes et apud tuam mentem suaviter habitare; ii vero ut idem possint, satagitur. Eamne crebro et redeam, et nunc tecum, nunc cum ipsis sim? At hoc neque simul, neque ex sententia vivere est. Non enim brevis est via, sed tanta omnino, cujus peragendae negotium saepe suscipere, non sit ad optatum otium pervenisse. Huc accedit infirmitas corporis, qua ego quoque, ut nosti, non valeo quod volo, nisi omnino desinam quidquam plus velle quam valeo.

2. Profectiones ergo quas quietas et faciles habere nequeas, per totam cogitare vitam, non est hominis de illa una ultima, quae mors vocatur, cogitantis; de qua vel sola intelligis vere esse cogitandum. Dedit quidem Deus paucis quibusdam, quos gubernatores ecclesiarum esse voluit, ut et illam non solum exspectarent fortiter, sed alacriter etiam desiderarent, et earum obeundarum labores sine ullo angore susciperent: sed neque iis qui ad hujusmodi administrationes temporalis honoris amore raptantur, neque rursum iis, qui cum sint privati, negotiosam vitam appetunt, hoc tantum bonum concedi arbitror, ut inter strepitus inquietosque conventus atque discursus, cum morte familiaritatem, quam quaerimus, faciant; deificari enim utrisque in otio licebat. Aut si hoc falsum est, ego sum omnium, ne dicam stultissimus, certe ignavissimus, cui nisi proveniat quaedam secura cessatio, sincerum illud bonum gustare atque amare non possum. Magna secessione a tumultu rerum labentium, mihi crede, opus est, ut non duritia, non audacia, non cupiditate inanis gloriae, non superstitiosa credulitate fiat in homine, nihil timere. Hinc enim fit illud etiam solidum gaudium, nullis omnino laetitiis ulla ex particula conferendum.

3. Quod si in naturam humanam talis vita non cadit, ur aliquando evenit ista securitas? cur tanto evenit crebrius, quanto quisque in mentis penetralibus adorat Deum? cur in actu etiam humano plerunque ista tranquillitas manet, si ex illo adyto ad agendum quisque procedat? cur interdum et cum loquimur, mortem non formidamus, cum autem non loquimur, etiam cupimus?

1. Never did anything of your inquiries keep me equally boiling in thinking, as that which I read in your most recent letters, where you accuse us that we neglect to consult so that it may be allowed to us to live together. A great crime, and, unless it were false, most dangerous. But since a probable reason seems to demonstrate that we can dwell here according to our wish rather than at Carthage, or even in the country, I am altogether uncertain what to do with you, my Nebridius. Should a most suitable vehicle be sent to you? for our Lucinianus is authority that you can be carried harmlessly in a basterna. But I think of your mother, that as she did not bear the absence of a healthy son, she will be much less likely to bear the absence of a weak one. Shall I come to you myself? But here are those who neither can come with me, and whom I should think it a crime to desert. For you can both dwell sweetly in your own mind; but for them, it is labored that they may be able to do the same. Should I go frequently and return, and be now with you, now with them? But this is to live neither together, nor according to our wish. For the way is not short, but so great altogether, that to often undertake the business of performing it, is not to have arrived at the desired leisure. Hither is added the infirmity of the body, by which I also, as you know, am not able for what I wish, unless I altogether cease to wish for anything more than I am able.

2. Therefore to think for a whole life about journeys which you cannot have quiet and easy, is not the part of a man thinking about that one last journey, which is called death; about which alone you understand that one must truly think. God indeed granted to certain few, whom He willed to be governors of the churches, that they should not only expect that journey bravely, but also desire it eagerly, and undertake the labors of performing them without any anguish: but I do not think this so great a good is granted either to those who are snatched away to administrations of this kind by the love of temporal honor, nor again to those who, since they are private persons, desire a busy life, that amidst the noises and unquiet assemblies and wanderings, they should make that familiarity with death which we seek; for it was allowed to both to be deified in leisure. Or if this is false, I am of all, I will not say the most foolish, certainly the most sluggish, to whom unless a certain secure cessation occurs, I cannot taste and love that sincere good. There is need, believe me, of a great withdrawal from the tumult of falling things, so that it may not happen by hardness, nor by audacity, nor by desire of vain glory, nor by superstitious credulity in a man, to fear nothing. For hence also that solid joy is made, to be compared by no part with any gladnesses at all.

3. But if such a life does not fall into human nature, why does that security sometimes happen? why does it happen so much more frequently, the more each one adores God in the inner parts of the mind? why does that tranquility for the most part remain even in human action, if each one proceeds from that sanctuary to acting? why sometimes even when we speak, we do not dread death, but when we do not speak, we even desire it?

Tibi dico, non enim hoc cuilibet dicerem, tibi, inquam, dico, cujus itinera in superna bene novi, tune, cum expertus saepe sis quam dulce vivat, cum amori corporeo animus moritur, negabis tandem totam hominis vitam posse intrepidam fieri, ut rite sapiens nominetur? aut hanc affectionem, qua ratio nititur, tibi accidisse unquam, nisi cum in intimis tuis angeris , asserere audebis? Quae cum ita sint, restare unum vides, ut tu quoque in commune consulas, quo vivamus simul. Quid enim cum matre agendum sit, quam certe frater Victor non deserit, tu multo melius calles quam ego. Alia scribere, ne te ab ista cogitatione averterem, nolui.

Epistola XI.

Cur hominis susceptio Filio soli tribuitur, cum divinae personae sint inseparabiles.

NEBRIDIO AUGUSTINUS.

1. Cum me vehementer agitaret quaestio, a te dudum cum quadam etiam familiari objurgatione proposita, quonam pacto una vivere possemus, et de hoc solo statuissem rescribere tibi, et rescripta flagitare, neque ad aliud aliquid, quod ad nostra studia pertinet, stilum avertere, ut inter nos istud ipsum terminaretur, cito me securum fecit recentis epistolae tuae brevissima et verissima ratio: propterea scilicet hinc non esse cogitandum, quia vel nos cum potuerimus ad te, vel tu cum potueris ad nos necessario venturus sis. Hinc ergo, ut dixi, securus effectus consideravi omnes epistolas tuas, ut viderem quarum responsionum debitor sim. In quibus tam multas quaestiones reperi, ut etiamsi facile dissolvi possent, ipso acervo cujusvis ingenium otiumque superarent. Tam vero difficiles sunt, ut etsi una earum mihi esset imposita, non dubitarem me onustissimum confiteri. Hoc autem prooemium ad id valet, ut tantisper desinas nova quaerere, donec toto aere alieno liberemur, et de solo judicio tuo mihi rescribas. Quanquam scio quam sit adversum me, qui tuarum divinarum cogitationum vel tantisper particeps esse differo.

2. Accipe igitur quid mihi videatur de susceptione hominis mystica quam propter salutem nostram factam esse religio, qua imbuti sumus, credendum cognoscendumque commendat: quam quaestionem non facillimam omnium elegi, cui potissimum responderem. Illa namque quae de hoc mundo quaeruntur, nec satis ad beatam vitam obtinendam mihi videntur pertinere; et si aliquid afferunt voluptatis, cum investigantur, metuendum est tamen ne occupent tempus rebus impendendum melioribus.

I say to you, for I would not say this to just anyone, I say to you, I say, whose journeys into the higher things I know well, will you finally deny, when you have often experienced how sweetly he lives when the mind dies to corporeal love, that the whole life of man can become intrepid, so that he may be rightly named wise? or will you dare to assert that this affection, on which reason relies, has ever happened to you except when you are pained in your innermost parts? Since these things are so, you see one thing remains, that you also consult in common, by which we may live together. For what must be done with your mother, whom certainly your brother Victor does not desert, you know much better than I. I did not wish to write other things, lest I should turn you away from that thought.

Letter XI.

Why the undertaking of man is attributed to the Son alone, since the divine persons are inseparable.

AUGUSTINE TO NEBRIDIUS.

1. When the question was vehemently agitating me, proposed by you some time ago even with a certain familiar reproach, by what means we could live together, and I had determined to write back to you about this alone, and to demand replies, and not to turn my pen to anything else which pertains to our studies, so that that very thing might be terminated between us, the most brief and most true reason of your recent letter quickly made me secure: namely that for this reason one should not think of this, because either we when we are able will come to you, or you when you are able will necessarily come to us. Having been made secure hence, as I said, I considered all your letters, so that I might see of which responses I am a debtor. In which I found so many questions, that even if they could be easily dissolved, they would surpass the genius and leisure of anyone by the heap itself. But they are so difficult, that even if one of them were imposed on me, I would not doubt to confess myself most burdened. But this preface is strong for this, that you may cease seeking new things for a while, until we are freed from the whole debt, and you may write back to me about your judgment alone. Although I know how much it is against me, who defer being a partaker of your divine thoughts even for a while.

2. Receive therefore what seems to me about the mystical undertaking of man, which the religion in which we have been imbued commends to be believed and known to have been done for our salvation: which question I have not chosen as the easiest of all to which I might chiefly respond. For those things which are sought concerning this world do not seem to me to pertain enough to obtaining the blessed life; and if they bring some pleasure when they are investigated, it is nevertheless to be feared lest they occupy time that should be spent on better things.

Quamobrem quod ad hoc pertinet susceptum in praesentia, prius miror te esse commotum cur non Pater sed Filius dicatur hominem suscepisse, sed etiam Spiritus sanctus. Nam ista Trinitas catholica fide ita inseparabilis commendatur et creditur, ita etiam a paucis sanctis beatisque intelligitur, ut quidquid ab ea fiet, simul fieri sit existimandum, et a Patre, et a Filio, et a Spiritu sancto: nec quidquam Patrem facere, quod non et Filius et Spiritus sanctus, nec quidquam Spiritum sanctum, quod non et Pater et Filius, nec quidquam Filium, quod non et Pater et Spiritus sanctus faciat. Ex quo videtur esse consequens, ut hominem Trinitas tota susceperit: nam si Filius suscepit, Pater autem et Spiritus sanctus non susceperunt, aliquid praeter invicem faciunt. Cur ergo in mysteriis et sacris nostris hominis susceptio Filio tributa celebratur? Haec est plenissima quaestio ita difficilis, et de re tam magna, ut nec sententia hic satis expedita, nec ejus probatio satis secura esse possit. Audeo tamen, siquidem ad te scribo, significare potius quid meus animus habeat, quam explicare; ut caetera pro ingenio tuo et familiaritate nostra, qua fit ut me optime noveris, per te ipse conjectes.

3. Nulla natura est, Nebridi, et omnino nulla substantia quae non in se habeat haec tria, et prae se gerat: primo ut sit deinde ut hoc vel illud sit, tertio ut in eo quod est maneat quantum potest. Primum illud causam ipsam naturae ostentat, ex qua sunt omnia; alterum, speciem per quam fabricantur, et quodammodo formantur omnia; tertium, manentiam quamdam, ut ita dicam, in qua sunt omnia. Quod si fieri potest ut aliquid sit, quod non hoc vel illud sit, neque in genere suo maneat; aut hoc quidem aut illud sit, sed non sit, neque in genere suo maneat quantum potest; aut in suo genere quidem pro ipsius sui generis viribus maneat, sed tamen nec sit, neque hoc vel illud sit: fieri etiam potest, ut in illa Trinitate aliqua persona praeter alias aliquid faciat. At si cernis necesse esse ut quidquid sit, continuo et hoc aut illud sit, et in suo genere maneat quantum potest, nihil tria illa praeter invicem faciunt. Video adhuc partem me egisse hujus quaestionis, qua fit difficilis solutio. Sed breviter tibi aperire volui, si tamen egi quod volui, quam subtiliter, et quanta veritate in Catholica intelligatur hujusce inseparabilitas Trinitatis.

4. Nunc accipe quomodo possit non movere animum illud quod movet. Species quae proprie Filio tribuitur, ea pertinet etiam ad disciplinam, et ad artem quamdam, si bene hoc vocabulo in his rebus utimur, et ad intelligentiam qua ipse animus rerum cogitatione formatur. Itaque quoniam per illam susceptionem hominis id actum est, ut quaedam nobis disciplina vivendi, et exemplum praecepti, sub quarumdam sententiarum majestate ac perspicuitate insinuaretur, non sine ratione hoc totum Filio tribuitur.

Wherefore, as to what pertains to this undertaking at present, I first wonder that you were moved why not the Father but the Son is said to have undertaken man, but also the Holy Spirit. For that Trinity is so commended and believed in the Catholic faith as inseparable, and is so understood by a few holy and blessed ones, that whatever is done by it, must be thought to be done at the same time, both by the Father, and by the Son, and by the Holy Spirit: and that the Father does nothing which the Son and the Holy Spirit do not also do, nor the Holy Spirit anything which the Father and the Son do not do, nor the Son anything which the Father and the Holy Spirit do not do. From which it seems to be a consequence, that the whole Trinity undertook man: for if the Son undertook, but the Father and the Holy Spirit did not undertake, they do something besides each other. Why then in our mysteries and sacred rites is the undertaking of man celebrated as attributed to the Son? This is a most full question, so difficult, and concerning so great a matter, that neither a sufficiently expedited opinion here, nor a sufficiently secure proof of it, can be possible. I dare nevertheless, since I am writing to you, to signify rather what my mind holds than to explain it; so that you may conjecture the rest by yourself according to your genius and our familiarity, by which it happens that you know me best.

3. There is no nature, Nebridius, and altogether no substance which does not have in itself these three, and display them: first, that it be; then, that it be this or that; third, that it remain in that which it is as much as it can. That first one displays the very cause of nature, from which are all things; the second, the species through which all things are fabricated and in a certain way formed; the third, a certain permanence, so to speak, in which are all things. But if it can happen that there be something which is not this or that, nor remains in its own genus; or indeed be this or that, but not be, nor remain in its own genus as much as it can; or indeed remain in its own genus according to the strength of its own genus, but nevertheless neither be, nor be this or that: it can also happen that in that Trinity some person does something besides the others. But if you see it is necessary that whatever is, is immediately also this or that, and remains in its own genus as much as it can, those three do nothing besides each other. I see that I have still acted a part of this question, by which the solution becomes difficult. But I wished to open it to you briefly, if nevertheless I have done what I wished, how subtly and with how much truth the inseparability of this Trinity is understood in the Catholic faith.

4. Now receive how that which moves the mind can not move it. The species which is properly attributed to the Son, that pertains also to discipline, and to a certain art, if we use this word well in these things, and to the understanding by which the mind itself is formed by the thought of things. And so since by that undertaking of man it was acted that a certain discipline of living, and an example of precept, should be insinuated to us under the majesty and perspicuity of certain sentences, not without reason is this whole attributed to the Son.

In multis enim rebus quas cogitationi et prudentiae committo tuae, quamvis multa insint, aliquid tamen eminet, et ideo sibi proprietatem quamdam non absurde vindicat; velut in illis tribus generibus quaestionum, etiamsi quaeratur an sit, ibi est et quid sit, esse enim non potest profecto, nisi aliquid sit; ibi etiam, probandum improbandumve sit; quidquid enim est, nonnulla aestimatione dignum est: ita cum quaeritur quid sit, necesse est ut et sit, et aliqua aestimatione pendatur. Hoc modo etiam cum quaeritur quale sit, et aliquid est utique ita, cum sibi inseparabiliter juncta sunt omnia; nomen tamen quaestio non ex omnibus accipit, sed ut sese habuerit quaerentis intentio. Ergo disciplina hominibus est necessaria, qua imbuerentur, et qua ad modum formarentur. Non tamen idipsum quod per hanc disciplinam fit in hominibus, aut non esse possumus dicere, aut non appetendum; sed scire prius intendimus, et per quod conjiciamus aliquid, et in quo maneamus. Demonstranda igitur prius erat quaedam norma et regula disciplinae; quod factum est per illam suscepti hominis dispensationem quae proprie Filio tribuenda est, ut esset consequens et ipsius Patris, id est unius principii ex quo sunt omnia, cognitio per Filium, et quaedam interior et ineffabilis sua vitas atque dulcedo, in ista cognitione permanendi contemnendique omnia mortalia, quod donum et munus proprie Spiritui sancto tribuitur. Ergo cum agantur omnia summa communione et inseparabilitate, tamen distincte demonstranda erant propter imbecillitatem nostram, qui ab unitate in varietatem lapsi sumus. Nemo enim quemquam erigit ad id in quo ipse est, nisi aliquantum ad id, in quo est ille, descendat. Habes epistolam, non quae tuam curam de hac re finierit, sed quae cogitationes tuas certo fortasse aliquo fundamento inchoaverit; ut caetera ingenio quod mihi notissimum est, persequaris, et pietate cui maxime standum est, consequaris.

Epistola XII.

Quaestionem in superiore epistola perstrictam iterum tractandam suscipit.

NEBRIDIO AUGUSTINUS.

1. Plures epistolas te scribis misisse quam accepimus; sed neque tibi possum non credere, neque mihi tu. Etsi enim rescribendo par esse non valeo; tamen non minore a me diligentia servantur litterae tuae, quam frequentantur abs te. Prolixiores autem nostras, non te amplius quam binas accepisse convenit inter nos; non enim misimus tertias.

For in many things which I commit to your thought and prudence, although many things are in them, something nevertheless stands out, and therefore not absurdly vindicates for itself a certain property; just as in those three kinds of questions, even if it is asked whether it is, there is also what it is, for it certainly cannot be, unless it is something; there also, whether it is to be proved or disproved; for whatever is, is worthy of some estimation: so when it is asked what it is, it is necessary that it both be, and be weighed by some estimation. In this way also when it is asked of what kind it is, and something certainly is so, when all things are inseparably joined to themselves; nevertheless the question does not take its name from all, but as the intention of the one seeking shall have held itself. Therefore discipline is necessary for men, by which they might be imbued, and by which they might be formed to a measure. Nevertheless we cannot say that that very thing which is done in men through this discipline either is not, or is not to be desired; but we intend to know first, both through what we may conjecture something, and in what we may remain. Therefore a certain norm and rule of discipline was first to be shown; which was done through that dispensation of the undertaken man which is properly to be attributed to the Son, so that the knowledge of the Father Himself, that is of the one principle from which are all things, might be consequent through the Son, and a certain interior and ineffable sweetness and delight of his own, of remaining in that knowledge and contemning all mortal things, which gift and office is properly attributed to the Holy Spirit. Therefore since all things are done with the highest communion and inseparability, nevertheless they were to be shown distinctly on account of our infirmity, who have fallen from unity into variety. For no one raises anyone to that in which he himself is, unless he descends somewhat to that in which he is. You have a letter, not which has finished your care concerning this matter, but which has perhaps begun your thoughts on some certain foundation; so that you may pursue the rest by your genius which is most known to me, and attain it by piety which must chiefly be stood upon.

Letter XII.

He undertakes to treat again the question touched upon in the previous letter.

AUGUSTINE TO NEBRIDIUS.

1. You write that you have sent more letters than we have received; but I can neither not believe you, nor you me. For even if I am not able to be equal in writing back; nevertheless your letters are kept by me with no less diligence than they are frequented by you. Moreover, it is agreed between us that you have received no more than two of our longer ones; for we have not sent a third.

Sane recognitis exemplaribus animadverti quinque fere tuis rogationibus esse responsum; nisi quod una ibi quaestio quasi transeunter perstricta, quanquam non temere ingenio tuo commissa sit, non tamen fortasse satisfecit avaritiae tuae; quam refrenes aliquantulum opus est, et nonnulla compendia libenter feras. Ita plane ut si quidquam fraudo intelligentiam, dum sum parcus in verbis, nihil parcas mihi; sed tu jure, quo mihi valentius esset forte aliquid, si quidquam posset esse jucundius, totum quod debetur, efflagites. Hanc igitur epistolam numerabis inter minores epistolas meas, quam tibi, non sibi nihil mihi de acervo minuere. Non enim et tu mittis minores, quae non eumdem acervum augeant. Quare illud quod de Filio Dei quaeris, cur ipse potius dicatur hominem suscepisse, quam Pater, cum simul uterque sit, dignosces facillime si sermocinationum nostrarum quibus, ut potuimus (nam ineffabile quiddam est), quid sit Dei Filius quo conjuncti simus, recorderis. Quod ut hic breviter attingam, disciplina ipsa et forma Dei, per quam facta sunt omnia quae facta sunt, Filius nuncupatur. Quidquid autem per susceptum illum hominem gestum est, ad eruditionem informationemque nostram gestum est.

(Vacat 67 linearum spatium in Ms. codice Vaticano unde Epistola eruta est.)

Epistola XIII.

Quaestionem de animae quodam corpore, ad se nihil pertinentem, rogat dimittant.

NEBRIDIO AUGUSTINUS.

1. Usitata tibi scribere non libet, nova non licet. Alterum enim video tibi non convenire, alterum non mihi vacare. Nam ex quo abii abs te, nulla mihi opportunitas, nullum otium datum est ea quae inter nos quaerere solemus, agitandi atque versandi. Sunt quidem hiemales nimis longae noctes, nec a me totae dormiuntur; sed se objiciunt magis cogitanda cum otium est, quae diffirmando sunt otio necessaria. Quid ergo faciam? mutusne apud te, an tacitus sim? Neutrum vis, neutrum volo. Quare age, atque accipe quod de me excudere potuit ultimum noctis, quamdiu exsequebatur, quo haec epistola scripta est.

Certainly, having recognized the copies, I noticed that about five of your rogations have been answered; except that one question there, touched upon as if in passing, although it was not rashly committed to your genius, nevertheless perhaps did not satisfy your avarice; which it is necessary that you restrain a little, and gladly bear some compendiums. So plainly that if I defraud your understanding in anything, while I am sparing in words, you should by no means spare me; but you may by right, by which something might perhaps be more powerful for me, if anything could be more pleasant, demand all that is owed. You will therefore count this letter among my shorter letters, which I decided to diminish for you, not for itself, from the heap. For you also do not send shorter ones, which do not increase the same heap. Wherefore that which you ask about the Son of God, why He Himself rather is said to have undertaken man than the Father, since each is at the same time, you will recognize most easily if you record our conversations by which, as we were able (for it is something ineffable), we sought what the Son of God is by which we are joined. Which that I may touch upon here briefly, the discipline itself and form of God, through which all things were made which were made, is called the Son. Moreover, whatever was done through that undertaken man, was done for our erudition and information.

(A space of 67 lines is vacant in the Vatican MS from which the Letter was unearthed.)

Letter XIII.

He asks that they dismiss the question about a certain body of the soul, which pertains to nothing in itself.

AUGUSTINE TO NEBRIDIUS.

1. It does not please me to write usual things to you, and it is not allowed to write new things. For I see that the one does not suit you, and for the other I have no leisure. For since I went away from you, no opportunity, no leisure has been given to me for agitating and turning over those things which we are accustomed to seek between us. There are indeed winter nights too long, and not all of them are slept by me; but rather those things are cast before me to be thought when there is leisure, which are necessary for confirming leisure. What therefore shall I do? shall I be mute with you, or silent? You wish neither, I wish neither. Wherefore come, and receive what the last part of the night could forge for me, as long as it was pursuing, in which this letter was written.

2. Necesse est te meminisse quod crebro inter nos sermone jactatum est, nosque jactavit anhelantes, atque aestuantes, de animae scilicet vel perpetuo quodam corpore, vel quasi corpore, quod a nonnullis etiam dici vehiculum recordaris. Quam rem certe, siquidem loco movetur, non esse intelligibilem, clarum est. Quidquid autem intelligibile non est, intelligi non potest. At quod intellectum fugit, si saltem sensum non refugit, aestimare inde aliquid verisimiliter non usquequaque denegatur. Quod vero neque intelligi neque sentiri potest, temerariam nimis atque nugatoriam gignit opinionem; et hoc de quo agimus tale est, si tamen est. Cur ergo, quaeso te, non nobis ad hanc quaestiunculam indicimus ferias, et nos totos imprecato Deo in summam serenitatem naturae summae viventis attollimus?

3. Hic forsitan dicas, quanquam corpora percipi nequeant, multa nos tamen ad corpus pertinentia intelligibiliter posse percipere, ut est quod novimus esse corpus. Quis enim neget, aut quis hoc verisimile potius quam verum esse fateatur? Ita cum ipsum corpus verisimile sit, esse tamen in natura tale quiddam verissimum est: ergo corpus sensibile, esse autem corpus intelligibile judicatur; non enim posset aliter percipi. Ita nescio quid illud, de quo quaerimus, corpus, quo inniti anima, ut de loco ad locum transeat, putatur, quanquam etiamsi non sensibus nostris, tamen quibusdam longe vegetioribus sensibile sit, utrum tamen sit, intelligibiliter cognosci potest.

4. Hoc si dices, veniat in mentem illud quod intelligere appellamus, duobus modis in nobis fieri: aut ipsa per se mente atque ratione intrinsecus, ut cum intelligimus esse ipsum intellectum; aut admonitione a sensibus, ut id quod jam dictum est, cum intelligimus esse corpus. In quibus duobus generibus illud primum per nos, id est, de eo quod apud nos est Deum consulendo; hoc autem secundum de eo quod a corpore sensuque nuntiatur, nihilominus Deum consulendo intelligimus. Quae si rata sunt, nemo de illo corpore utrum sit intelligere potest, nisi cui sensus quidquam de illo nuntiarit. In quo animantium numero si ullus est, nos quoniam non esse perspicimus, illud etiam perfectum puto, quod supra dicere coeperam, non ad nos istam pertinere quaestionem. Haec etiam atque etiam cogites velim, et quod cogitando genueris, ut noverim cures.

Epistola XIV.

Quare sol non idem praestat quod caetera sidera. Veritas summa an hominis cujusque rationem contineat.

NEBRIDIO AUGUSTINUS.

2. It is necessary that you remember what has been frequently tossed about in conversation between us, and has tossed us gasping and boiling, namely about a certain perpetual body of the soul, or as if a body, which you remember is also called a vehicle by some. Which thing certainly, if indeed it is moved in a place, it is clear is not intelligible. Moreover, whatever is not intelligible, cannot be understood. But that which escapes the understanding, if at least it does not escape the sense, it is not everywhere denied to estimate something about it as likely. But that which can neither be understood nor felt, produces an opinion too rash and trifling; and this about which we are acting is such, if nevertheless it is. Why therefore, I ask you, do we not declare a holiday for ourselves from this little question, and lift ourselves whole, having implored God, into the highest serenity of the highest living nature?

3. Here perhaps you may say, although bodies cannot be perceived, we can nevertheless intelligibly perceive many things pertaining to the body, as is that we know it to be a body. For who would deny, or who would confess this to be likely rather than true? So since the body itself may be likely, yet it is most true that there is such a thing in nature: therefore the sensible body is judged, but that there is a body is judged intelligible; for it could not otherwise be perceived. Thus I know not what that body is about which we seek, on which the soul is thought to lean so that it may pass from place to place, although even if it be not sensible to our senses, yet it be sensible to certain far more vigorous ones, yet whether it is, can be known intelligibly.

4. If you say this, let it come into the mind that what we call to understand happens in us in two ways: either by the mind itself and reason from within, as when we understand that the intellect itself is; or by admonition from the senses, as that which has already been said, when we understand that a body is. In which two kinds we understand that first one through ourselves, that is, by consulting God about that which is with us; but this second one about that which is announced by the body and sense, nevertheless by consulting God. If these things are certain, no one can understand about that body whether it is, unless the sense has announced something to him about it. In which number of living beings if there is any, since we perceive that we are not, I think that also is perfect which I had begun to say above, that that question does not pertain to us. I wish you would think on these things again and again, and take care that I may know what you have generated by thinking.

Letter XIV.

Why the sun does not provide the same as the other stars. Whether the highest Truth contains the reason of each man.

AUGUSTINE TO NEBRIDIUS.

1 Recentissimis litteris tuis respondere malui; non quod contempserim praecedentia quaesita tua, minusve me delectaverint, sed quod in respondendo majora quam opinaris molior. Quanquam enim longiorem, quam longissima est, epistolam tibi mittendam esse praescripseris, non tamen tantum habemus otii, quantum existimas, et quantum nos semper optasse nosti et optamus. Nec quaeras cur ita sit: illa enim facilius quibus impedior, quam cur impediar exposuerim.

2. Scribis cur ego et tu cum simus singuli eadem multa faciamus, sol autem non idem faciat quod caetera sidera. Cujus rei causam conarer. Nam si eadem nos agimus, multa et ille cum caeteris agit: si non ille, nec nos. Ambulo et ambulas, movetur et moventur; vigilo et vigilas; lucet et lucent; disputo et disputas; circuit et circumeunt : tametsi actus animi nullo modo est iis, quae videmus, comparandus. Si autem animum, ita ut aequum est, animo conferas, magis idem vel cogitare vel contemplari, vel si quid aliud commodius dicitur, si ullus eis inest animus, sidera quam homines consideranda sunt. Caeterum in corporum motibus, si, ut soles diligenter attendas, nihil omnino a duobus idem fieri potest. An tu cum deambulamus simul, statim idem nos agere existimas? Absit a prudentia tua. Septentrioni namque vicinior nostrum qui deambulat, aut alterum pari motu antecedat, aut tardius ingrediatur necesse est; neutrum tamen sentiri potest. Sed tu, ni fallor, quid intelligamus, non quid sentiamus exspectas. Quod si ab axe in meridiem tendamus, conjuncti nobis atque inhaerentes quantum valemus, innitamurque marmori laevi et aequali, vel etiam ebori, tam non potest esse amborum idem motus, quam venae pulsus, quam forma, quam facies. Remove nos et pone Glauciam prolem, nihil egeris. Quippe his etiam simillimis geminis tanta est necessitas ut proprie moveantur, quanta fuit ut singuli nascerentur.

3. At enim hoc, inquies, rationi tantum: quod autem sol ab astris differt, sensibus etiam clarum atque manifestum est. Si magnitudinem me cogis respicere, nosti de intervallis quam multa dicantur, et ad quantum incertum perspicuitas ista revocetur. Sed ut concedam ita esse ut apparet, sic enim et credo, cujus tandem et sensum fefellit illa proceritas Naevii pede longioris quam qui est sex longissimus ? cui te credo nimium quaesisse hominem aequalem, et cum minime reperisses, usque in ejus formam nostram epistolam tendere voluisse.

1. I preferred to respond to your most recent letters; not that I have contemned your preceding inquiries, or they have delighted me less, but that in responding I am attempting greater things than you suppose. For although you have prescribed that a longer letter, longer than the longest, should be sent to you, nevertheless we do not have as much leisure as you think, and as much as you know we have always wished and do wish. Nor should you ask why it is so: for I could more easily explain those things by which I am hindered, than why I am hindered.

2. You write why I and you, since we are individuals, do many of the same things, but the sun does not do the same as the other stars. For which thing I would try the cause. For if we do the same things, it also does many things with the others: if it does not, neither do we. I walk and you walk, it is moved and they are moved; I wake and you wake; it shines and they shine; I dispute and you dispute; it goes around and they go around: although the act of the mind is in no way to be compared to those things which we see. But if you compare mind to mind, as is just, the stars are to be considered to think or contemplate more the same, or if anything else is said more suitably, if any mind is in them, than men. But in the movements of bodies, if, as you are accustomed, you attend diligently, nothing at all can be done the same by two. Or do you think when we walk together, immediately we do the same? Far be it from your prudence. For he of us who walks nearer to the North, must either precede the other with equal motion, or enter more slowly; yet neither can be felt. But you, unless I am mistaken, expect what we understand, not what we feel. But if we tend from the axis to the south, joined to us and clinging as much as we are able, and we lean upon smooth and equal marble, or even ivory, the motion of both can no more be the same, than the pulse of a vein, than the form, than the face. Remove us and put the offspring of Glaucias, you will have done nothing. For even to these most similar twins there is as much necessity that they be moved properly, as there was that they should be born as individuals.

3. But indeed this, you will say, is for reason only: but that the sun differs from the stars is clear and manifest even to the senses. If you compel me to look at the magnitude, you know how many things are said about the intervals, and to how much uncertainty that perspicuity is recalled. But that I may concede it is so as it appears, for so I also believe, whose sense finally has that height deceived, longer by a foot than he who is six feet long? of whom I believe you have too much sought an equal man, and when you had found him least of all, you wished our letter to extend into his form.

Quare cum in terris quoque aliquid tale existat, nihil de coelo puto esse mirandum. Si autem te movet, quod praeter solem nullius sideris lumen implet diem; quis, quaeso te, hominibus tantus apparuit quantus ille homo quem Deus suscepit, longe aliter quam caeteros sanctos atque sapientes? Quem si cum aliis sapientibus conferas, majori distantia continetur, quam collatione solis caetera sidera. Quam sane similitudinem diligenter intuere. Fieri enim potest mente qua excellis, ut quamdam quaestionem de homine Christo a te propositam transeuntes dissolverimus.

4. Item quaeris utrum summa illa veritas et summa sapientia et forma rerum, per quem facta sunt omnia, quem Filium Dei unicum sacra nostra profitentur, generaliter hominis, an etiam uniuscujusque nostrum rationem contineat. Magna quaestio. Sed mihi videtur, quod ad hominem faciendum attinet, hominis quidem tantum non meam vel tuam ibi esse rationem; quod autem ad orbem temporis, varias hominum rationes in illa sinceritate vivere. Verum hoc cum obscurissimum sit, qua similitudine illustrari possit ignoro: nisi forte ad artes illas quae insunt animo nostro confugiendum est. Nam in disciplina metiendi una est anguli ratio, una quadrati. Itaque quoties demonstrare angulum volo, non nisi una ratio anguli mihi occurrit. Sed quadratum nequaquam scriberem, nisi quatuor simul angulorum rationem intuerer: ita quilibet homo una ratione, qua homo intelligitur, factus est. At ut populus fiat, quamvis et ipsa una ratio, non tamen hominis ratio, sed hominum. Si igitur pars hujus universi est Nebridius, sicut est, et omne universum partibus confit; non potuit universi conditor Deus rationem partium non habere. Quamobrem quod plurimorum hominum ibi ratio est, non ad ipsum hominem pertinet, quanquam miris rursum modis ad unum omnia redigantur. Sed tu id commodius cogitabis: his contentus sis interim peto, quanquam jam excesserim Naevium.

Epistola XV.

Significat scriptum a se opusculum de religione, transmittendum Romaniano, quem hortatur ut otium datum bene collocet.

ROMANIANO AUGUSTINUS.

Wherefore since something such exists on earth also, I think nothing is to be wondered at concerning heaven. But if it moves you, that besides the sun the light of no star fills the day; who, I ask you, has appeared to men as great as that man whom God undertook, far otherwise than the other holy and wise ones? Whom if you compare with other wise men, he is contained by a greater distance than the other stars by comparison with the sun. Which similarity indeed look into diligently. For it can happen by the mind in which you excel, that in passing we have dissolved a certain question about the man Christ proposed by you.

4. Likewise you ask whether that highest Truth and highest Wisdom and Form of things, through whom all things were made, whom our sacred rites profess as the only Son of God, contains the reason of man in general, or also of each of us. A great question. But it seems to me, as far as it pertains to making man, that the reason of man in general only is there, not mine or yours; but as to the orb of time, the various reasons of men live in that sincerity. But since this is most obscure, I am ignorant by what similarity it can be illustrated: unless perhaps we must flee to those arts which are in our mind. For in the discipline of measuring, the reason of an angle is one, and that of a square is one. And so as often as I wish to demonstrate an angle, only one reason of an angle occurs to me. But I would by no means write a square, unless I looked at the reason of four angles at the same time: thus any man was made by one reason, by which man is understood. But that a people may be made, although that also is one reason, it is nevertheless not the reason of a man, but of men. If therefore Nebridius is a part of this universe, as he is, and the whole universe consists of parts; God the founder of the universe could not not have the reason of the parts. Wherefore, that the reason of very many men is there, does not pertain to man himself, although in wonderful ways again all things are reduced to one. But you will think on that more suitably: I ask that you be content with these for the time being, although I have already exceeded Naevius.

Letter XV.

He signifies that a little work about religion has been written by him, to be transmitted to Romanianus, whom he exhorts to well employ the leisure given.

AUGUSTINE TO ROMANIANUS.

1. Non haec epistola sic inopiam chartae indicat, ut membranas saltem abundare testetur. Tabellas eburneas quas habeo, avunculo tuo cum litteris misi. Tu enim huic pelliculae facilius ignosces, quia differri non potuit quod ei scripsi, et tibi non scribere etiam ineptissimum existimavi. Sed tabellas, si quae ibi nostrae sunt, propter hujusmodi necessitates, mittas peto. Scripsi quiddam de catholica religione, quantum Dominus dare dignatus est, quod tibi volo ante adventum meum mittere, si charta interim non desit. Tolerabis enim qualemcumque scripturam ex officina majorum . De codicibus, praeter libros de Oratore, totum mihi excidit. Sed nihil amplius rescribere potui, quam ut ipse sumeres quos liberet, et nunc in eadem maneo sententia. Absens enim quid plus faciam non invenio.

2. Gratissimum mihi est, quod in ultima epistola me participem domestici tui gaudii facere voluisti. Sed, Mene salis placidi vultum fluctusque quietos Ignorare jubes? (Virg. V Aeneid.) quanquam nec me jubeas, nec ipse ignores. Quare si ad melius cogitandum quies aliqua data est, utere divino beneficio. Nec enim debemus nobis, cum ista proveniunt, sed illis per quos proveniunt, gratulari: quoniam justa, et officiosa, et pro suo genere pacatior atque tranquillior rerum temporalium administratio recipiendorum aeternorum meritum gignit, si non teneat cum tenetur, nec implicet cum multiplicatur, si non cum pacatur involvat. Ipsius enim Veritatis ore dictum est: Si in alieno fideles non fuistis, quod vestrum est quis dabit vobis (Luc. XVI, 12)? Laxatis ergo curis mutabilium rerum, bona stabilia et certa quaeramus, supervolemus terrenis opibus nostris. Nam et in mellis copia, non frustra pennas habet apicula; necat enim haerentem.

EPISTOLA XVI. Maximus grammaticus Madaurensis Augustino, excusans a Paganis unum Deum variis nominibus coli, indignans mortuos homines Gentium diis praeferri, irridens Punica quaedam nomina; perstringens, opinamur, Christianos, quod venerarentur sepulcra martyrum, ac notans quod profanos ad sua sacra non admitterent.

MAXIMI MADAURENSIS AD AUGUSTINUM.

1. This letter does not so indicate the lack of paper, as to witness that at least the parchments abound. The ivory tablets which I have, I sent with a letter to your uncle. For you will more easily forgive this skin, because that which I wrote to him could not be deferred, and I thought it most inept not to write to you also. But I ask that you send the tablets, if any of ours are there, on account of necessities of this kind. I have written something about the Catholic religion, as much as the Lord has deigned to give, which I wish to send to you before my arrival, if in the meantime paper is not lacking. For you will tolerate whatever kind of writing from the workshop of the elders. Concerning the codices, besides the books on the Orator, the whole has escaped me. But I could write back nothing more than that you yourself should take which you pleased, and now I remain in the same opinion. For being absent I do not find what more I can do.

2. It is most grateful to me, that in your last letter you wished to make me a partaker of your domestic joy. But, do you command me to be ignorant of the face of the placid sea and the quiet waves? (Virgil, Aeneid V.) although you do not command me, nor are you yourself ignorant. Wherefore if some quiet is given for better thinking, use the divine benefit. For we ought not to congratulate ourselves when those things occur, but those through whom they occur: since a just, and dutiful, and according to its kind more peaceful and tranquil administration of temporal things generates the merit of receiving eternal ones, if it does not hold when it is held, nor implicate when it is multiplied, if it does not involve when it is pacified. For it was said by the mouth of Truth itself: If you have not been faithful in that which is another's, who will give you that which is your own? (Luke XVI, 12)? Therefore, with the cares of changeable things relaxed, let us seek stable and certain goods, let us fly over our earthly riches. For also in an abundance of honey, not in vain does the little bee have wings; for it kills the one that sticks.

LETTER XVI. Maximus the grammarian of Madaura to Augustine, excusing that the one God is worshiped under various names by the Pagans, indignant that dead men are preferred to the gods of the Gentiles, mocking certain Punic names; touching upon, we think, the Christians, because they venerated the tombs of martyrs, and noting that they did not admit profane ones to their sacred rites.

MAXIMUS OF MADAURA TO AUGUSTINE.

1. Avens crebro tuis affatibus laetificari, et instinctu tui sermonis, quo me paulo ante jucundissime salva charitate pulsasti, paria redhibere non destiti, ne silentium meum poenitudinem appellares. Sed quaeso ut si haec quasi seniles artus esse duxeris, benignarum aurium indulgentia prosequaris. Olympum montem deorum esse habitaculum, sub incerta fide Graecia fabulatur. At vero nostrae urbis forum salutarium numinum frequentia possessum nos cernimus et probamus. Equidem unum esse Deum summum, sine initio, sine prole naturae, ceu patrem magnum atque magnificum, quis tam demens, tam mente captus neget esse certissimum? Hujus nos virtutes per mundanum opus diffusas, multis vocabulis invocamus, quoniam nomen ejus cuncti proprium videlicet ignoramus. Nam Deus omnibus religionibus commune nomen est. Ita fit ut dum ejus quasi quaedam membra carptim, variis supplicationibus prosequimur, totum colere profecto videamur.

2. Sed impatientem me esse tanti erroris, dissimulare non possum. Quis enim ferat Jovi fulmina vibranti praeferri Mygdonem ; Junoni, Minervae, Veneri, Vestaeque Sanaem, et cunctis, proh nefas! diis immortalibus archimartyrem Namphanionem? inter quos Lucitas etiam haud minore cultu suspicitur , atque alii interminato numero (diis hominibusque odiosa nomina) qui conscientia nefandorum facinorum, specie gloriosae mortis, scelera sua sceleribus cumulantes, dignum moribus factisque suis exitum maculati repererunt. Horum busta, si memoratu dignum est, relictis templis, neglectis majorum suorum manibus, stulti frequentant, ita ut praesagium vatis illius indigne ferentis emineat: Inque Deum templis juravit Roma per umbras. Sed mihi hac tempestate propemodum videtur bellum Actiacum rursus exortum, quo Aegyptia monstra in Romanorum deos audeant tela vibrare, minime duratura.

3. Sed illud quaeso, vir sapientissime, uti remoto facundiae robore atque exploso, qua cunctis clarus es, omissis etiam quibus pugnare solebas Chrysippeis argumentis, postposita paululum dialectica, quae nervorum suorum luctamine nihil certi cuiquam relinquere nititur, ipsa re approbes, quis sit iste Deus quem vobis, Christiani, quasi proprium vindicatis, et in locis abditis praesentem vos videre componitis. Nos etenim deos nostros luce palam ante oculos atque aures omnium mortalium piis precibus adoramus, et per suaves hostias propitios nobis efficimus, et a cunctis haec cerni et probari contendimus.

1. Desiring frequently to be gladdened by your addresses, and by the instinct of your speech, by which a little while ago you struck me most pleasantly with charity saved, I have not ceased to return like things, lest you should call my silence penitence. But I ask that if you should think these things to be as if aged limbs, you follow them with the indulgence of benign ears. Greece fables with uncertain faith that Mount Olympus is the habitation of the gods. But indeed we see and prove that the forum of our city is possessed by a frequency of salutary numina. Indeed, that there is one highest God, without beginning, without offspring of nature, as if a great and magnificent father, who would be so mad, so captured in mind as to deny it is most certain? We invoke his virtues diffused through the mundane work by many names, since we all evidently are ignorant of his proper name. For God is a name common to all religions. So it happens that while we follow his as if certain members bit by bit with various supplications, we seem to worship the whole indeed.

2. But that I am impatient of so great an error, I cannot dissemble. For who would bear that Mygdon be preferred to Jupiter vibrating lightnings; Sanaem to Juno, Minerva, Venus, and Vesta; and to all, oh wickedness! the immortal gods, the archmartyr Namphanio? among whom Lucitas also is looked up to with no less worship, and others in indeterminate number (names odious to gods and men) who, by the conscience of nefarious crimes, under the appearance of a glorious death, doubling their wickednesses by wickednesses, found an end stained and worthy of their morals and deeds. The fools frequent the tombs of these, if it is worthy of mention, having left the temples, having neglected the shades of their ancestors, so that the presage of that vates indignantly bearing it stands out: Rome swore by shades in the temples of God (Lucan). But it seems to me at this time that the Actian war has almost arisen again, by which Egyptian monsters dare to vibrate weapons against the gods of the Romans, by no means likely to endure.

3. But I ask this, O most wise man, that with the strength of eloquence removed and exploded, by which you are clear to all, even with those Chrysippean arguments omitted with which you were accustomed to fight, with dialectic postponed a little, which by the struggle of its nerves strives to leave nothing certain for anyone, you prove by the thing itself, who that God is whom you Christians vindicate as if your own, and whom you pretend to see present in hidden places. For we adore our gods in the light openly before the eyes and ears of all mortals with pious prayers, and we make them propitious to us through sweet victims, and we contend that these things are seen and proved by all.

4. Sed ulterius huic certamini me senex invalidus subtraho, et in sententiam Mantuani rhetoris libenter pergo: Trahit sua quemque voluptas. (Virg. in Buc. Ecl. 2.) Post haec non dubito, vir eximie, qui a mea secta deviasti, hanc epistolam aliquorum furto detractam, flammis vel quolibet pacto perituram. Quod si acciderit, erit damnum chartulae, non nostri sermonis, cujus exemplar penes omnes religiosos perpetuo retinebo. Dii te servent, per quos et eorum atque cunctorum mortalium communem patrem, universi mortales, quos terra sustinet, mille modis concordi discordia veneramur et colimus.

Epistola XVII.

Augustinus Maximo grammatico respondet ad superiora, sed sic ut ostendat indigna quibus respondeatur, digna quae rideantur.

AD MAXIMUM MADAURENSEM.

1. Seriumne aliquid inter nos agimus an jocari libet? Nam sicut tua epistola loquitur, utrum causae ipsius infirmitate, an morum tuorum comitate sit factum, ut malles esse facetior quam paratior, incertum habeo. Primo enim Olympi montis et fori vestri comparatio facta est: quae nescio quo pertinuerit, nisi ut me commonefaceret in illo monte Jovem castra posuisse, cum adversus patrem bella gereret, ut ea docet historia, quam vestri etiam sacram vocant; et in isto foro recordarer esse in duobus simulacris unum Martem nudum, alterum armatum, quorum daemonium infestissimum civibus, porrectis tribus digitis contra collocata statua humana comprimeret. Ergone unquam ego crediderim, mentione illius fori facta, numinum talium memoriam mihi te renovare voluisse, nisi jocari potius quam serio agere maluisses! Sed illud plane quo tales deos quaedam Dei unius magni membra esse dixisti, admoneo, quia dignaris, ut ab hujusmodi sacrilegis facetiis te magnopere abstineas. Siquidem illum Deum dicis unum, de quo, ut dictum est a veteribus, docti indoctique consentiunt, hujusne tu membra dicis esse, quorum immanitatem, vel, si hoc mavis, potentiam, mortui hominis imago compescit? Plura hinc possem dicere; vides enim pro tua prudentia, quam locus late iste pateat reprehensioni. Sed me ipse cohibeo, ne a te rhetorice potius quam veridice agere existimer.

4. But further I, an invalid old man, subtract myself from this contest, and gladly go into the sentence of the Mantuan rhetor: His own pleasure draws each one (Virgil, Eclogue 2). After these things I do not doubt, excellent man, you who have deviated from my sect, that this letter, taken away by the theft of some, will perish by flames or by any means. But if it should happen, it will be the loss of the paper, not of our speech, of which I will perpetually retain a copy among all religious persons. May the gods keep you, through whom and their and the common father of all mortals, all mortals whom the earth sustains, we venerate and worship in a thousand ways by a concordant discord.

Letter XVII.

Augustine responds to Maximus the grammarian to the above, but so as to show they are unworthy to be responded to, worthy to be laughed at.

TO MAXIMUS OF MADAURA.

1. Are we doing something serious between us or is it pleasing to joke? For as your letter speaks, whether it was done by the infirmity of the cause itself, or by the courtesy of your morals, that you preferred to be more facetious than more prepared, I have as uncertain. For first a comparison of Mount Olympus and your forum was made: which I know not whither it pertained, unless that it might remind me that Jupiter placed his camp on that mountain, when he waged wars against his father, as that history teaches which yours also call sacred; and in that forum I should remember that in two statues there is one Mars naked, the other armed, whose demon most infested to the citizens, a human statue placed against it with three fingers extended might compress. Should I then ever have believed, with mention of that forum made, that you wished to renew the memory of such numina to me, unless you had preferred to joke rather than to act seriously! But that plainly in which you said such gods are certain members of the one great God, I admonish, because you deign, that you greatly abstain from sacrilegious facetiousness of this kind. Since you say that God is one, about whom, as was said by the ancients, the learned and unlearned agree, do you say that these are his members, whose immanity, or, if you prefer this, power, the image of a dead man restrains? I could say more hence; for you see according to your prudence, how widely that place lies open to reprehension. But I restrain myself, lest I be thought by you to act rhetorically rather than truthfully.

2. Nam quod nomina quaedam Punica mortuorum collegisti, quibus in nostram religionem festivas, ut tibi visum est, contumelias jaciendas putares, nescio utrum refellere debeam, an silentio praeterire. Si enim res istae videntur tam leves tuae gravitati quam sunt, jocari mihi non multum vacat. Si autem graves tibi videntur, miror quod nominum absurditate commoto, in mentem non venerit habere tuos et in sacerdotibus Eucaddires , et in numinibus Abaddires. Non puto ego ista tibi cum scriberes in animo non fuisse, sed more humanitatis et leporis tui, commonefacere nos voluisti ad relaxandum animum, quanta in vestra superstitione ridenda sint. Neque enim usque adeo teipsum oblivisci potuisses, ut homo Afer scribens Afris, cum simus utrique in Africa constituti, Punica nomina exagitanda existimares. Nam si ea vocabula interpretemur, Namphanio quid aliud significat, quam boni pedis hominem, id est cujus adventus afferat aliquid felicitatis; sicut solemus dicere, secundo pede introisse, cujus introitum prosperitas aliqua consecuta sit? Quae lingua si improbatur abs te, nega Punicis libris, ut a viris doctissimis proditur, multa sapienter esse mandata memoriae. Poeniteat te certe ibi natum, ubi hujus linguae cunabula recalent. Si vero et sonus nobis non rationabiliter displicet, et me bene interpretatum illud vocabulum recognoscis, habes quod succenseas Virgilio tuo, qui Herculem vestrum ad sacra, quae illi ab Evandro celebrantur, invitat hoc modo: Et nos et tua dexter adi pede sacra secundo. (Virg. Aeneid. VIII.) Secundo pede optat ut veniat. Ergo venire Herculem optat Namphanionem, de quo tu multum nobis insultare dignaris. Verumtamen si ridere delectat, habes apud vos magnam materiam facetiarum: deum Stercutium, deam Cloacinam, Venerem Calvam, deum Timorem, deum Pallorem, deam Febrem, et caetera innumerabilia hujuscemodi, quibus Romani antiqui simulacrorum cultores templa fecerunt, et colenda censuerunt: quae si negligis, Romanos deos negligis; ex quo intelligeris non Romanis initiatus sacris, et tamen Punica nomina , tanquam numinum Romanorum altaribus deditus, contemnis ac despicis.

3. Sed mihi videris omnino plus quam nos fortasse illa sacra nihili pendere, sed ex eis nescio quam captare ad hujus vitae transitum voluptatem: quippe qui etiam non dubitaveris ad Maronem confugere, ut scribis, et ejus versu te tueri, quo ait: Trahit sua quemque voluptas. (Id. in Buc. Ecl. 3.) Nam si tibi auctoritas Maronis placet, sicut placere significas, profecto etiam illud placet: Primus ab aethereo venit Saturnus Olympo, Arma Jovis fugiens, et regnis exsul ademptis. (Id. Aeneid. VIII.) et caetera, quibus eum atque hujuscemodi deos vestros vult intelligi homines fuisse.

For as to what you collected certain Punic names of dead men, by which you thought festive contumelies, as it seemed to you, were to be cast against our religion, I know not whether I ought to refute them, or pass them over in silence. For if those things seem as light to your gravity as they are, there is not much leisure for me to joke. But if they seem serious to you, I wonder that, moved by the absurdity of the names, it did not come into your mind that you have both Eucaddires among the priests, and Abaddires among the numina. I do not think those were not in your mind when you were writing, but according to the manner of your humanity and wit, you wished to remind us for relaxing the mind, how many things in your superstition are to be laughed at. Nor could you have forgotten yourself to such a degree, that an African man writing to Africans, since we are both constituted in Africa, you should think Punic names were to be hounded. For if we interpret those words, what else does Namphanio signify, than a man of a good foot, that is whose arrival brings something of happiness; as we are accustomed to say, he entered with a second foot, whose entrance some prosperity followed? Which language if it is disapproved by you, deny that many things were wisely committed to memory in Punic books, as is produced by most learned men. Let it repent you certainly to have been born there, where the cradles of this language grow warm again. If indeed both the sound does not reasonably displease us, and you recognize that I have well interpreted that word, you have what you may be angry with your Virgil for, who invites your Hercules to the sacred rites, which are celebrated for him by Evander, in this way: Both us and your sacred rites approach with a dexterous second foot (Virgil, Aeneid VIII). He wishes that he come with a second foot. Therefore he wishes Hercules to come as a Namphanio, about whom you deign to insult us much. Nevertheless if it delights to laugh, you have among you great matter of facetiousness: the god Stercutius, the goddess Cloacina, Venus the Bald, the god Fear, the god Pallor, the goddess Fever, and other innumerable things of this kind, to which the ancient Romans, cultors of statues, made temples, and thought they should be worshiped: which if you neglect, you neglect the Roman gods; from which you are understood not initiated into the Roman sacred rites, and yet you contemn and despise Punic names, as if dedicated to the altars of the Roman numina.

3. But you seem to me altogether more than us perhaps to weigh those sacred rites as nothing, but to catch from them I know not what pleasure for the passage of this life: as one who indeed has not doubted to flee to Maro, as you write, and to protect yourself by his verse, in which he says: His own pleasure draws each one (Virgil, Eclogue 3). For if the authority of Maro pleases you, as you signify it pleases, certainly also that pleases: First from ethereal Olympus came Saturn, fleeing the arms of Jove, and an exile with kingdoms taken away (Aeneid VIII) and the rest, by which he wishes him and gods of this kind of yours to be understood to have been men.

Legerat enim ille multam historiam vetusta auctoritate roboratam, quam etiam Tullius legerat, qui hoc idem in dialogis plus quam postulare auderemus commemorat, et perducere in hominum notitiam, quantum illa tempora patiebantur, molitur.

4. Quod autem dicis, eo nostris vestra sacra praeponi, quod vos publice colitis deos, nos autem secretioribus conventiculis utimur: primo illud abs te quaero, quomodo oblitus sis Liberum illum, quem paucorum sacratorum oculis committendum putatis. Deinde tu ipse judicas nihil aliud te agere voluisse, cum publicam sacrorum vestrorum celebrationem commemorares, nisi ut nobis decuriones et primates civitatis per plateas vestrae urbis bacchantes ac furentes, ante oculos quasi spectacula poneremus: in qua celebritate, si numine inhabitamini, certe videtis quale illud sit quod adimit mentem. Si autem fingitis; quae sunt ista etiam in publico vestra secreta, vel quo pertinet tam turpe mendacium? deinde cur nulla futura canitis, si vates estis? aut cur spoliatis circumstantes, si sani estis?

5. Cum igitur haec nos et alia, quae nunc praetermittenda existimo, per epistolam tuam feceris recordari, quid nos non derideamus deos vestros, quos abs te ipso subtiliter derideri nemo non intelligit, qui et ingenium tuum novit, et legit litteras tuas? Itaque si aliquid inter nos his de rebus vis agamus, quod aetati tuae prudentiaeque congruit, quod denique de nostro proposito jure a charissimis nostris flagitari potest, quaere aliquid nostra discussione dignum: et ea pro vestris numinibus cura dicere, in quibus non te causae praevaricatorem putemus, quo nos magis commoneas quae contra illos dici possunt, quam pro eis aliquid dicas. Ad summam tamen, ne te hoc lateat, et in sacrilega convicia imprudentem trahat, scias a Christianis catholicis, quorum in vestro oppido etiam ecclesia constituta est, nullum coli mortuorum, nihil denique ut numen adorari, quod sit factum et conditum a Deo, sed unum ipsum Deum qui fecit et condidit omnia. Disserentur ista latius, ipso vero et uno Deo adjuvante, cum te graviter agere velle cognovero.

Epistola XVIII.

Naturarum genus triplex perstringitur.

AUGUSTINUS CAELESTINO.

For he had read much history strengthened by ancient authority, which Tullius also had read, who commemorates this same thing in his dialogues more than we would dare to demand, and attempts to lead it into the knowledge of men, as much as those times allowed.

4. Moreover, as to what you say, that your sacred rites are preferred to ours for this reason, because you worship gods publicly, but we use more secret little assemblies: first I ask that of you, how you have forgotten that Liber, whom you think should be committed to the eyes of a few sacred ones. Then you yourself judge that you wished to act nothing else, when you commemorated the public celebration of your sacred rites, unless that you might place before our eyes as if spectacles the decurions and primates of the city bacchating and raging through the streets of your city: in which celebrity, if you are inhabited by a numen, certainly you see of what kind that is which takes away the mind. But if you feign it; what are those secrets of yours even in public, or whither pertains so base a lie? then why do you sing no future things, if you are vates? or why do you despoil those standing around, if you are sane?

5. Since therefore you have made us record these and other things, which I think are now to be passed over, through your letter, why should we not deride your gods, whom no one does not understand to be subtly derided by you yourself, who both knows your genius and reads your letters? And so if you wish us to act something between us concerning these things, which is congruent with your age and prudence, which finally can be demanded by right from our dearest ones concerning our purpose, seek something worthy of our discussion: and take care to say those things for your numina, in which we may not think you a prevaricator of the cause, by which you rather remind us of what things can be said against them, than say anything for them. To the sum nevertheless, lest this should be hidden from you, and draw you imprudent into sacrilegious insults, know that by Catholic Christians, of whom even in your town a church is established, no dead man is worshiped, finally nothing is adored as a numen which was made and founded by God, but the one God himself who made and founded all things. These things will be discussed more widely, with the true and one God himself helping, when I shall have known that you wish to act seriously.

Letter XVIII.

The triple genus of natures is touched upon.

AUGUSTINE TO CAELESTINUS.

1. O utinam possem assidue tibi aliquid dicere! Id autem aliquid est, ut curis exueremur inanibus, et curis indueremur utilibus. Nam de securitate nescio utrum quidquam in hoc mundo sperandum sit. Scripsi, nec recepi ulla rescripta. Misi adversum Manichaeos libros, quos paratos et emendatos mittere potui, nec quidquam ex illis judicii motusque nostri notum mihi factum est. Nunc eos repetere jam me, vos autem restituere convenit. Peto itaque ne differatis eos remittere cum rescriptis, quibus nosse cupio quid de illis geritis, vel adhuc ad illum errorem expugnandum quid armaturae vobis opus esse arbitremini.

2. Sane quoniam te novi, accipe hoc quiddam grande et breve. Est natura per locos et tempora mutabilis, ut corpus. Et est natura per locos nullo modo, sed tantum per tempora etiam ipsa mutabilis, ut anima. Et est natura quae nec per locos, nec per tempora mutari potest; hoc Deus est. Quod hic insinuavi quoquo modo mutabile, creatura dicitur; quod immutabile, Creator. Cum autem omne quod esse dicimus, in quantum manet dicamus, et in quantum unum est, omnis porro pulchritudinis forma unitas sit: vides profecto in ista distributione naturarum, quid summe sit, quid infime, et tamen sit; quid medie, majusque infimo, et minus summo sit. Summum illud est ipsa beatitas: infimum, quod nec beatum esse potest, nec miserum: quod vero medium, vivit inclinatione ad infimum, misere; conversione ad summum, beate vivit. Qui Christo credit, non diligit infimum, non superbit in medio, atque ita summo inhaerere fit idoneus: et hoc est totum quod agere jubemur, monemur, accendimur.

Epistola XIX.

Gaius, quem forte disputatione traxerat ad Ecclesiam, mittit suos libros legendos, adhortans ut perseveret in bono proposito.

GAIO AUGUSTINUS.

1. Ut abs te abscessimus, dici non potest quanta suavitate nos perfuderit recordatio tui, ac saepe perfundat. Recolimus enim ardore inquisitionis tuae, cum esset mirabilis, non fuisse perturbatam modestiam disputandi. Nam neque flagrantius percontantem, neque tranquillius audientem, quemquam facile invenerim. Vellem itaque tecum multum loqui: non enim multum esset, quantumcumque esset, si tecum loquerer. Sed quia difficile est, quid opus est causas quaerere? Prorsus difficile est: erit fortasse aliquando facillimum; ita Deus velit: nunc certe aliud est.

1. Oh would that I could assiduously say something to you! But that something is, that we should be stripped of vain cares, and be clothed with useful cares. For concerning security I know not whether anything is to be hoped for in this world. I have written, nor have I received any replies. I sent the books against the Manichaeans, which I could send prepared and emended, nor has anything of your judgment and movement concerning them been made known to me. Now it is proper that I already repeat them, but you restore them. And so I ask that you do not defer remitting them with replies, by which I desire to know what you are doing concerning them, or what armor you still judge to be necessary for you for expugning that error.

2. Clearly, since I know you, receive this something great and brief. There is a nature changeable through places and times, as the body. And there is a nature changeable in no way through places, but only through times itself also changeable, as the soul. And there is a nature which can be changed neither through places nor through times; this is God. That which I have here insinuated as in any way changeable is called a creature; that which is immutable, the Creator. Moreover, since everything which we say to be, we say in as much as it remains, and in as much as it is one, and furthermore the form of all beauty is unity: you certainly see in that distribution of natures what is supremely, what is lowly, and yet is; what is in the middle, and greater than the lowest, and less than the highest. That highest is beatitude itself: the lowest, that which can be neither blessed nor miserable: but that which is middle lives miserably by inclination to the lowest; by conversion to the highest, it lives blessedly. He who believes in Christ does not love the lowest, is not proud in the middle, and thus becomes fit to adhere to the highest: and this is the whole which we are ordered, admonished, and kindled to act.

Letter XIX.

To Gaius, whom perhaps he had drawn to the Church by discussion, he sends his books to be read, exhorting that he persevere in his good purpose.

AUGUSTINE TO GAIUS.

1. Since we departed from you, it cannot be said with how much sweetness the recollection of you has suffused us, and often suffuses us. For we recall by the ardor of your inquiry, since it was wonderful, that the modesty of disputing was not disturbed. For I might not easily find anyone either more flagrantly inquiring or more tranquilly hearing. And so I would wish to speak much with you: for it would not be much, however much it might be, if I spoke with you. But because it is difficult, what need is there to seek causes? It is altogether difficult: it will perhaps sometime be very easy; so may God wish: now certainly it is otherwise.

Dedi ergo negotium fratri, per quem litteras misi, ut omnia nostra legenda praebeat prudentissimae Charitati tuae. Non enim aliquid meum inculcabit invito; novi enim quid benignitatis in nos animo geras; quae tamen si lecta probaveris, et vera perviderit, nostra esse non putes, nisi quia data sunt, eoque te convertas licet, unde tibi quoque est ut ea probares datum. Nemo enim quod legit, in codice ipso cernit verum esse, aut in eo qui scripserit; sed in se potius, si ejus menti quoddam non vulgariter candidum, sed a faece corporis remotissimum lumen veritatis impressum est. Quod si falsa aliqua atque improbanda compereris, de humano nubilo irrorata scias, et ea vere nostra esse deputes. Hortarer autem te ad quaerendum, nisi videre mihi viderer hiantia quaedam ora cordis tui; hortarer etiam, ut quod verum cognoveris viriliter teneas, nisi prae te ferres evidentissimum robur animi et consilii tui. Totum enim se mihi brevi tempore, prope discussis corporis tegumentis, quod in te vivit, aperuit. Neque ullo modo siverit Domini nostri misericordissima providentia, ut a catholico Christi grege tu vir tam bonus et egregie cordatus alienus sis.

Epistola XX.

Antonino pro existimatione bona ac dilectione sibi impensa gratias refert Augustinus, optatque ut familia ipsius tota catholicam religionem profiteatur.

AUGUSTINUS ANTONINO.

1. Cum a duobus tibi scripta deberentur, cumulatissime magis pars reddita est, quod unum nostrum praesentem vides, cujus ex ore cum me quoque accipis, poteram non rescribere, nisi ipso jubente fecissem, quo proficiscente supervacaneum videbatur esse quod feci. Quapropter fertilius tecum fortasse colloquor, quam si coram adessem, cum et epistolam meam legis, et eum audis in cujus pectore me habitare optime nosti. Cum magno gaudio litteras Sanctitatis tuae consideravi atque digessi, quod et christianum animum tuum sine ullo fuco iniqui temporis, et in nos amicissimum prae se gerunt.

Therefore I gave the business to the brother, through whom I sent the letters, that he might offer all our things to be read to your most prudent Charity. For he will not press anything of mine on one unwilling; for I know what of kindness you bear in your mind toward us; which nevertheless if having read you shall have approved, and having seen through you shall have perceived as true, you may not think them to be ours, unless because they have been given, and thither you may turn yourself, whence it was given to you also that you should approve them. For no one discerns that what he reads is true in the codex itself, or in him who wrote it; but rather in himself, if a certain light of truth, not commonly bright but most remote from the dregs of the body, has been impressed on his mind. But if you shall have found some false and to be disapproved things, know that they were sprinkled from a human cloud, and think them truly to be ours. Moreover, I would exhort you to seeking, unless I seemed to see certain gaping mouths of your heart; I would also exhort that what you have known as true you hold manfully, unless you displayed the most evident strength of your mind and counsel. For that which lives in you opened itself to me in a short time, almost with the coverings of the body shaken off. Nor would the most merciful providence of our Lord in any way have allowed that you, a man so good and remarkably wise, should be alien from the catholic flock of Christ.

Letter XX.

Augustine returns thanks to Antoninus for his good estimation and the love bestowed on him, and wishes that his whole family might profess the catholic religion.

AUGUSTINE TO ANTONINUS.

1. Since writings were owed to you from two, the part has been more than abundantly rendered, because you see one of us present, from whose mouth when you receive me also, I could have not written back, unless I had done it by him ordering, by whom departing it seemed to be superfluous what I did. Wherefore I speak with you perhaps more fruitfully than if I were present in person, since you both read my letter and hear him in whose breast you know very well that I dwell. With great joy I considered and digested the letters of your Holiness, because they bear both your Christian mind without any dye of an iniquitous time, and a most friendly one toward us.

2. Gratulor tibi, et gratias ago Deo et Domino nostro de spe et fide et charitate tua tibique apud eum, quod de nobis tam bene existimas ut fideles Dei servos esse credas, idque ipsum in nobis corde purissimo diligas: quanquam hinc etiam gratulandum benevolentiae tuae potius, quam gratiae tibi agendae sint. Tibi enim prodest ipsam diligere bonitatem, quam profecto diligit qui eum diligit quem credit bonum, sive ille se ita, sive aliter quam creditur habeat. Unus tantum in hac re cavendus est error, ne quisquam non de homine, sed de ipso hominis bono aliter sentiat, quam veritas postulat. Tu vero, frater dilectissime, qui nullo modo erras credendo vel sciendo, magnum bonum esse libenter Deo casteque servire, cum quemlibet hominum propterea diligis, quod hujus boni participem credis, tecum est fructus tuus, etiam si ille non ita sit. Quapropter tibi de hac re gratulandum est; illi autem, non si propterea diligitur, sed si talis est, qualem esse existimat a quo propterea diligitur. Quales itaque nos simus, quantumque in Deum promoverimus, ipse viderit, cujus non solum de hominis bono, sed de homine ipso non potest errare judicium. Tibi ad mercedem beatitudinis, quod ad hanc rem attinet, satis est, quod nos tales credens quales oportet esse servos Dei, toto sinu cordis amplecteris. Gratias vero tibi uberes agimus, quod nos cum laudas, tanquam tales simus, mirabiliter hortaris, ut tales esse cupiamus; uberiores etiam, si non solum te commendes orationibus nostris, sed etiam non praetermittas orare pro nobis. Gratior est enim Deo pro fratre deprecatio, ubi sacrificium charitatis offertur.

3. Parvulum tuum plurimum saluto, et secundum praecepta Domini salutaria opto grandescere. Domui quoque tuae unam fidem et devotionem veram, quae sola catholica est, provenire desidero et precor: in quam rem, si quam forte aliam nostram operam necessariam existimas, ne tibi vindicare dubites et communi domino fretus et jure charitatis. Illud sane admonuerim religiosissimam prudentiam tuam, ut timorem Dei non irrationabilem vel inseras infirmiori vasi tuo, vel nutrias, divina lectione gravique colloquio. Nemo enim fere sollicitus de statu animae suae, atque ob hoc sine pertinacia inquirendae voluntati Domini intentus est, qui bono demonstratore usus non dignoscat quid inter schisma quodlibet atque unam Catholicam intersit.

EPISTOLA XXI . Augustinus in presbyterum Hipponensem ordinatus, praesertim ad dispensandum verbum Dei, secumque reputans quam difficile sit sacerdotem pium agere, obsecrat Valerium ut patiatur ipsum in secessu precibus et studio hoc agere, ut sit idoneus imposito muneri.

2. I congratulate you, and I give thanks to God and our Lord for your hope and faith and charity and to you before Him, because you think so well of us as to believe that we are faithful servants of God, and love that very thing in us with a most pure heart: although hence rather your benevolence should be congratulated, than thanks given to you. For it profits you to love goodness itself, which certainly he loves who loves him whom he believes to be good, whether he has himself so, or otherwise than he is believed. One error only is to be avoided in this matter, lest anyone should feel otherwise than truth demands, not about the man, but about the good itself of the man. But you, most beloved brother, who in no way err by believing or knowing that it is a great good to serve God freely and chastely, when you love any of men for this reason, because you believe him a participant of this good, your fruit is with you, even if he be not so. Wherefore you are to be congratulated for this matter; but he, not if he is loved for this reason, but if he is such as he is estimated to be by him by whom he is loved for this reason. Of what kind we therefore may be, and how much we have progressed in God, He himself may see, whose judgment cannot err not only concerning the good of the man, but concerning the man himself. For your reward of beatitude, as far as this matter pertains, it is enough that believing us to be such as it behooves the servants of God to be, you embrace us with the whole bosom of your heart. But we give you abundant thanks, because when you praise us, as if we were such, you wonderfully exhort us that we should desire to be such; even more abundant, if you not only commend yourself to our prayers, but also do not omit to pray for us. For deprecation for a brother is more pleasing to God where the sacrifice of charity is offered.

3. I salute your little one very much, and I wish him to grow large according to the salutary precepts of the Lord. I also desire and pray that one faith and true devotion, which alone is catholic, may come to your house: into which matter, if you judge any other labor of ours to be necessary, do not doubt to claim it for yourself, both relying on our common Lord and by the right of charity. That indeed I would have admonished your most religious prudence, that you either insert or nourish a not unreasonable fear of God in your weaker vessel, by divine reading and grave conversation. For almost no one is solicitous for the state of his soul, and for this reason intent on the will of the Lord to be sought without pertinacity, who having used a good demonstrator does not distinguish what is between any schism and the one Catholic Church.

LETTER XXI. Augustine, having been ordained as a presbyter of Hippo, especially for dispensing the word of God, and reflecting with himself how difficult it is to act as a pious priest, beseeches Valerius that he allow him to act in this in retreat by prayers and study, so that he may be fit for the office imposed.

Domino beatissimo et venerabili, in conspectu Domini sincera charitate charissimo patri VALERIO episcopo, AUGUSTINUS presbyter, in Domino salutem.

1. Ante omnia peto, ut cogitet religiosa prudentia tua, nihil esse in hac vita, et maxime hoc tempore, facilius et laetius, et hominibus acceptabilius episcopi, aut presbyteri, aut diaconi officio, si perfunctorie atque adulatorie res agatur: sed nihil apud Deum miserius, et tristius, et damnabilius. Item nihil esse in hac vita, et maxime hoc tempore difficilius, laboriosius, periculosius episcopi, aut presbyteri, aut diaconi officio; sed apud Deum nihil beatius, si eo modo militetur quo noster imperator jubet. Quis autem iste sit modus, nec a pueritia, nec ab adolescentia mea didici: et eo tempore quo discere coeperam, vis mihi facta est, merito peccatorum meorum (nam quid aliud existimem nescio), ut secundus locus gubernaculorum mihi traderetur, qui remum tenere non noveram.

2. Sed arbitror Dominum meum propterea me sic emendare voluisse, quod multorum peccata nautarum, antequam expertus essem quid illic agitur, quasi doctior et melior reprehendere audebam. Itaque posteaquam missus sum in medium, tunc sentire coepi temeritates reprehensionum mearum; quanquam et antea periculosissimum judicarem hoc ministerium. Et hinc erant lacrymae illae quas me fundere in civitate, ordinationis meae tempore, nonnulli fratres animadverterunt, et nescientes causas doloris mei, quibus potuerunt sermonibus, qui omnino ad vulnus meum non pertinerent, tamen bono animo consolati sunt. Sed multo valde ac multo amplius expertus sum, quam putabam: non quia novos aliquos fluctus aut tempestates vidi quas ante non noveram, vel non audieram, vel non legeram, vel non cogitaveram; sed ad eas evitandas aut perferendas solertiam et vires meas omnino non noveram, et alicujus momenti arbitrabar. Dominus autem irrisit me, et rebus ipsis ostendere voluit meipsum mihi.

3. Quod si non damnando, sed miserando fecit, hoc enim spero certe vel nunc cognita aegritudine mea, debeo Scripturarum ejus medicamenta omnia perscrutari, et orando ac legendo agere, ut idonea valetudo animae meae, ad tam periculosa negotia tribuatur; quod ante non feci, quia et tempus non habui. Tunc enim ordinatus sum, cum de ipso vacationis tempore ad cognoscendas divinas Scripturas cogitaremus, et sic nos disponere vellemus, ut nobis otium ad hoc negotium posset esse. Et quod verum est, nondum sciebam quid mihi deesset ad tale opus, quale me nunc torquet et conterit.

To the most blessed and venerable father, most dear in the sight of the Lord with sincere charity, Bishop VALERIUS, AUGUSTINE, presbyter, sends greeting in the Lord.

1. Before all things I ask that your religious prudence consider that there is nothing in this life, and especially at this time, easier and more joyful and more acceptable to men than the office of a bishop, or presbyter, or deacon, if the matter be acted perfunctorily and flatteringly: but nothing more miserable and sadder and more damnable before God. Likewise that there is nothing in this life, and especially at this time, more difficult, more laborious, more dangerous than the office of a bishop, or presbyter, or deacon; but before God nothing more blessed, if it be militated in that way which our emperor orders. But what that way might be, I have learned neither from my boyhood nor from my youth: and at that time when I had begun to learn, violence was done to me, by the merit of my sins (for what else I may think I know not), so that the second place of the rudders was delivered to me, who had not known how to hold an oar.

2. But I think that my Lord wished to emend me in this way, because I was daring to reprehend the sins of many sailors as if more learned and better, before I had experienced what is done there. And so after I was sent into the middle, then I began to feel the temerities of my reprehensions; although also before I might judge this ministry to be most dangerous. And hence were those tears which some brothers noticed me shedding in the city, at the time of my ordination, and not knowing the causes of my grief, they consoled me with what speeches they could, which altogether might not pertain to my wound, yet with a good mind. But I have experienced it much and very much more than I was thinking: not because I saw some new waves or tempests which I had not known before, or had not heard, or had not read, or had not thought; but for avoiding or enduring them I altogether did not know my skill and strength, and I was judging them to be of some moment. But the Lord mocked me, and wished to show myself to me by the things themselves.

3. Which if He did not by damning, but by pitying, for this I hope certainly even now with my sickness known, I ought to search through all the medicines of His Scriptures, and to act by praying and reading, so that fit health of my soul might be bestowed for such dangerous businesses; which I did not do before, because I also did not have time. For I was ordained at that time when we were thinking about time of vacation itself for knowing the divine Scriptures, and we were wishing so to dispose ourselves, that leisure for this business might be possible for us. And what is true, I did not yet know what was lacking to me for such a work as now twists and wears me.

Quod si propterea in re ipsa didici quid sit homini necessarium, qui populo ministrat sacramentum et verbum Dei, ut jam non mihi liceat assequi quod me non habere cognovi: jubes ergo ut peream, pater Valeri! Ubi est charitas tua? certe diligis me? certe diligis ipsam Ecclesiam cui me sic ministrare voluisti? Et tamen certus sum quod et me et ipsam diligis. Sed putas me idoneum, cum ego melius me noverim, qui tamen nec ipse me nossem, nisi experiendo didicissem.

4. Sed dicit fortasse Sanctitas tua; vellem scire quid desit instructioni tuae. Tam multa autem sunt, ut facilius possim enumerare quae habeam, quam quae habere desidero. Auderem enim dicere, scire me, et plena fide retinere quid pertineat ad salutem nostram. Sed hoc ipsum quomodo ministrem ad salutem aliorum, non quaerens quod mihi utile est, sed quod multis, ut salvi fiant? Et sunt fortasse aliqua, imo non est dubitandum esse, in sanctis Libris conscripta consilia, quibus cognitis et apprehensis possit homo Dei rebus ecclesiasticis ordinatioribus ministrare, aut certe inter manus iniquorum vel vivere conscientia saniore, vel mori, ut illa vita non amittatur, cui uni christiana corda humilia et mansueta suspirant. Quomodo autem hoc fieri potest, nisi quemadmodum ipse Dominus dicit, petendo, quaerendo, pulsando; id est orando, legendo, plangendo? Ad quod negotium mihi parvum tempus velut usque ad Pascha impetrare volui per fratres a tua sincerissima et venerabili charitate, et nunc per has preces volo.

5. Quid enim responsurus sum Domino judici: Non poteram ista jam quaerere, cum ecclesiasticis negotiis impedirer? Si ergo mihi dicat: Serve nequam, si villa Ecclesiae calumniosum aliquem pateretur, cujus fructibus colligendis magna opera impenditur; neglecto agro quem rigavi sanguine meo, si quid agere pro ea posses apud judicem terrae, nonne omnibus consentientibus, nonnullis etiam jubentibus et cogentibus pergeres, et si contra te judicaretur, etiam trans mare proficiscereris: atque hoc modo vel annuam vel eo amplius absentiam tuam nulla querela revocaret, ne alius possideret terram, non animae sed corpori pauperum necessariam; quorum tamen famem vivae arbores meae multo facilius mihique gratius, si diligenter colerentur, explerent? Cur ergo ad discendam agriculturam meam vocationem temporis tibi defuisse causaris? Dic mihi quid respondeam, rogo te? An forte vis dicam: Senex Valerius dum me omnibus rebus instructum esse credidisset, quanto amplius me dilexit, tanto minus ista discere permisit?

But if I have learned in the matter itself what is necessary to the man who ministers the sacrament and the word of God to the people, so that it is no longer allowed to me to attain what I have known myself not to have: do you order then that I perish, father Valerius! Where is your charity? certainly do you love me? certainly do you love the Church itself to which you wished me so to minister? And yet I am certain that you love both me and her. But you think me fit, when I might know myself better, who nevertheless might not have known myself either, unless I had learned by experiencing.

4. But perhaps your Holiness says: I would wish to know what is lacking to your instruction. But they are so many, that I can more easily enumerate what I have than what I desire to have. For I would dare to say, that I know and retain with full faith what pertains to our salvation. But this very thing, how I may minister to the salvation of others, not seeking what is useful to me, but what is for the many, that they may be saved? And there are perhaps some, nay it is not to be doubted that there are, counsels written in the holy Books, which having been known and apprehended a man of God might minister to ecclesiastical matters more orderly, or certainly live with a sounder conscience among the hands of the iniquitous, or die, so that that life is not lost, for which alone humble and mild Christian hearts sigh. But how can this be done, unless in the way the Lord himself says, by asking, by seeking, by knocking; that is by praying, by reading, by lamenting? For which business I wished to impetrate a small time as if until Easter through the brothers from your most sincere and venerable charity, and now I wish it through these prayers.

5. For what am I to answer the Lord the Judge: I could not already seek those things, since I was hindered by ecclesiastical businesses? If therefore He should say to me: Wicked servant, if a field of the Church suffered some calumniator, for whose fruits to be collected great labor is expended; with the field which I watered with my blood neglected, if you could act anything for it before a judge of the earth, would you not, with all consenting, some even ordering and compelling, proceed, and if it were judged against you, would you not even set out across the sea: and in this way either a year's or even more of your absence would be recalled by no complaint, lest another should possess the land, necessary not for the soul but for the body of the poor; whose hunger nevertheless my living trees would much more easily and more pleasingly to me fill, if they were diligently cultivated? Why then do you cause that time for learning my agriculture was lacking to your vocation? Tell me what I may respond, I ask you? Or perhaps you wish that I say: The old man Valerius, while he had believed me to be instructed in all things, as much more as he loved me, so much less did he permit me to learn these things?

6. Attende omnia ista, senex Valeri, obsecro te per bonitatem et severitatem Christi, per misericordiam et judicium ejus, per eum qui tantam tibi inspiravit erga nos charitatem, ut ne te, nec pro lucro animae nostrae, audeamus offendere. Sic autem mihi Deum et Christum testem facis innocentiae et charitatis, et sinceri affectus quem circa nos habes, quasi ego non de his jurare omnibus possim. Ipsam ergo charitatem et affectum imploro, ut miserearis mei, et concedas mihi, ad hoc quod rogavi, tempus quantum rogavi, atque adjuves me orationibus tuis, et non sit inane desiderium meum, nec infructuosa Ecclesiae Christi atque utilitati fratrum et conservorum meorum absentia mea. Scio quod illam charitatem pro me orantem, maxime in tali causa, non despiciet Dominus; et eam sicut sacrificium suavitatis accipiens, fortassis breviore tempore quam postulavi, me saluberrimis consiliis de Scripturis suis reddet instructum.

EPISTOLA XXII . Augustinus presbyter, Aurelio Carthaginensi episcopo, deflens comessationes et ebrietates per Africam in coemeteriis et memoriis martyrum frequentari specie religionis: cui malo obtestatur ut mederi velit. Dolet subinde etiam contentionem et humanae laudis appetitum ab ipso Clericorum ordine non exsulare.

AURELIO episcopo, AUGUSTINUS presbyter.

Caput Primum.

Salutato Aurelio agit de comes sationibus ab ecclesia removendis.

1. Qua gratia responderem litteris Sanctitatis tuae cum diu haesitans non reperirem (omnia enim vicit affectus animi mei, quem jam sponte surgentem lectio epistolae tuae multo ardentius excitavit), commisi me tamen Deo, qui pro viribus meis operaretur in me, ut ea rescriberem quae utrique nostrum studio in Domino et cura ecclesiastica pro tua praestantia et mea obsecundatione congruerent. Atque illud primum, quod orationibus meis te adjuvari credis, non solum non defugio, verum etiam libenter amplector. Ita enim, etsi non meis, certe tuis, me Dominus noster exaudiet. Quod fratrem Alypium in nostra conjunctione mansisse, ut exemplo sit fratribus curas mundi hujus vitare cupientibus, benevolentissime accepisti, ago gratias, quas nullis verbis explicare possim: Dominus hoc rependat in animam tuam. Omnis itaque fratrum coetus, qui apud nos coepit coalescere, tanta tibi praerogativa obstrictus est, ut locis terrarum tantum longe disjunctis ita nobis consulueris tanquam praesentissimus spiritu.

6. Attend to all those things, old man Valerius, I beseech you by the goodness and severity of Christ, by His mercy and judgment, by Him who inspired in you so much charity toward us, that we may not dare to offend you, not even for the gain of our soul. But thus you make God and Christ a witness to me of the innocence and charity and sincere affection which you have toward us, as if I could not swear concerning all these things. Therefore I implore that charity and affection, that you may have mercy on me, and concede to me, for this which I have asked, as much time as I have asked, and help me with your prayers, and let not my desire be vain, nor my absence unfruitful to the Church of Christ and to the utility of my brothers and fellow-servants. I know that the Lord will not despise that charity praying for me, especially in such a cause; and receiving it as a sacrifice of sweetness, perhaps in a shorter time than I have requested, He will restore me instructed from His Scriptures by most salutary counsels.

LETTER XXII. Augustine the presbyter, to Aurelius, Bishop of Carthage, bewailing that feastings and drunkenness are frequented through Africa in cemeteries and memories of martyrs under the appearance of religion: for which evil he adjures that he might wish to heal it. He grieves thereafter also that contention and the appetite for human praise do not exile from the order of Clerics themselves.

To Bishop AURELIUS, AUGUSTINE, presbyter.

Chapter I.

Having saluted Aurelius, he acts concerning the removing of feasts from the church.

1. With what grace I might respond to the letters of your Holiness since for a long time hesitating I did not find (for the affection of my mind conquered all things, which already spontaneously rising the reading of your epistle much more ardently excited), nevertheless I committed myself to God, who might work in me according to my strengths, so that I might write back those things which might be congruent to the study in the Lord and ecclesiastical care of both of us for your excellence and my obedience. And that first, that you believe yourself to be helped by my prayers, not only I do not flee, but truly even I gladly embrace. For thus, even if not by mine, certainly by yours, our Lord will hear me. Because you have most benevolently accepted that brother Alypius has remained in our conjunction, so that he may be as an example to the brothers desiring to avoid the cares of this world, I give thanks, which I could explain with no words: may the Lord repay this into your soul. And so every assembly of brothers, which has begun to coalesce among us, is bound to you by so much prerogative, that you have consulted for us in places of the lands so far disjoined just as if most present in spirit.

Quapropter precibus quantum valemus incumbimus, ut gregem tibi commissum tecum Dominus sustinere dignetur, nec te uspiam deserere, sed adesse adjutor in opportunitatibus, faciens cum Ecclesia sua misericordiam per sacerdotium tuum, qualem spirituales viri ut faciat, lacrymis eum gemitibusque interpellant.

2. Scias itaque, domine beatissime et plenissima charitate venerabilis, non desperare nos, imo sperare vehementer, quod Dominus et Deus noster per auctoritatem personae quam geris, quam non carni, sed spiritui tuo impositam esse confidimus, multas carnales foeditates et aegritudines quas Africana Ecclesia in multis patitur, in paucis gemit, consiliorum gravitate et tua possit sanare. Cum enim Apostolus tria breviter genera vitiorum detestanda et vitanda uno in loco posuerit, de quibus innumerabilium vitiorum exsurgit seges, unum horum quod secundo loco posuit, acerrime in Ecclesia vindicatur; duo autem reliqua, id est primum et ultimum, tolerabilia videntur hominibus, atque ita paulatim fieri potest, ut nec vitia jam putentur. Ait enim vas electionis: Non in comessationibus et ebrietatibus, non in cubilibus et impudicitiis, non in contentione et dolo; sed induite vos Dominum Jesum Christum, et carnis curam ne feceritis in concupiscentiis (Rom. XIII, 13, 14).

3. Horum ergo trium, cubilia et impudicitiae tam magnum crimen putantur, ut nemo dignus non modo ecclesiastico ministerio, sed ipsa etiam sacramentorum communione videatur, qui se isto peccato maculavit : et recte omnino. Sed quare solum? Comessationes enim et ebrietates ita concessae et licitae putantur, ut in honorem etiam beatissimorum martyrum, non solum per dies solemnes (quod ipsum quis non lugendum videat, qui haec non carnis oculis inspicit), sed etiam quotidie celebrentur. Quae foeditas si tantum flagitiosa et non etiam sacrilega esset, quibuscumque tolerantiae viribus sustentandam putaremus. Quanquam ubi est illud, quod cum multa vitia enumerasset idem apostolus, inter quae posuit ebriosos, ita conclusit, ut diceret cum talibus nec panem edere? (I Cor. V, 11). Sed feramus haec in luxu et labe domestica, et eorum conviviorum quae privatis parietibus continentur, accipiamusque cum eis corpus Christi, cum quibus panem edere prohibemur; saltem de sanctorum corporum sepulcris, saltem de locis sacramentorum, de domibus orationum tantum dedecus arceatur. Quis enim audet vetare privatim, quod cum frequentatur in sanctis locis, honor martyrum nominatur?

Wherefore we apply ourselves as much as we are able to prayers, that the Lord may deign to sustain the flock committed to you with you, nor desert you anywhere, but be present as a helper in opportunities, making with His Church mercy through your priesthood, such as spiritual men, that He may do it, interpellate Him with tears and groans.

Therefore know, most blessed lord and venerable with most full charity, that we do not despair, nay we hope vehemently, that our Lord and God, through the authority of the person which you bear, which we trust to have been imposed not on your flesh but on your spirit, may be able to heal many carnal foulnesses and sicknesses which the African Church suffers in many, groans in few, by the gravity of counsels and your own. For since the Apostle has placed three briefly detestable and avoidable genera of vices in one place, from which a crop of innumerable vices arises, one of these which he placed in the second place is most sharply vindicated in the Church; but the two remaining, that is the first and the last, seem tolerable to men, and thus it can gradually happen, that they may already not be thought vices. For the vessel of election says: Not in feastings and drunkenness, not in chamberings and impurities, not in contention and guile; but put on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not the care of the flesh in concupiscenties (Rom. XIII, 13, 14).

Therefore of these three, chamberings and impurities are thought so great a crime, that no one seems worthy not only of the ecclesiastical ministry, but also of that very communion of the sacraments, who has stained himself with that sin: and altogether rightly. But why only? For feastings and drunkenness are so conceded and thought licit, that in honor even of the most blessed martyrs, not only through solemn days (which who might not see it to be lamented, who inspects these not with eyes of the flesh), but also they are celebrated daily. Which foulness if it were only flagitious and not also sacrilegious, we would think it to be sustained with whatever strengths of tolerance. Although where is that, that when he had enumerated many vices, the same apostle, among which he placed drunkards, so concluded, that he said not even to eat bread with such? (I Cor. V, 11). But let us bear these in luxury and domestic ruin, and of those banquets which are contained within private walls, and let us receive with them the body of Christ, with whom we are prohibited to eat bread; at least from the sepulchres of the bodies of the saints, at least from the places of the sacraments, from the houses of prayers let so much disgrace be driven away. For who dares to forbid privately what, when it is frequented in holy places, is called the honor of martyrs?

4. Haec si prima Africa tentaret auferre a caeteris terris, imitatione digna esse deberet: cum vero et per Italiae maximam partem, et in aliis omnibus aut prope omnibus transmarinis Ecclesiis, partim quia nunquam facta sunt, partim quia vel orta vel inveterata, sanctorum et vere de vita futura cogitantium episcoporum diligentia et animadversione exstincta atque deleta sint, dubitamus quomodo possumus tantam morum labem, vel proposito tam late exemplo emendare? Et nos quidem illarum partium hominem habemus episcopum, unde magnas agimus gratias Deo: quanquam ejus modestiae atque lenitatis est, ejus denique prudentiae et sollicitudinis in Domino, ut etiamsi Afer esset, cito illi de Scripturis persuaderetur curandum, quod licentiosa et male libera consuetudo vulnus inflixit. Sed tanta pestilentia est hujus mali, ut sanari prorsus, quantum mihi videtur, nisi concilii auctoritate non possit. Aut si ab una ecclesia inchoanda est medicina; sicut videtur audaciae, mutare conari quod Carthaginensis Ecclesia tenet, sic magnae impudentiae est, velle servare quae Carthaginensis Ecclesia correxit. Ad hanc autem rem quis alius episcopus esset optandus, nisi qui ea diaconus exsecrabatur?

5. Sed quod erat tunc dolendum nunc auferendum est; non aspere, sed sicut scriptum est, in spiritu lenitatis et mansuetudinis (Gal. VI, 1). Dant enim mihi fiduciam litterae tuae indices germanissimae charitatis, ut tecum tanquam mecum audeam colloqui. Non ergo aspere, quantum existimo, non duriter, non modo imperioso ista tolluntur; magis docendo quam jubendo, magis monendo quam minando. Sic enim agendum est cum multitudine: severitas autem exercenda est in peccata paucorum. Et si quid minamur, cum dolore fiat, de Scripturis comminando vindictam futuram ne nos ipsi in nostra potestate, sed Deus in nostro sermone timeatur . Ita prius movebuntur spirituales vel spiritualibus proximi, quorum auctoritate, et lenissimis quidem sed instantissimis admonitionibus caetera multitudo frangatur.

6. Sed quoniam istae in coemeteriis ebrietates et luxuriosa convivia, non solum honores martyrum a carnali et imperita plebe credi solent, sed etiam solatia mortuorum; mihi videtur facilius illic dissuaderi posse istam foeditatem ac turpitudinem, si et de Scripturis prohibeatur, et oblationes pro spiritibus dormientium, quas vere aliquid adjuvare credendum est, super ipsas memorias non sint sumptuosae, atque omnibus petentibus sine typho , et cum alacritate praebeantur: neque vendantur; sed si quis, pro religione aliquid pecuniae offerre voluerit, in praesenti pauperibus eroget .

4. If Africa were the first to attempt to take these things away from other lands, she ought to be worthy of imitation: since however both through the greatest part of Italy, and in all or almost all other transmarine Churches, partly because they were never done, partly because either having arisen or having become inveterate, they have been extinguished and deleted by the diligence and animadversion of holy bishops truly thinking about the future life, do we doubt how we can emend so great a ruin of morals, even by the example proposed so widely? And we indeed have a man of those parts as bishop, whence we give great thanks to God: although of such modesty and lenity is he, of such finally prudence and solicitude in the Lord, that even if he were an African, he would quickly be persuaded from the Scriptures that care must be taken for what a licentious and ill-free custom has inflicted as a wound. But so great a pestilence is this evil, that it altogether cannot be healed, as it seems to me, except by the authority of a council. Or if the medicine is to be begun by one church; just as it seems of audacity to attempt to change what the Carthaginian Church holds, so it is of great impudence to wish to serve what the Carthaginian Church has corrected. Moreover for this matter who else might be a bishop to be wished for, unless he who as a deacon was execrating those things?

5. But what was then to be lamented is now to be taken away; not harshly, but just as it is written, in the spirit of lenity and mildness (Gal. VI, 1). For your letters, indicators of most brotherly charity, give me confidence, so that I may dare to speak with you just as with myself. Therefore not harshly, as much as I estimate, not hardily are those things taken away; more by teaching than by ordering, more by admonishing than by threatening. For thus it is to be acted with a multitude: but severity is to be exercised in the sins of a few. And if we threaten anything, let it be done with grief, by threatening from the Scriptures the future vengeance, lest we ourselves in our power, but God in our speech be feared. Thus first the spiritual ones or those near to the spiritual ones will be moved, by whose authority, and indeed by most lenient but most instant admonitions the rest of the multitude may be broken.

But since those drunkennnesses and luxurious banquets in the cemeteries are wont to be believed by the carnal and ignorant populace to be not only honors of martyrs, but also solaces of the dead; it seems to me that that foulness and turpitude can be more easily dissuaded there, if both it be prohibited from the Scriptures, and the oblations for the spirits of those sleeping, which it is to be believed truly to help something, be not sumptuous over the memories themselves, and be offered to all asking without pride and with alacrity: nor be sold; but if anyone, for religion, shall have wished to offer something of money, let him erogate it in the present to the poor.

Ita nec deserere videbuntur memorias suorum, quod potest gignere non levem cordis dolorem, et id celebrabitur in Ecclesia quod pie et honeste celebratur. Haec interim de comessationibus et ebrietatibus dicta sint.

Caput II.

De contentione et laudis appetitu. Quomodo honor et laus à praelatis assumenda.

7. De contentione autem et dolo quid me attinet dicere, quando ista vitia non in plebe, sed in nostro numero graviora sunt? Horum autem morborum mater superbia est, et humanae laudis aviditas, quae etiam hypocrisim saepe generat. Huic non resistitur, nisi crebris divinorum Librorum testimoniis incutiatur timor et charitas Dei: si tamen ille qui hoc agit, seipsum praebeat patientiae atque humilitatis exemplum, minus sibi assumendo quam offertur; sed tamen ab eis qui se honorant nec totum nec nihil accipiendo, et id quod accipitur laudis aut honoris, non propter se qui totus coram Deo esse debet et humana contemnere, sed propter illos accipiatur quibus consulere non potest, si nimia dejectione vilescat. Ad hoc enim pertinet quod dictum est, Nemo juventutem tuam contemnat (I Tim. IV, 12); cum hoc ille dixerit, qui alio loco ait: Si hominibus placere vellem, Christi servus non essem (Gal. I, 10).

8. Magnum est de honoribus et laudibus hominum non laetari, sed et omnem pompam inanem praecidere, et si quid inde necessarium retinetur, id totum ad utilitatem honorantium salutemque conferre. Non enim frustra dictum est: Deus confringet ossa hominum placere volentium (Psal. LII, 6). Quid enim languidius, quid tam sine stabilitate ac fortitudine, quod ossa significant, quam homo quem male loquentium lingua debilitat, cum sciat falsa esse quae dicuntur? Cujus rei dolor nullo modo animae viscera dilaniaret, si non amor laudis ossa ejus confringeret. Praesumo de robore animi tui: itaque ista quae tecum confero, mihi dico; dignaris tamen, credo, mecum considerare quam sint gravia, quam difficilia. Non enim hujus hostis vires sentit, nisi qui ei bellum indixerit; quia si cuiquam facile est laude carere dum denegatur, difficile est ea non delectari cum offertur; et tamen tanta mentis in Deum debet esse suspensio, ut si non merito laudemur, corrigamus eos quos possumus; ne arbitrentur aut in nobis esse quod non est, aut nostrum esse quod Dei est, aut ea laudent quae quamvis non desint nobis, aut etiam supersint, nequaquam tamen sunt laudabilia; velut sunt bona omnia quae vel cum pecoribus habemus communia, vel cum impiis hominibus.

Thus they will not seem to desert the memories of their own, which can beget no light grief of heart, and that will be celebrated in the Church which is celebrated piously and honestly. Let these things be said meanwhile concerning feastings and drunkennnesses.

Chapter II.

Concerning contention and the appetite for praise. How honor and praise are to be assumed by prelates.

7. Moreover, what pertains to me to say concerning contention and guile, when those vices are more serious not in the populace, but in our number? Moreover, the mother of these diseases is pride, and the greed for human praise, which also often generates hypocrisy. This is not resisted, unless fear and the charity of God be struck in by frequent testimonies of the divine Books: if nevertheless he who acts this, offers himself as an example of patience and humility, by assuming less for himself than is offered; but nevertheless by taking neither everything nor nothing from those who honor him, and let that which is received of praise or honor be received not on account of himself, who ought to be entirely before God and to contemn human things, but on account of those for whom he cannot consult, if he becomes vile by too much dejection. For to this pertains what was said: Let no one contemn your youth (I Tim. IV, 12); since he said this, who in another place says: If I wished to please men, I would not be a servant of Christ (Gal. I, 10).

8. It is a great thing not to be gladdened by the honors and praises of men, but both to cut off all vain pomp, and if anything necessary is retained thence, to confer all that to the utility and salvation of those honoring. For not in vain was it said: God will break the bones of those wishing to please men (Psal. LII, 6). For what is more languid, what so without stability and fortitude, which the bones signify, than a man whom the tongue of those speaking ill debilitates, when he knows those things which are said to be false? The grief of which matter would in no way tear the viscera of the soul, if the love of praise did not break his bones. I presume concerning the strength of your mind: and so those things which I confer with you, I say to myself; you deign nevertheless, I believe, to consider with me how serious they are, how difficult. For one does not feel the strengths of this enemy, unless he who shall have declared war on him; because if it is easy for anyone to lack praise while it is denied, it is difficult not to be delighted by it when it is offered; and yet so great ought the suspension of the mind in God to be, that if we are not praised deservedly, we may correct those whom we can; lest they judge either that there is in us what is not, or that what is of God is ours, or they praise those things which although they are not lacking to us, or even abound, nevertheless are in no way laudable; such as are all the goods which either we have in common with the beasts, or with impious men.

Si autem merito laudamur propter Deum, gratulemur eis quibus placet verum bonum; non tamen nobis quia placemus hominibus, sed si coram Deo tales sumus, quales nos esse credunt, et non tribuitur nobis, sed Deo, cujus dona sunt omnia quae vere meritoque laudantur. Haec mihi ipse canto quotidie, vel potius ille cujus salutaria praecepta sunt, quaecumque sive in divinis Lectionibus inveniuntur, sive quae intrinsecus animo suggeruntur; et tamen vehementer cum adversario dimicans, saepe ab eo vulnera capio, cum delectationem oblatae laudis mihi auferre non possum.

9. Haec propterea scripsi, ut si tuae Sanctitati jam non sunt necessaria, sive quod plura hujusmodi ipse cogites atque utiliora, sive quod tuae Sanctitati medicina ista non opus sit, mala tamen mea nota sint tibi, sciasque unde pro mea infirmitate Deum rogare digneris: quod ut impensissime facias, obsecro per humanitatem illius qui praeceptum dedit ut invicem onera nostra portemus. Multa sunt quae de vita nostra et conversatione deflerem, quae nollem per litteras ad te venire, si inter cor meum et cor tuum ulla essent ministeria praeter os meum et aures tuas. Si autem venerabilis nobis omniumque nostrum tota sinceritate charissimus, cujus in te vere fraternam cum praesens essem benignitatem studiumque perspexi, senex Saturninus dignatus fuerit, quando opportunum videbitur, ad nos venire, quidquid cum ejus Sanctitate, et spirituali affectu colloqui potuerimus, aut nihil, aut non multum distabit, ac si cum tua Dignatione id ageremus. Quod ut nobiscum ab eo petere atque impetrare digneris, tantis precibus posco, quantis verba nulla sufficiunt. Absentiam enim meam tantum longe Hipponenses vehementer nimisque formidant, neque ullo modo mihi sic volunt credere, ut et ego videam agrum quem fratribus datum provisione et liberalitate tua didicimus, ante epistolam tuam, per sanctum fratrem et conservum nostrum Parthenium, a quo multa alia, quae audire desiderabamus, audivimus. Praestabit Dominus ut etiam caetera, quae adhuc desideramus, impleantur.

EPISTOLA XXIII . Augustinus Maximino episcopo donatistae, qui diaconum catholicum rebaptizasse dicebatur, ut aut fateatur factum, aut profiteatur se orthodoxum, invitans illum vel ad colloquium, vel ad rescribendum, ut concordia Ecclesiae sarciatur.

Domino dilectissimo et honorabili fratri MAXIMINO , AUGUSTINUS presbyter Ecclesiae catholicae, in Domino salutem.

But if we are praised deservedly on account of God, let us congratulate those to whom the true good pleases; not nevertheless us because we please men, but if we are such before God, as they believe us to be, and it is attributed not to us, but to God, whose gifts are all things which are truly and deservedly praised. I sing these things to myself daily, or rather He whose salutary precepts they are, whatever are found either in the divine Readings, or which are suggested intrinsically to the mind; and yet vehemently fighting with the adversary, often I receive wounds from him, when I cannot take away from myself the delectation of offered praise.

9. I have written these things for this reason, that if they are already not necessary to your Holiness, either because you yourself think more things of this kind and more useful, or because that medicine is not needed by your Holiness, nevertheless my evils may be known to you, and you may know whence you may deign to ask God for my infirmity: which that you may do most impensively, I beseech by the humanity of Him who gave the precept that we should bear our burdens in turn. There are many things which I would bewail concerning our life and conversation, which I would not wish to come to you through letters, if between my heart and your heart there were any ministries besides my mouth and your ears. But if venerable to us and most dear to all of us with all sincerity, whose truly brotherly kindness and study toward you I perceived when I was present, the old man Saturninus shall have deigned, when it shall seem opportune, to come to us, whatever we shall have been able to speak with his Holiness and with spiritual affection, either nothing or not much will differ, as if we were acting it with your Dignation. Which that you may deign to ask and impetrate from him with us, I ask with so many prayers as no words suffice. For the Hipponians vehemently and too much fear my absence so far, nor in any way wish so to trust me, so that I also may see the field which we have learned was given to the brothers by your provision and liberality, before your letter, through our holy brother and fellow-servant Parthenius, from whom we have heard many other things which we were desiring to hear. The Lord will grant that also the rest, which we still desire, may be fulfilled.

LETTER XXIII. Augustine to Maximinus a Donatist bishop, who was said to have rebaptized a catholic deacon, so that he may either confess the deed done, or profess himself orthodox, inviting him either to a colloquy or to writing back, so that the concord of the Church may be repaired.

To the most beloved lord and honorable brother MAXIMINUS, AUGUSTINE, presbyter of the Catholic Church, sends greeting in the Lord.

1. Priusquam ad rem veniam de qua tuae Benevolentiae scribere volui, tituli hujus epistolae, ne vel te, vel alium quempiam moveat, rationem breviter reddam. Domino, scripsi, quia scriptum est: Vos in libertatem vocati estis, fratres, tantum ne libertatem in occasionem carnis detis, sed per charitatem servite invicem (Gal. V, 13). Cum ergo vel hoc ipso officio litterarum per charitatem tibi serviam, non absurde te dominum voco propter unum et verum Dominum nostrum qui nobis ista praecepit. Dilectissimo autem quod scripsi, novit Deus quod non solum te diligam, sed ita diligam ut meipsum; quandoquidem bene mihi sum conscius bona me tibi optare quae mihi. Honorabili vero quod addidi, non ad hoc addidi, ut honorarem episcopatum tuum; mihi enim episcopus non es, neque hoc cum contumelia dictum acceperis; sed ex animo quo in ore nostro debet esse, Est, est, Non, non. Neque enim ignoras, aut quisquam hominum qui nos novit ignorat, neque te esse episcopum meum, neque me presbyterum tuum. Honorabilem igitur ex ea regula te libenter appello, qua novi te esse hominem, et novi hominem ad imaginem Dei et similitudinem factum, et in honore positum ipso ordine et jure naturae, si tamen intelligendo quae intelligenda sunt, servet honorem suum. Nam ita scriptum est: Homo in honore positus non intellexit; comparatus est jumentis insensatis, et similis factus est illis (Psal. XLVIII, 21). Cur ergo te honorabilem in quantum homo es non appellem, cum praesertim de tua salute atque correctione, quandiu in hac vita es, desperare non audeam? Fratrem vero ut vocem, non te latet praeceptum nobis esse divinitus, ut etiam eis qui negant se fratres nostros esse, dicamus, Fratres nostri estis; et hoc vehementer valet ad causam, propter quam scribere volui Fraternitati tuae. Jam enim reddita ratione cur epistolae talem januam fecerim, audi placidissime quae sequuntur.

2. Ego cum in ista regione consuetudinem hominum lugendam atque plangendam, qui cum christiano nomine glorientur, Christianos rebaptizare non dubitant, quibus verbis poteram detestarer non defuerunt laudatores tui, qui mihi dicerent te ista non facere. Fateor, primo non credidi. Deinde considerans posse fieri ut animam humanam de futura vita cogitantem Dei timor invaderet, ut se ab scelere apertissimo temperaret, gratulatus credidi, quod tali proposito ab Ecclesia catholica nolueris esse nimis alienus.

1. Before I come to the matter concerning which I wished to write to your Benevolence, I will briefly render the reason for the title of this epistle, lest it should move either you or any other. Lord, I have written, because it is written: You were called into liberty, brothers, only do not give liberty for an occasion of the flesh, but serve one another through charity (Gal. V, 13). Since therefore even by this very office of letters I serve you through charity, not absurdly do I call you lord on account of our one and true Lord who commanded those things to us. Moreover, that I wrote Most Beloved, God knows that I not only love you, but so love you as myself; since indeed I am well conscious to myself that I wish good things for you which for me. Truly that I added Honorable, I did not add it to this, that I might honor your episcopate; for to me you are not a bishop, nor may you receive this as said with insult; but from the mind in which there ought to be in our mouth, Yea, yea, No, no. Nor are you ignorant, or anyone of men who knows us is ignorant, neither that you are my bishop, nor that I am your presbyter. Therefore I gladly call you Honorable from that rule, by which I know you to be a man, and I know a man made to the image and likeness of God, and placed in honor by that very order and right of nature, if nevertheless by understanding those things which are to be understood, he preserves his honor. For thus it is written: Man placed in honor did not understand; he was compared to senseless beasts, and was made similar to them (Psal. XLVIII, 21). Why therefore should I not call you honorable in as much as you are a man, since especially concerning your salvation and correction, as long as you are in this life, I may not dare to despair? But that I call you Brother, it is not hidden from you that it has been commanded to us divinely, that even to those who deny themselves to be our brothers, we should say: You are our brothers; and this vehemently avails for the cause, for which I wish to write to your Fraternity. For already with the reason rendered why I made such a door to the epistle, hear most placidly what follow.

2. I, when in that region the lamentable and to be bewailed custom of men, who while they glory in the Christian name, do not doubt to rebaptize Christians, with what words I could I was detesting, there were not lacking your praisers, who might say to me that you do not do those things. I confess, at first I did not believe. Then considering that it could happen that fear of God might invade a human soul thinking about the future life, so that it might temper itself from a most open crime, having congratulated I believed, because by such a purpose you wished not to be too alien from the Catholic Church.

Quaerebam sane occasionem loquendi tecum, ut si fieri posset, ea quae parva remanserat inter nos dissensio tolleretur; cum ecce ante paucos dies diaconum nostrum Mutugennensem te rebaptizasse nuntiatum est. Dolui vehementer, et illius miserabilem lapsum, et tuum, frater, inopinatum scelus. Novi enim quae sit Ecclesia catholica. Gentes sunt haereditas Christi, et possessio Christi termini terrae. Nostis et vos, aut si non nostis, advertite; facillime a volentibus sciri potest. Rebaptizare igitur haereticum hominem, qui haec sanctitatis signa perceperit quae christiana tradidit disciplina, omnino peccatum est: rebaptizare autem catholicum, immanissimum scelus est. Tamen non adeo credens, quia de te mihi bene persuasum tenebam, Mutugennam ipse perrexi; et eum quidem miserum videre non potui, a parentibus vero ejus audivi quod vester jam etiam diaconus factus sit. Et tamen tam bene adhuc de tuo corde sentio, ut eum rebaptizatum esse non credam.

3. Quare te, frater dilectissime, per divinitatem et humanitatem Domini nostri Jesu Christi obsecro, ut rescribere mihi digneris quid gestum sit, et sic rescribere, ut noveris me in Ecclesia fratribus nostris epistolam tuam velle recitare. Quod ideo scripsi, ne cum id postea facerem quod me non sperares esse facturum, offenderem Charitatem tuam, et justam de me apud communes amicos querelam deponeres. Quid ergo te impediat ad rescribendum, non video. Si enim rebaptizas, nihil est quod homines de tuo collegio formides, cum id te rescripseris facere quod te illi facere etiamsi nolles juberent. Cum autem id quantis potueris documentis faciendum esse defenderis, non solum non succensebunt, sed etiam praedicabunt. Si autem non rebaptizas, arripe libertatem christianam, frater Maximine, arripe, quaeso te; non cujusquam hominis, in contemplatione Christi, aut reprehensionem verearis, aut exhorreas potestatem. Transit honor hujus saeculi, transit ambitio. In futuro Christi judicio, nec absidae gradatae, nec cathedrae velatae, nec sanctimonialium occursantium atque cantantium greges adhibebuntur ad defensionem, ubi coeperint accusare conscientiae, et conscientiarum arbiter judicare. Quae hic honorant, ibi onerant; quae hic relevant, ibi gravant. Ista quae pro tempore propter Ecclesiae utilitatem honori nostro exhibentur, defendentur forte bona conscientia; defendere autem non poterunt malam.

I was seeking indeed an occasion of speaking with you, so that if it could happen, those things which remained as a small dissension between us might be taken away; when behold before a few days it was announced that you had rebaptized our Mutugennensian deacon. I grieved vehemently, both his miserable lapse, and yours, brother, unexpected crime. For I know what the Catholic Church is. The nations are the inheritance of Christ, and the possession of Christ the ends of the earth. You also know it, or if you do not know, attend; it can most easily be known by those willing. Therefore to rebaptize a heretical man, who has perceived these signs of sanctity which the Christian discipline delivered, is altogether a sin: but to rebaptize a catholic is a most monstrous crime. Nevertheless not so believing, because I was holding myself well persuaded concerning you, I myself proceeded to Mutugenna; and indeed I could not see that miserable one, but I heard from his parents that he has already even been made your deacon. And yet I think so well still of your heart, that I do not believe him to have been rebaptized.

3. Wherefore I beseech you, most beloved brother, by the divinity and humanity of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you deign to write back to me what has been done, and so to write back, that you may know me to wish to recite your epistle in the Church to our brothers. Which I wrote for this reason, lest when I should do that afterwards which you might not hope me to be about to do, I might offend your Charity, and you might deposit a just complaint concerning me among common friends. What therefore may hinder you from writing back, I do not see. For if you rebaptize, there is nothing which you may fear from men of your college, since you shall have written back that you do that which they would order you to do even if you were unwilling. Moreover, when you shall have defended that it must be done by what documents you could, they will not only not be angry, but also will preach it. But if you do not rebaptize, seize Christian liberty, brother Maximinus, seize it, I ask you; do not fear either the reprehension of any man in the contemplation of Christ, or dread his power. The honor of this world passes, ambition passes. In the future judgment of Christ, neither graded apses, nor veiled chairs, nor flocks of holy women running to meet and singing will be applied for defense, where consciences shall have begun to accuse, and the Arbiter of consciences to judge. Those things which here honor, there burden; which here relieve, there weigh down. Those things which for the time on account of the utility of the Church are exhibited to our honor, will be defended perhaps by a good conscience; moreover they will not be able to defend a bad one.

4. Quod ergo tam pio et tam religioso animo facis, si tamen facis, ut Ecclesiae catholicae baptismum non iteres, sed approbes potius tanquam unius verissimae matris, quae omnibus gentibus, et regenerandis praebet sinum, et regeneratis ubera infundit, tanquam unius possessionis Christi, sese usque ad terrae terminos porrigentis; si hoc vere facis, cur non erumpis in exsultantem et liberam vocem? cur lucernae tuae tam utilem splendorem premis sub modio? Cur non discissis atque abjectis veteribus pellibus timidae servitutis, christiana potius indutus fiducia exis et dicis: Ego unum baptismum novi, Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti nomine consecratum atque signatum? hanc formam ubi invenio necesse est ut approbem; non destruo quod dominicum agnosco, non exsufflo vexillum regis mei. Vestem Christi et qui diviserunt, non violaverunt (Joan. XIX, 24); et illi adhuc Christum non resurrecturum crediderant, sed morientem videbant. Si a persecutoribus vestis non conscissa est pendentis in cruce, cur a Christianis destruitur sacramentum sedentis in coelo? Si veteris populi temporibus Judaeus essem, quando aliud esse melius non possem, accepissem utique circumcisionem. Quod signaculum justitiae fidei tantum illo tempore valuit, antequam Domini evacuaretur adventu, ut infantem filium Moysi Angelus praefocasset, nisi mater arrepto calculo circumcidisset puerum, et hoc sacramento imminentem perniciem depulisset (Exod. IV, 24, 25). Hoc sacramentum etiam Jordanem fluvium refrenavit, et reduxit in fontem. Hoc sacramentum ipse Dominus, quamvis evacuaverit crucifixus, tamen natus accepit. Non enim signacula illa damnata sunt, sed succedentibus opportunioribus decesserunt. Nam sicut circumcisionem abstulit Domini primus adventus, sic Baptismum auferet secundus adventus. Sicut enim nunc posteaquam venit libertas fidei, et remotum est servitutis jugum, nullus christianus circumciditur carne; sic tunc regnantibus justis cum Domino, damnatisque impiis, nemo baptizabitur, sed illud quod ista praefigurant, id est circumcisio cordis, et munditia conscientiae manebit in aeternum. Si ergo illo tempore Judaeus essem, et veniret ad me Samaritanus, velletque, illo errore derelicto quem etiam Dominus improbavit dicens, Vos adoratis quod nescitis; nos adoramus quod scimus, quoniam salus ex Judaeis est (Joan. IV, 22): vellet ergo Samaritanus, quem Samaritani circumciderant, fieri Judaeus, vacaret certe iterationis audacia, et id quod apud haeresim factum erat, quod praeceperat Deus, non repetere sed approbare cogeremur.

4. That therefore which you do with so pious and so religious a mind, if nevertheless you do it, that you do not iterate the baptism of the Catholic Church, but rather approve it as of one truest mother, who to all nations, both to those to be regenerated offers her bosom, and to those regenerated pours out her breasts, as of one possession of Christ, stretching itself even to the ends of the earth; if you truly do this, why do you not burst out into an exulting and free voice? why do you press the so useful splendor of your lamp under a bushel? Why, with the old skins of timid servitude torn and cast away, do you not rather come out clothed with Christian confidence and say: I know one baptism, consecrated and signed in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit? where I find this form it is necessary that I approve; I do not destroy what I acknowledge as the Lord's, I do not blow out the banner of my king. Even those who divided the garment of Christ did not violate it (John XIX, 24); and they had believed Christ not yet about to rise, but were seeing Him dying. If the garment of Him hanging on the cross was not torn by persecutors, why is the sacrament of Him sitting in heaven destroyed by Christians? If in the times of the ancient people I were a Jew, when I could not be anything else better, I would have certainly received circumcision. Which seal of the justice of faith so much availed in that time, before it should be evacuated by the coming of the Lord, that an Angel might have suffocated the infant son of Moses, unless the mother, with a stone snatched up, had circumcised the boy, and by this sacrament had driven away the imminent ruin (Exod. IV, 24, 25). This sacrament also restrained the river Jordan, and led it back into the source. This sacrament the Lord himself, although He evacuated it crucified, nevertheless born received. For those seals were not damned, but with more opportune things succeeding they departed. For just as the first advent of the Lord took away circumcision, so the second advent will take away Baptism. For just as now after the liberty of faith has come, and the yoke of servitude has been removed, no Christian is circumcised in the flesh; so then with the just reigning with the Lord, and the impious damned, no one will be baptized, but that which those prefigure, that is circumcision of the heart and cleanness of conscience will remain for eternity. If therefore in that time I were a Jew, and a Samaritan should come to me, and should wish, with that error abandoned which even the Lord disapproved saying: You adore what you know not; we adore what we know, since salvation is from the Jews (John IV, 22): if therefore the Samaritan, whom the Samaritans had circumcised, should wish to be made a Jew, certainly the audacity of iteration would be vacant, and that which had been done among heresy, which God had commanded, we would be compelled not to repeat but to approve.

Quod si in carne circumcisi hominis non invenirem locum ubi circumcisionem repeterem, quia unum est illud membrum; multo minus invenitur locus in uno corde, ubi baptismus Christi repetatur. Ideo qui duplicare Baptismum vultis, necesse est omnino ut corda duplicia requiratis.

5. Clama ergo recte te facere, si non rebaptizas; et non solum sine trepidatione, sed etiam cum gaudio mihi inde rescribe. Nulla te tuorum concilia, frater, exterreant. Si enim hoc eis displicuerit, non sunt digni qui te habeant; si autem placuerit, credimus de misericordia Domini, qui timentes sibi displicere, et conantes placere nunquam deserit, quod inter vos et nos cito pax erit: ne propter honores nostros, de qua sarcina periculosa ratio reddetur, miserae plebes credentes in Christum habeant in domibus suis communes cibos, et mensam Christi communem habere non possint. Nonne ingemiscimus quod vir et uxor, ut fideliter conjungant corpora sua, jurant sibi plerumque per Christum, et ipsius corpus Christi diversa communione dilaniant? Hoc tantum scandalum, tantus diaboli triumphus, tanta pernicies animarum, si per tuam modestiam, et prudentiam, et dilectionem quam debemus ei qui pro nobis suum sanguinem fudit, ablata de medio in his regionibus fuerit; quis explicet verbis quam tibi palmam praeparet Dominus, ut ad caetera membra sananda, quae per totam Africam tabefacta miserabiliter jacent, a te proficiscatur tam imitabile medicinae documentum? Quam vereor, quoniam cor meum videre non potes, ne tibi cum insultatione potius quam cum dilectione loqui videar! Sed certe amplius quid faciam non invenio, nisi ut inspiciendum sermonem meum tibi offeram, animum Deo.

6. Tollamus de medio inania objecta, quae a partibus imperitis jactari contra invicem solent; nec tu objicias tempora Macariana, nec ego saevitiam Circumcellionum: si hoc ad te non pertinet, nec illud ad me. Area dominica nondum ventilata est; sine paleis esse non potest. Nos oremus, atque agamus quantum possumus, ut frumentum simus. Ego de rebaptizato diacono nostro silere non possum: scio enim quam mihi silentium perniciosum sit. Non enim cogito in ecclesiasticis honoribus tempora ventosa transigere, sed cogito me principi pastorum omnium rationem de commissis ovibus redditurum. Si forte nolles ut haec tibi scriberem, oportet te, frater, ignoscere timori meo. Multum enim timeo ne me tacente et dissimulante, alii quoque rebaptizentur a vobis. Decrevi ergo, quantum vires et facultatem Dominus deignatur, causam istam sic agere, ut pacincis collationibus nostris omnes qui nobis communicant, noverint ab haeresibus aut schismatibus quantum catholica distet Ecclesia, et quantum sit cavenda pernicies vel zizaniorum vel praecisorum de vite Domini sarmentorum.

But if in the flesh of a circumcised man I might not find a place where I might repeat circumcision, because that member is one; much less is a place found in one heart, where the baptism of Christ may be repeated. Therefore you who wish to duplicate Baptism, it is altogether necessary that you seek double hearts.

5. Cry out, therefore, that you do rightly if you do not rebaptize; and write back to me from there not only without trepidation, but even with joy. Let no councils of your people, brother, terrify you. For if this should displease them, they are not worthy to have you; but if it should please them, we believe from the mercy of the Lord, who never deserts those fearing to displease Him and striving to please Him, that there will soon be peace between you and us: lest on account of our honors, of which a dangerous account will be rendered, the wretched common people believing in Christ should have common foods in their houses, and not be able to have the table of Christ common. Do we not groan that husband and wife, so that they may faithfully join their bodies, often swear to each other by Christ, and tear apart the very body of Christ by diverse communion? This so great scandal, so great triumph of the devil, so great ruin of souls, if through your modesty, and prudence, and the love which we owe to Him who shed His blood for us, should be removed from the midst in these regions; who could explain in words what palm the Lord prepares for you, so that for the healing of the other members, which lie miserably wasted through all Africa, such an imitable example of medicine may proceed from you? How I fear, since you cannot see my heart, lest I seem to speak to you with insult rather than with love! But certainly I find nothing further to do, except to offer you my speech to be inspected, and my soul to God.

6. Let us remove from the midst empty objections, which are wont to be tossed against each other by ignorant parties; neither you object the Macarian times, nor I the cruelty of the Circumcellions: if this does not pertain to you, neither does that to me. The Lord's threshing-floor has not yet been winnowed; it cannot be without chaff. Let us pray, and act as much as we can, that we may be wheat. I cannot be silent concerning our rebaptized deacon: for I know how pernicious silence is for me. For I do not think to pass windy times in ecclesiastical honors, but I think that I shall render an account to the prince of all shepherds for the committed sheep. If by chance you should not wish that I write these things to you, it behooves you, brother, to forgive my fear. For I fear much lest, while I am silent and dissimulating, others also be rebaptized by you. I have decreed, therefore, as much as the Lord deigns to provide strength and faculty, to conduct this cause thus, so that by our peaceful conferences all who communicate with us may know how much the Catholic Church stands apart from heresies or schisms, and how much the ruin either of tares or of branches cut off from the Lord's vine is to be avoided.

Quam collationem mecum si libenti animo susceperis, ut concordibus nobis amborum litterae populis recitentur, ineffabili exsultabo laetitia. Si autem id aequo animo non accipis, quid faciam, frater, nisi ut te quoque invito epistolas nostras populo catholico legam, quo esse possit instructior? Quod si rescribere dignatus non fueris, vel meas legere decrevi, ut saltem diffidentia vestra cognita rebaptizari erubescant.

7. Neque id agam cum miles praesens est, ne quis vestrum arbitretur tumultuosius me agere voluisse, quam ratio pacis desiderat; sed post abscessum militis, ut omnes qui nos audiunt intelligant non hoc esse propositi mei ut inviti homines ad cujusquam communionem cogantur, sed ut quietissime quaerentibus veritas innotescat. Cessabit a nostris partibus terror temporalium potestatum: cesset etiam a vestris partibus terror congregatorum Circumcellionum. Re agamus, ratione agamus, divinarum Scripturarum auctoritatibus agamus, quieti atque tranquilli quantum possumus petamus, quaeramus, pulsemus, ut accipiamus et inveniamus, et aperiatur nobis, ne forte fieri possit, ut adjuvante Domino concordes conatus et orationes nostras, tanta deformitas atque impietas Africanarum regionum de nostris terris incipiat aboleri. Si non credis post discessum militum me velle agere, post discessum militum tu rescribe. Si enim ego praesente milite litteras meas legere populo voluero, prolata epistola mea demonstrabit me fidei violatorem. Quod misericordia Domini avertat a moribus atque instituto meo, quod mihi per jugum suum inspirare dignatus est.

8. Episcopus meus Benevolentiae tuae fortasse potius litteras misisset, si esset praesens, aut ego illo vel jubente vel permittente scripsissem. Sed illo absente cum diaconi rebaptizatio recens esse dicitur, frigescere actionem ipsam dilatione non passus sum, de fraterna et vera morte acerbissimi doloris aculeis excitatus. Quem dolorem meum adjuvante misericordia et providentia Domini, pacis fortasse compensatio lenitura est. Deus et Dominus noster tibi mentem pacatam inspirare dignetur, domine dilectissime frater.

EPISTOLA XXIV . Paulinus Alypio episcopo de libris Augustini quos recepit, excusans quod serius miserit ad illum Eusebii Chronica. Cupit edoceri de genere et vita Alypii: ipse vicissim de se nonnulla aperiens. Panem unum dono mittit.

Domino merito honorabili, et beatissimo patri ALYPIO, PAULINUS et THERASIA peccatores.

Which conference if you receive from me with a willing mind, so that with us in concord the letters of both may be recited to the peoples, I shall exult with ineffable joy. But if you do not receive it with an even mind, what shall I do, brother, except read our letters to the Catholic people even against your will, that they may be better instructed? But if you should not deign to write back, I have decreed at least to read mine, so that with your lack of confidence known they may at least be ashamed to be rebaptized.

7. Nor shall I do this while the soldier is present, lest any of you think that I wished to act more tumultuously than the reason of peace desires; but after the departure of the soldier, so that all who hear us may understand that this is not of my purpose that unwilling men should be compelled to the communion of anyone, but that the truth may become known to those seeking most quietly. The terror of temporal powers shall cease from our parts: let also the terror of the gathered Circumcellions cease from your parts. Let us act by the matter, let us act by reason, let us act by the authorities of the divine Scriptures, quiet and tranquil as much as we can let us ask, let us seek, let us knock, so that we may receive and find, and it may be opened to us, lest by chance it might be possible, with the Lord helping our concordant efforts and prayers, that such deformity and impiety of the African regions may begin to be abolished from our lands. If you do not believe that I wish to act after the departure of the soldiers, you write back after the departure of the soldiers. For if I, with the soldier present, should wish to read my letters to the people, my epistle brought forth will demonstrate me a violator of faith. Which may the mercy of the Lord avert from my morals and institute, which He deigned to inspire in me through His yoke.

8. My Bishop would perhaps rather have sent letters to your Benevolence, if he were present, or I would have written with him either commanding or permitting. But with him absent, since the rebaptization of the deacon is said to be recent, I have not allowed the action itself to grow cold by delay, excited by the stings of most bitter grief from fraternal and true death. Which grief of mine, with the mercy and providence of the Lord helping, perhaps the compensation of peace is about to soften. May our God and Lord deign to inspire a peaceful mind in you, most beloved lord brother.

EPISTLE XXIV. Paulinus to Bishop Alypius concerning the books of Augustine which he received, excusing that he sent the Chronicles of Eusebius to him later. He desires to be taught concerning the race and life of Alypius: he himself in turn opening some things concerning himself. He sends one bread as a gift.

To the lord deservedly honorable, and most blessed father ALYPIUS, PAULINUS and THERASIA sinners.

1. Haec est vera charitas, haec perfecta dilectio, quam tibi circa humilitatem nostram inesse docuisti, domine vere sancte, et merito beatissime ac desiderabilis. Accepimus enim per hominem nostrum Julianum de Carthagine revertentem, litteras tantam nobis Sanctitatis tuae lucem afferentes, ut nobis charitatem tuam non agnoscere, sed recognoscere videremur. Quia videlicet ex illo, qui nos ab origine mundi praedestinavit sibi, charitas ista manavit, in quo facti sumus antequam nati, quia ipse fecit nos, et non ipsi nos (Psal. XCIX, 3), qui fecit quae futura sunt. Hujus igitur praescientia et opere formati in similitudinem voluntatum et unitatem fidei vel unitatis fidem praeveniente notitiam charitate connexi sumus, ut nos invicem ante corporales conspectus revelante spiritu nosceremus. Gratulamur itaque et gloriamur in Domino, qui unus atque idem ubique terrarum operatur in suis dilectionem suam Spiritu sancto, quem super omnem carnem effudit, fluminis impetu laetificans civitatem suam. In cujus te civibus principalem cum principibus populi sui, sede apostolica merito collocavit: nosque etiam, quos erexit elisos, et de terra inopes suscitavit, in vestra voluit sorte numerari. Sed magis gratulamur in eo Domini munere, quo nos in pectoris tui habitatione constituit; quoque ita visceribus tuis insinuare dignatus est, ut peculiarem nobis charitatis tuae fiduciam vindicemus, his officiis atque muneribus provocati, ut nos diffidenter aut leviter te amare non liceat.

2. Accepimus enim insigne praecipuum dilectionis et sollicitudinis tuae, opus sancti et perfecti in Domino Christo viri, fratris nostri Augustini libris quinque confectum, quod ita miramur atque suspicimus, ut dictata divinitus verba credamus. Itaque fiducia suscipiendae nobis unanimitatis tuae, et ad ipsum scribere ausi sumus, dum nos illi per te, et de imperitia excusandos, et ad charitatem commendandos praesumimus; sicut et omnibus sanctis, quorum nos et absentium officiis sospitare dignatus es, pari procul dubio curaturus affectu, ut per Sanctitatem tuam, nostris invicem salutentur obsequiis, et in clero Sanctitatis tuae comites, et in monasteriis fidei ac virtutis tuae aemulatores. Nam etsi in populis ac super populum agas, oves pascuae Domini regens sollicitis vigil pastor excubiis: tamen abdicatione saeculi, et repulsa carnis ac sanguinis, desertum tibi ipse fecisti, secretus a multis, vocatus in paucis.

3. Sane vicario aliquatenus munere, licet per omnia tibi impar, ut jusseras, providi illam Eusebii venerabilis episcopi Constantinopolitani de cunctis temporibus historiam. Sed in hoc fuit obtemperandi mora, quod instructu tuo, quia ipse non haberem hunc codicem, Romae reperi apud parentem nostrum vere sanctissimum Domnionem, qui procul dubio promptius mihi paruit in hoc beneficio, quod tibi deferendum indicavi .

1. This is true charity, this perfect love, which you have taught to be in you toward our humility, lord truly holy, and deservedly most blessed and desirable. For we received through our man Julian returning from Carthage, letters bringing so much light of your Holiness to us, that we seemed to ourselves not to acknowledge, but to recognize your charity. Because namely from Him, who predestined us to Himself from the origin of the world, that charity flowed, in whom we were made before we were born, because He himself made us, and not we ourselves (Psal. XCIX, 3), who made the things that are to be. Formed therefore by the prescience and work of this one into the likeness of wills and the unity of faith, or rather the faith of unity, we are connected by charity prevening notice, so that we might know each other before corporal sights, the spirit revealing. We congratulate therefore and glory in the Lord, who one and the same everywhere on earth works His love in His own by the Holy Spirit, whom He poured out upon all flesh, gladdening His city with the impetus of a river. In whose citizens He deservedly placed you principal with the princes of His people, in the apostolic seat: and us also, whom He raised up being dashed down, and raised the needy from the earth, He wished to be numbered in your lot. But we more congratulate in that gift of the Lord, by which He constituted us in the habitation of your breast; and by which He deigned so to insinuate into your bowels, that we claim for ourselves a peculiar confidence of your charity, provoked by these offices and gifts, so that it may not be allowed to us to love you diffidently or lightly.

2. For we received the chief mark of your love and solicitude, the work of a holy man and perfect in the Lord Christ, our brother Augustine, completed in five books, which we so admire and look up to, that we believe the words to be dictated divinely. Therefore, in the confidence of receiving your unanimity, we even dared to write to him, while we presume that we are both to be excused to him by you for our unskillfulness, and to be commended to his charity; just as to all the saints, whose duties even when absent you deigned to preserve for us, you will undoubtedly care with equal affection, so that through your Holiness, they may be saluted by our mutual services, both the companions in the clergy of your Holiness, and the emulators of your faith and virtue in the monasteries. For although you act among the peoples and over the people, ruling the sheep of the Lord's pasture as a watchful pastor with solicitous vigils: nevertheless, by the abdication of the world, and the rejection of flesh and blood, you made a desert for yourself, secret from the many, called among the few.

3. Certainly by a somewhat vicarious gift, although in all things unequal to you, as you had ordered, I provided that history of all times by the venerable Bishop Eusebius of Constantinople. But in this there was a delay of obeying, because by your instruction, since I did not have this codex myself, I found it at Rome at the house of our truly most holy parent Domnio, who undoubtedly more promptly obeyed me in this benefit, which I indicated was to be deferred to you.

Verumtamen quia et loca tua mihi significare dignatus es, ut ipse monuisti, ad venerabilem socium coronae tuae, patrem nostrum Aurelium ita scripsimus, ut si nunc Hippo-regio degeres, illo tibi litteras nostras, et transcriptam Carthagine membranam mittere dignaretur. Quod et sanctos viros, quos indices charitatis ipsorum, tuo sermone cognovimus. Comitem et Evodium rogavimus, ut haec scribere ipsi curarent, ne vel parenti Domnioni diutius codex suus deforet, et tibi transmissus sine necessitate redhibendi maneret.

4. Specialiter autem hoc a te peto, quoniam me immerentem et inopinantem magno tui amore complesti, ut pro hac historia temporum, referas mihi omnem tuae Sanctitatis historiam: ut quod genus, unde sis domo, tanto vocatus a Domino, quibus exordiis segregatus ab utero matris tuae, ad matrem filiorum Dei prole laetantem, abjurata carnis et sanguinis stirpe, transieris, et in genus regale et sacerdotale sis translatus, edisseras. Quod enim indicasti, jam de humilitatis nostrae nomine apud Mediolanum te didicisse, cum illic initiareris, fateor curiosius me velle condiscere, ut omni parte te noverim, quo magis gratuler, si a suscipiendo mihi patre nostro Ambrosio, vel ad fidem invitatus es, vel ad sacerdotium consecratus, ut eumdem ambo videamur habere auctorem. Nam ego etsi a Delphino Burdegalae baptizatus, a Lampio apud Barcilonem in Hispania, per vim inflammatae subito plebis, sacratus sim; tamen Ambrosii semper et dilectione ad fidem innutritus sum, et nunc in sacerdotii ordine confoveor. Denique suo me clero vindicare voluit, ut etsi diversis locis degam, ipsius presbyter censear.

5. Sed de me ne quid ignores, scias antiquissimum peccatorem, non ita olim de tenebris et umbra mortis eductum, spiritum aurae vitalis hausisse, nec ita olim posuisse in aratro manum, et crucem Domini sustulisse; quam ut in finem perferre valeamus, orationibus tuis adjuvemur. Accumulabitur haec meritis tuis merces, si interventu tuo onera nostra relevaveris. Sanctus enim laborantem adjuvans (quia fratrem non audemus dicere) exaltabitur sicut civitas magna. Et tu quidem super montem civitas aedificata es, vel accensa super candelabrum lucerna in septiformi claritate colluces; nos sub modio peccatorum delitescimus: visita litteris tuis, et profer in lucem in qua ipse versaris, super aurea candelabra conspicuus. Eloquia tua lumen semitis nostris erunt, et oleo lucernae tuae impinguabitur caput nostrum. Et accendetur fides, cum spiritu oris tui cibum mentis et lumen animae sumpserimus.

Nevertheless, because you deigned to signify your places to me, as you yourself monished, we wrote to the venerable associate of your crown, our father Aurelius, so that if you were now staying at Hippo Regius, he might deign to send our letters and the membrane transcribed at Carthage to you there. Which also the holy men, whom we knew by your speech as the indices of their charity. We asked Comes and Evodius, that they themselves would take care to write these things, lest either the codex should be wanting to the parent Domnio any longer, and it might remain transmitted to you without the necessity of returning.

4. But specially I ask this of you, since you filled me, undeserving and unexpecting, with a great love of you, that for this history of times, you report to me the whole history of your Holiness: so that you may explain what race, from where you are of home, called by so great a Lord, by what beginnings separated from your mother's womb, you passed over to the mother of the sons of God gladdening with progeny, with the stock of flesh and blood abjured, and were translated into a royal and priestly race. For as to what you indicated, that you had already learned concerning the name of our humility at Milan, when you were being initiated there, I confess that I wish to learn more curiously, that I may know you in every part, by which I may more congratulate, if you were either invited to the faith or consecrated to the priesthood by our father Ambrose, to be received by me, so that we both may seem to have the same author. For I, although baptized by Delphinus at Bordeaux, and consecrated by Lampius at Barcelona in Spain, by the force of the suddenly inflamed common people; nevertheless, I was always nourished to the faith by the love of Ambrose, and now I am cherished in the order of the priesthood. Finally, he wished to claim me for his own clergy, so that although I stay in diverse places, I am reckoned his presbyter.

5. But lest you should be ignorant of anything concerning me, you should know that I am a most ancient sinner, not so long ago led out from the darkness and shadow of death, that I drew the spirit of the vital breeze, nor so long ago placed my hand on the plow, and took up the cross of the Lord; which that we may be able to bear through to the end, let us be helped by your prayers. This reward will be accumulated to your merits, if by your intervention you shall have relieved our burdens. For a holy one helping one laboring (since we do not dare to say brother) will be exalted like a great city. And you indeed are a city built upon a mountain, or a lamp lit upon a candlestick you shine in sevenfold clarity; we lie hidden under the bushel of sins: visit us by your letters, and bring us forth into the light in which you yourself are conversant, conspicuous upon the golden candlesticks. Your eloquence will be a light to our paths, and our head will be fattened by the oil of your lamp. And faith will be kindled, when from the spirit of your mouth we shall have taken the food of the mind and the light of the soul.

6. Pax et gratia Dei tecum, et corona justitiae tibi maneat in die illo, domine pater, merito dilectissime et venerabilis et exoptatissime. Benedictos Sanctitatis tuae comites et aemulatores, in Domino fratres, si dignantur, nostros, tam in ecclesiis quam in monasteriis, Carthagini, Thagastae, Hippone-regio, et totis parochiis tuis atque omnibus cognitis tibi per Africam locis, Domino catholice servientes, multo affectu et obsequio salutari rogamus. Si ipsam membranam sancti Domnionis acceperis, transcriptam nobis remittere dignaberis. Et hoc rogo scribas mihi quem hymnum meum cognoveris. Panem unum Sanctitati tuae unitatis gratia misimus, in quo etiam Trinitatis soliditas continetur. Hunc panem eulogiam esse tu facies dignatione sumendi.

EPISTOLA XXV.

Paulinus Augustino, exquisitis eum laudibus exornans pro quinque ejus adversus Manichaeos libris, quos ab Alypio acceperat. Panem ipsi dono mittit.

Domino fratri unanimo et venerabili AUGUSTINO, PAULINUS et THERASIA peccatores.

1. Charitas Christi quae urget nos, et absentes licet per unitatem fidei alligat, ipsa fiduciam ad te scribendi pudore depulso praestitit: teque per litteras tuas visceribus meis intimavit, quas et de scholasticis facultatibus affluentes, et de coelestibus favis dulces, ut animae meae medicas et altrices, in quinque libris interim teneo, quos munere benedicti et venerabilis nobis episcopi nostri Alypii, non pro nostra instructione tantum, sed etiam pro Ecclesiae multarum urbium utilitate suscepimus. Hos igitur nunc libros lectioni habeo; in his me oblecto; de his cibum capio, non illum qui perit, sed qui operatur vitae aeternae substantiam per fidem nostram, qua accorporamur in Christo Jesu Domino nostro: cum fides nostra, quae visibilium negligens, invisibilibus inhiat, per charitatem omnia secundum veritatem omnipotentis Dei credentem, litteris et exemplis fidelium roboretur. O vere sal terrae, quo praecordia nostra ne possint seculi vanescere errore, condiuntur! O lucerna digne supra candelabrum Ecclesiae posita, quae late catholicis urbibus de septiformi lychno pastum oleo laetitiae lumen effundens, densas licet haereticorum caligines discutis, et lucem veritatis a confusione tenebrarum splendore clarifici sermonis enubilas!

6. The peace and grace of God be with you, and may the crown of justice remain for you on that day, lord father, deservedly most beloved and venerable and most desired. We greet, with much affection and salutary devotion, the blessed companions and fellow-strivers of your Holiness — our brothers in the Lord, if they deign to be so — both in the churches and in the monasteries, at Carthage, at Thagaste, at Hippo Regius, and throughout all your parishes and all the places known to you through Africa, serving the Lord in catholic fashion. If you should receive the very parchment of holy Domnio, you will deign to send it back to us transcribed. And I ask this too, that you write to me which hymn of mine you have come to know. We have sent one loaf of bread to your Holiness for the sake of unity, in which also the solidity of the Trinity is contained. You will make this bread to be a blessing by your gracious condescension in receiving it.

LETTER XXV.

Paulinus to Augustine, adorning him with exquisite praises for his five books against the Manichaeans, which he had received from Alypius. He sends him bread as a gift.

To the lord, our like-minded and venerable brother AUGUSTINE, PAULINUS and THERASIA, sinners.

1. The charity of Christ, which urges us on, and binds us, though absent, through the unity of faith, itself gave me confidence to write to you, shame having been cast aside: and it made you known intimately to my heart through your writings, which — abounding in scholarly resources, and sweet with heavenly honeycombs, as medicinal and nourishing to my soul — I hold meanwhile in five books, which we received as a gift from our blessed and venerable bishop Alypius, not only for our own instruction, but also for the benefit of the Church of many cities. These books, therefore, I now keep for reading; in them I take my delight; from them I take food, not that which perishes, but that which works the substance of eternal life through our faith, by which we are incorporated into Christ Jesus our Lord: since our faith, which, neglecting visible things, longs after the invisible, believing all things according to the truth of almighty God through charity, is strengthened by the writings and examples of the faithful. O truly salt of the earth, by which our hearts are seasoned, that they may not vanish away in the error of the world! O lamp worthily placed above the candlestick of the Church, which, pouring forth far and wide upon the catholic cities light nourished with the oil of gladness from a sevenfold lamp, dispel the dense darkness of the heretics, and clear the light of truth from the confusion of shadows by the splendor of your luminous discourse!

2. Vides, frater unanime, admirabilis in Christo Domino et suscipiende, quam familiariter agnoverim te, quanto admirer stupore, quam magno amore complectar, qui quotidie colloquio litterarum tuarum fruor, et oris tui spiritu vescor. Os enim tuum fistulam aquae vivae et venam fontis aeterni merito dixerim quia fons in te aquae salientis in vitam aeternam Christus effectus est (Joan. IV, 14). Cujus desiderio sitivit in te anima mea, et ubertate tui fluminis inebriari terra mea concupivit. Ideoque cum hoc Pentateucho tuo contra Manichaeos me satis armaveris, si qua in alios quoque hostes catholicae fidei munimina comparasti (quia hostis noster, cui mille nocendi artes, tam variis expugnandus est telis, quam oppugnat insidiis), quaeso promere mihi de armamentario tuo, et conferre non abnuas arma justitiae. Sum enim laboriosus, etiam nunc sub magno onere peccator , veteranus in numero peccatorum, sed aeterno regi novus in corpore tiro militiae. Sapientiam mundi miser hucusque miratus sum, et per inutiles litteras reprobatamque prudentiam Deo stultus et mutus fui. Postquam inveteravi inter inimicos meos, et vanui in cogitationibus meis, levavi oculos meos in montes, ad praecepta legis et gratiae dona suspiciens: unde mihi auxilium venit a Domino, qui non secundum iniquitates retribuens, illuminavit caecum, solvit compeditum, humiliavit erectum male, ut erigeret humiliatum pie.

Sequor igitur, non aequis adhuc passibus, magna justorum vestigia, si possim orationibus vestris apprehendere, in quo Dei miserationibus apprehensus sum. Rege ergo parvulum in terra reptantem, et tuis gressibus ingredi doce. Nolo enim me corporalis ortus magis quam spiritualis exortus aetate consideres. Quippe aetas mihi secundum carnem ea jam est, qua fuit ille ab Apostolis in porta Speciosa, verbi potestate sanatus (Act. In natalibus autem animae, illius adhuc mihi tempus infantiae est, quae intentatis Christo vulneribus immolata, digno sanguine agni victimam praecucurrit, et dominicam auspicata est passionem. Atque ideo ut infantem adhuc verbo Dei et spirituali aetate lactentem, educa verbis tuis, uberibus fidei, sapientiae, charitatis inhiantem. Si officium commune consideras, frater es; si maturitatem ingenii tui et sensuum, pater mihi es, etsi forte sis aevo junior, quia te ad maturitatem meriti et honorem seniorum provexit juvenem cana prudentia.

2. You see, like-minded brother, admirable in Christ the Lord and to be embraced, how intimately I have come to know you, with what wonder I admire you, with how great a love I embrace you, I who daily enjoy the converse of your letters, and feed upon the spirit of your mouth. For I might rightly call your mouth a pipe of living water and a vein of the eternal fountain, because Christ has become in you a fountain of water springing up into eternal life (John IV, 14). With desire for which my soul has thirsted in you, and my land has longed to be made drunk by the abundance of your river. And so, since you have armed me sufficiently with this Pentateuch of yours against the Manichaeans, if you have prepared any defenses also against the other enemies of the catholic faith (since our enemy, who has a thousand arts of harming, must be fought with as many kinds of weapons as the snares with which he attacks), I beg you not to refuse to bring forth for me from your armory, and to confer upon me, the weapons of justice. For I am a laborious man, even now a sinner under a great burden, a veteran in the number of sinners, but for the eternal King a new recruit in body for the warfare. Wretched, I have admired the wisdom of the world up until now, and through useless learning and reprobate prudence I was foolish and mute before God. After I had grown old among my enemies, and had become vain in my thoughts, I lifted up my eyes to the mountains, looking up to the precepts of the law and the gifts of grace: whence help came to me from the Lord, who, not rewarding according to iniquities, enlightened the blind man, loosed the fettered one, humbled the one wrongly exalted, that He might raise up the one rightly humbled.

3. I follow, therefore, though not yet with equal steps, the great footsteps of the just, if I might be able to overtake by your prayers him in whom I have been overtaken by the mercies of God. Rule therefore the little one crawling on the earth, and teach him to walk by your steps. For I do not wish you to consider me by the age of my corporal birth more than by the age of my spiritual rising. Indeed, my age according to the flesh is already that which he was who was healed by the power of the word by the Apostles at the Beautiful Gate (Acts III, 7, and IV, 22). But in the birthdays of the soul, it is still for me a time of infancy, which, immolated by the wounds unattempted against Christ, preceded as a victim by the worthy blood of the lamb, and inaugurated the passion of the Lord. And therefore, as an infant still suckling on the word of God and in spiritual age, nourish me by your words, panting for the breasts of faith, wisdom, and charity. If you consider the common office, you are a brother; if the maturity of your genius and senses, you are a father to me, even if you are perhaps younger in age, because hoary prudence has brought you, a young man, to the maturity of merit and the honor of the elders.

Fove igitur et corrobora me in sacris Litteris, et spiritualibus studiis, tempore, ut dixi, recentem, et ob hoc post longa discrimina, post multa naufragia, usu rudem, vixdum a fluctibus seculi emergentem, tu qui jam solido littore constitutus, tuto excipe sinu, ut in portu salutis, si dignum putas, pariter navigemus. Interea me de periculis vitae istius et profundo peccatorum evadere nitentem, orationibus tuis tanquam tabula sustine, ut de hoc mundo quasi de naufragio nudus evadam. 4.

Idcirco enim me levare sarcinis, et vestimentis onerantibus exuere curavi, ut undosum hoc, quod inter nos et Deum peccatis interlatrantibus separat, praesentis vitae salum, omni amictu carnis, et cura diei sequentis, jubente et adjuvante Christo expeditus enatem. Neque id me perfecisse glorior; quod etsi gloriari possem, in Domino gloriarer, cujus est perficere, quod nobis adjacet velle: sed concupiscit adhuc anima mea desiderare judicia Domini. Vide quando assequatur effectu Dei voluntatem , qui adhuc ipsum desiderare desiderat. Quod in me tamen est, dilexi decorem domus sanctae, et quantum in me fuit, elegeram abjectus esse in domo Domini. Sed cui placuit segregare me ab utero matris meae, et ab amicitia carnis et sanguinis ad gratiam suam trahere, eidem placuit inopem me omnis boni meriti, suscitare de terra et de lacu miseriarum, ac de luto faecis educere, ut collocaret me cum principibus populi sui, et partem meam in tua sorte poneret, ut te praestante meritis, officio sociatus aequarer . 5.

5. Praesumptione igitur non mea, sed placito et ordinatione Domini, Fraternitatis tuae mihi foedus usurpans, tanto indignus honore me dignor; quia te pro tua sanctitate certo scio, nam veritate sapis, non alta sapere, sed humilibus congruere. Ideoque prompte et intime recepturum spero charitatem humilitatis nostrae, quam quidem jam recepisse te per beatissimum sacerdotem Alypium (quia dignatur) patrem nostrum, confido. Is enim sine dubio de se tibi exemplum praebuit nos ante notitiam et supra meritum diligendi, qui incognitos sibi nos, et longinqua soli vel sali intercapedine disparatos, spiritu verae dilectionis, qui ubique et penetrat et effunditur, et videre diligendo potuit, et alloquendo pertingere. Hic nobis prima affectus sui documenta, et charitatis tuae pignora in supradicto digno munere librorum dedit.

Cherish therefore and strengthen me in the sacred Scriptures and spiritual studies, being recent in time, as I said, and for this reason, after long dangers, after many shipwrecks, rude in use, scarcely yet emerging from the waves of the world—you who are already established on the solid shore, receive me into your safe bosom, that we may sail together in the port of salvation, if you think it worthy. Meanwhile, support me by your prayers as by a plank, as I strive to escape from the perils of this life and the depth of sins, that I may escape naked from this world as from a shipwreck.

4. For for this reason I have taken care to relieve myself of burdens, and to strip off the encumbering garments, so that, unencumbered, I may swim out through this billowy sea of the present life, which separates us from God with sins barking between, with every clothing of the flesh and care for the following day removed, by the command and help of Christ. Nor do I boast that I have perfected this; which even if I could boast, I would boast in the Lord, whose it is to perfect what lies near to us to will: but my soul still longs to desire the judgments of the Lord. See when he may attain by effect the will of God, who still desires to desire it. What is in me, however, I loved the beauty of the holy house, and as much as was in me, I had chosen to be cast down in the house of the Lord. But to whom it pleased to separate me from my mother's womb, and to draw me from the friendship of flesh and blood to his grace, to the same it pleased to raise me, destitute of all good merit, from the earth and from the lake of miseries, and to lead me out from the mud of the dregs, that he might place me with the princes of his people, and put my part in your lot, so that, you excelling in merits, I might be made equal, associated in office.

5. By presumption therefore not mine, but by the pleasure and ordination of the Lord, usurping the covenant of your Fraternity for myself, I deign myself worthy of so great an honor; because for your holiness I know for certain, for you are wise in truth, that you do not savor high things, but agree with the humble. And therefore I hope that you will receive promptly and intimately the charity of our humility, which indeed I trust you have already received through the most blessed priest Alypius (since he deigns), our father. For he without doubt offered an example from himself to you of loving us before knowledge and beyond merit, who could both see us by loving, unknown to him and separated by a long interval of land or sea, and reach us by addressing us, by the spirit of true love, which everywhere both penetrates and is poured out. He gave us the first documents of his affection, and the pledges of your charity in the aforementioned worthy gift of books.

Et quanto studuit impendio, ut Sanctitatem tuam non ipsius tantum verbis, sed plenius eloquentia et fide tua cognitam non possemus amare mediocriter tantopere curasse eumdem credimus, ut nos vicissim ipsius imitatione plurimum diligas. Gratia Dei tecum, ut est, in aeternum maneat optamus, frater in Christo Domino unanime, venerabilis, desiderantissime: totam domum, et omnem comitem, et aemulatorem in Domino sanctitatis tuae, plurimo fraternitatis unanimae salutamus affectu. Panem unum, quem unanimitatis indicio misimus charitati tuae, rogamus accipiendo benedicas.

Augustinus Licentium juvenem nobilem et doctum, quondam ipsius discipulum, hortatur ad mundi contemptum, abutens ad hoc ipsius Licentii carmine, quod ad praeceptorem scripserat.

LICENTIO AUGUSTINUS. 1.

Vix reperi occasionem scribendi tibi; quis credat? Sed mihi tamen Licentium necesse est credere. Nolo te causas rationesque rimari, quae etiamsi reddi possent, fidei tamen, qua mihi credis, non eas debeo. Nam et litteras tuas non per eos accepi, per quos possem scripta redhibere. Quae autem petisti ut peterem, curavi per epistolam quantum promendum videbatur; sed quid effecerim tu videris. Quod si nondum effectum est, vel cum sciero, agam instantius, vel cum rursus ipse admonueris. Hactenus quae hujus vitae vincula perstrepunt, tecum locutus sim: nunc paucis accipe pectoris mei aestus de spe tua non transitoria, quonam modo via tibi patescat in Deum. 2.

Mi Licenti, etiam atque etiam recusantem et formidantem compedes sapientiae, timeo te rebus mortalibus validissime et perniciosissime compediri. Nam sapientia quos primo alligaverit, et exercitatoriis quibusdam laboribus edomuerit, solvit postea , liberatisque sese donat ad fruendum; et quos primo temporalibus nexibus erudiverit, post aeternis amplexibus alligat; quo vinculo nec jucundius nec solidius cogitari quidquam potest. Prima haec aliquantulum dura esse confiteor; illa vero ultima nec dura dixerim, quia dulcissima sunt; nec mollia, quia firmissima: quid igitur nisi quod dici non potest, sed credi tamen et sperari et amari potest? Vincula vero hujus mundi asperitatem habent veram, jucunditatem falsam; certum dolorem, incertam voluptatem; durum laborem, timidam quietem; rem plenam miseriae, spem beatitudinis inanem.

And by how much expense he studied that we might not be able to love your Holiness only moderately, known not only by his words but more fully by your eloquence and faith, so much we believe he has cared for the same, so that you in turn may love us very much by the imitation of him. May the grace of God be with you, as it is, we desire it to remain forever, brother in Christ the Lord like-minded, venerable, most longed for: we salute with the greatest affection of like-minded fraternity the whole house, and every companion, and emulator in the Lord of your holiness. We ask that by receiving you bless the one bread, which we have sent to your charity as a sign of unanimity.

EPISTLE XXVI. Augustine exhorts Licentius, a noble and learned young man, formerly his own disciple, to contempt of the world, using for this purpose the poem of Licentius himself, which he had written to his teacher.

TO LICENTIUS, AUGUSTINE.

1. I scarcely found an occasion of writing to you; who would believe it? But yet it is necessary for me that Licentius believe it. I do not wish you to search out causes and reasons, which even if they could be rendered, yet I do not owe them to the faith by which you believe me. For I did not receive your letters through those by whom I could return writings. But those things which you asked that I should ask, I took care of through a letter as much as seemed to be brought forward; but what I have effected you shall see. Which if it is not yet effected, either when I shall know, I will act more urgently, or when you yourself shall have admonished me again. Hitherto let me have spoken with you of those things which resound the chains of this life: now receive in few words the heats of my breast concerning your non-transitory hope, in what manner the way may be open for you to God.

2. My Licentius, while you again and again refuse and dread the fetters of wisdom, I fear that you are most strongly and most perniciously fettered by mortal things. For wisdom, those whom it first binds and tames by certain disciplinary labors, it releases afterwards, and gives itself to the liberated to be enjoyed; and those whom it first educated by temporal bonds, it afterwards binds by eternal embraces; than which bond nothing more pleasant nor more solid can be thought of. These first things I confess to be somewhat hard; but those last things I would not call hard, because they are most sweet; nor soft, because they are most firm: what therefore except that which cannot be said, but yet can be believed and hoped for and loved? But the bonds of this world have true asperity, false pleasantness; certain grief, uncertain pleasure; hard labor, fearful rest; a thing full of misery, an empty hope of beatitude.

Hisne tu inseris et collum et manus et pedes, cum et honoribus hujuscemodi subjugari affectas, et facta tua non aliter fructuosa existimas, et ambis inhaerere, quo non modo invitatus, sed nec compulsus quidem ire debuisti? Hic tu fortasse Terentiani servi mihi responsum dederis: Ohe, tu verba fundis hic sapientia! (Terentius in Adelphis.) Cape igitur ut fundam potius quam effundam. Aut si ego canto, tu autem ad aliam vocem saltas, nec sic quidem me poenitet. Habet enim suam hilaritatem ipsa cantatio, etiam cum ad eam membra non movet, cui plena charitatis modulatione cantatur. Verba quaedam in epistolis tuis me moverunt, sed de his tractare, cum factorum vitaeque totius tuae cura excoquat, ineptum putavi.

Carmen LIC

entii ad Augustinum praeceptorem.

3. Arcanum Varronis iter scrutando profundi Mens hebet, adversamque fugit conterrita lucem. Nec mirum, jacet omnis enim mea cura legendi Te non dante manum, et consurgere sola veretur. Nam simul ut perplexa viri compendia tanti Volvere suasit amor, sacrosque attingere sensus, Quis numerûm dedit ille tonos, mundumque tonando Disseruit canere, et pariles agitare choreas, Implicuit varia nostrum caligine pectus, Induxitque animo rerum violentia nubem. Inde figurarum positas sine pulvere formas Posco amens, aliasque graves offendo tenebras. Ad summam , astrorum causas clarosque meatus, Obscuros quorum ille situs per nubila monstrat. Sic jacui nutans, ut talem omnino ruinam, Nec qui nos prohibet latebras agnoscere coeli, Nec persona daret tunctorum treta cavernis. Protea namque ferunt veterum commenta Pelasgum, Qui dum sollicitis non vult aperire futura, Spumat aper, fluit unda, fremitleo, sibilat anguis, Captum aliquando tamen in munera parva volucrum. At mihi, qui nimium curis gravioribus angor, Dulcia quaeque animae, subdulcia pabula quaero, Varronis responsa latent. Quod supplice cantu Praesidium nymphamve rogem et flumina poscam? An te voce vocem, clari quem rector Olympi Fontibus infantum praefecit, et abdita jussit Ubertate animi longe ructare fluenta? Ferto magister opem, ac tu tu ne desere vires Invalidas, mecumque sacras subvertere glebas Incipe: tempus enim, nisi me mortalia fallunt, Labitur, in seniumque trahit. Tibi noster Apollo Corda replet, patremque suum patremque deorum Conciliat, legemque bonam, pacemque cruentam Monstrat, et abducto velamine singula pandit.

Do you insert into these both your neck and hands and feet, when you both affect to be subjugated by honors of this kind, and you think your deeds not otherwise fruitful, and you ambite to adhere to that to which not only invited, but not even compelled indeed ought you to have gone? Here you will perhaps have given me the response of the Terentian slave: Oho, you pour out words here of wisdom! (Terence in the Adelphi.) Take it therefore that I may pour out rather than shed out. Or if I sing, but you dance to another voice, not even so indeed do I repent. For the singing itself has its own hilarity, even when he does not move his limbs to it, to whom it is sung with a modulation full of charity. Certain words in your letters moved me, but to treat of these, since the care of your deeds and of your whole life parches me, I thought inept.

The poem of Licentius to his teacher Augustine.

3. In searching out the secret path of profound Varro, my mind grows dull, and, terrified, flees the opposing light. Nor is it a wonder, for all my zeal for reading lies prostrate when you do not give your hand, and alone it fears to rise up. For as soon as love persuaded me to unroll the perplexing summaries of so great a man, and to touch upon the sacred meanings — of him who gave the tones of number, and by his thundering discoursed to sing of the world, and to set in motion the matching dances — it entangled my breast in manifold darkness, and brought upon my mind a cloud from the violence of the matters. Thence, mad, I demand the figures set out without dust, and I meet with other heavy darknesses. In sum, the causes of the stars and their bright courses, whose obscure positions he shows through the clouds. Thus I lay tottering, so that in such utter ruin, neither he who forbids us to recognize the hiding places of heaven, nor any person, might give access to the caverns of the stricken. For they say, according to the inventions of the ancient Pelasgians, that Proteus, while he does not wish to reveal the future to the anxious, foams as a boar, flows as a wave, roars as a lion, hisses as a serpent — yet is sometimes caught, in the small guise of birds. But to me, who am tormented overmuch by heavier cares, and who seek every sweet, semi-sweet nourishment of the soul, the answers of Varro lie hidden. Should I with suppliant song entreat a guardian spirit or a nymph, and beg the rivers? Or should I call upon you with my voice, you whom the ruler of bright Olympus has set over the fountains of the young, and bidden to pour forth from afar the hidden streams with the fertility of your mind? Bring help, O master, and do not abandon my feeble strength, and begin with me to turn over the sacred clods; for time, unless mortal things deceive me, slips away, and draws me on toward old age. For you our Apollo fills your heart, and reconciles you to his own father and to the father of the gods, and shows you the good law, and the bloody peace, and, the veil withdrawn, discloses each thing.

Viginti emensus nam longos forsitan orbes Solis eras, cum te ratio pulcherrima mundi, Ditior imperiis, et nectare dulcior omni Corripuit, statuitque vagum, medioque locavit, Omnibus unde aciem posses intendere rebus. O bone, carpe iter annorum, sapientia quantum Crescit amore sui, inveniens nova culmina semper. Perge viam qua te soboles praeclara tonantis Perducit, sternens in planos ardua campos. Et cum luciferos praecordia vesper in ortus Distulerit, sanctumque super benedixerit ignem, Sis memor ipse mei: bibulam qui ponitis aurem Legibus invictis, contundite pectora palmis, Sternite membra solo, meritosque ciete dolores, Et prohibete nefas, Deus imperat omnibus unum, Admonet antistes, venturaque fulmina terrent. O mihi transactos revocet si pristina soles Laetificis aurora rotis, quos libera tecum Otia tentantes, et candida jura bonorum, Duximus Italiae medio, montesque per altos! Non me dura gelu prohiberent frigora cano, Nec fera tempestas Zephyrûm, fremitusque Borini, Quin tua sollicito premerem vestigia passu. Hoc opus ut jubeas tantum, cruor irriget artus, Solstitio Neuros, bruma sectabimur Istrum. Ignotus Garamas solvet mihi vincula gentis . Xampaeosque lacus fugiens Hypaneius amnis Callipidum Scythicas resonat spumosus ad undas. Ibimus et Leucos, qua Leucia solis in ortus Tenditur: et vasti deserta cacumina Cassi, Queis Epidamneas aequat sibi Cassia rupes, Unde quiescentem auroram, currusque solutos, Sopitamque diem media sub nocte viderem, Te suadente petam: nec enim labor aut metus ullus Terret, ubi insontes precibus Deus audit apertis. Et nunc Romulidum sedes et inania tecti Culmina, bacchatasque domus, vanosque tumultus Desererem, et totus semel in tua corda venirem, Ni mens conjugio incumbens retineret euntem. Crede meis, o docte, malis, veroque dolori, Quod sine te nullos promittunt carbasa portus, Erramusque procul turbata per aequora vitae. Praecipites densa veluti caligine nautae, Quos furor australis, stridens et flatus ab Euro Perculit, et raptis privavit turbo magistris; Protinus abruptis miseri volvuntur in undis: Non forus aut prorae, non lintea deinde procellas Ferre valent, ratioque jacet stupefacta regendi: Sic me ventus agit, volvuntque cupidinis aestus In mare lethiferum, nec terrae protinus absunt.

For perhaps you had passed through twenty long circuits of the sun, when the most beautiful reason of the world, richer than all dominions, and sweeter than every nectar, seized you as you wandered, and set you firm, and placed you in the middle, whence you might direct your gaze upon all things. O good man, seize the course of the years, as much as wisdom grows by love of itself, ever finding new heights. Go on along the road by which the illustrious offspring of the thunderer leads you, leveling the steep places into flat fields. And when evening has carried your heart forward toward the light-bearing risings, and has blessed the sacred fire above, be mindful yourself of me: you who lend an eager ear to unconquered laws, strike your breasts with your palms, lay your limbs upon the ground, and stir up deserved sorrows, and forbid wickedness — God commands one thing to all, the priest admonishes, and the coming thunderbolts terrify. O, if only the aurora of old, with its joy-bringing wheels, would recall to me the days now past, which, trying free leisure with you, and the bright laws of the good, we spent in the midst of Italy, and among the high mountains! Neither the harsh cold of the hoary frost would hold me back, nor the fierce storm of the west winds, and the roaring of the north wind, from pressing your footsteps with an anxious step. Only command this task, though blood should drench my limbs — at the solstice we shall pursue the Neuri, in winter the Ister. The unknown Garamantian will loosen for me the bonds of his people. The river Hypanis, fleeing the Xampaean lakes, foaming, resounds by the Scythian waves of the Callipidae. We shall go also to the Leuci, where Leucia stretches toward the risings of the sun; and to the deserted summits of vast Cassus, to which the Cassian rock makes itself equal to the Epidamnian cliffs; whence I might see the resting dawn, and the unyoked chariots, and the day lulled to sleep in the midst of night — this I would seek at your urging; for no labor or fear terrifies, where God hears the innocent with open prayers. And now I would abandon the seats of the sons of Romulus, and the empty roof-heights of houses, and the frenzied dwellings, and the vain tumults, and I would come wholly at once into your heart, were it not that my mind, inclining toward marriage, held me back as I went. Believe, O learned one, my ills and my true grief, that without you the sails promise no harbors, and we wander far off through the troubled seas of life. Like sailors headlong in dense fog, whom the fury of the south wind, and the hissing blast from the east, has struck, and whom the whirlwind has robbed of their snatched-away pilots; at once, wretched, they are rolled amid the broken waves: neither deck nor prow, nor sails thereafter, can bear the storms, and the power of steering lies stunned: so the wind drives me, and the tides of desire roll me into the death-bearing sea, nor are the lands yet far away.

Sed mecum reputans, tua candida verba, magister, Haec magis esse reor tibi credere: callida res est, Decipit, atque animis molitur retia nostris. Praeteritos oblitus enim, praesentia praesto Nunc tibi, chare, tuo nos nunc de pectore lapsi. Heu mihi quo ferar, unde velim tibi pandere mentem! Ante sub Aegeo aptabunt pia tecta palumbes, Et versa halcyone componet in arbore nidos; Esuriens vitulos alet ante leaena sequaces, Atque impasta diu teneros lupa nutriet agnos, Mutantesque suis divisum partibus orbem, Aut Barcaeus alet taurum, aut Hyrcania sauros : Ante Thyesteis iterum male territa mensis, Interrupta dies refugos vanescet in ortus; Ante dabunt imbres Nilum, super aethera damae Errabunt, montesque canent, et flumina plaudent, Quam mihi post tergum veniant tua dona, magister. Arcet amor, copulamque tenet communis honesti. Hic, hic regnat amicitiae decus hoste fugato. Nam neque propter opes vitreas, aurumque rebelle, Jungimus assensus animorum: nam neque vulgi Nos fortuna ruens, quae separat ardua, junxit. Sed labor interiora legens, vulgata libellis, Atque animis inventa tuis, et nobile dogma Indictum, contraque bonus responsa relatus. Et mea Calliope, quamvis te cominus altum Horreat, et vultus abscondat, inutile tractans: Hoc tamen, hoc animi vinclum, nexusque fideles, Non qui montosis firmatas rupibus Alpes Fregit, et Italicas pressit cum moenibus urbes, Rumperet, aut nostro terreret robore quidquam. Ite procul latices tumidis anfractibus Oxi, Aut ab Aremphaeis Rhiphaeos aut oppida Caspî, Cimmeriasque domos sejungere flumine largo: Maeotidumque plagae, Pontus quas obruit Helles, Europae atque Asiae longe discrimina tendant. Nonne boum per utrumque latus armenta fatigans Finibus abscidit Thalari Dodona Molossos, Cognatosque Arabas? nec pacis foedus amicum Sidonios inter mansit regnumque Pelopum, Sacrilegosque Phryges, quamvis pro tempore cunctis Hospitio commune fuit. Quid denique fratrum Dissidium, pugnasque canam? quid honesta parentum Verbera, quid matrum furias, natosque superbos?

But reflecting within myself, master, I judge it more fitting to trust your candid words in this: it is a cunning thing, it deceives, and it weaves nets for our minds. For, forgetful of things past, I now render present things to you, dear one — we who have now slipped from your heart. Alas, whither am I being carried, and from where would I wish to disclose my mind to you! Sooner will doves fit their pious nests beneath the Aegean, and the halcyon, transformed, will build her nests in a tree; sooner will a hungry lioness nurse following calves, and a wolf, long unfed, will nourish tender lambs, and, the regions of the world exchanging their divided parts, either the Barcaean will nourish a bull, or Hyrcania lizards; sooner will the day, once more badly terrified by the feast of Thyestes, broken off, vanish back into its fleeing risings; sooner will the rains give birth to the Nile, deer wander above the heavens, mountains sing, and rivers clap their hands — than your gifts, master, would come to lie forgotten behind my back. Love keeps it far off, and holds fast the bond of a common honorable good. Here, here reigns the glory of friendship, the enemy put to flight. For neither on account of glassy riches, nor rebellious gold, do we join the assent of our minds; nor has the crumbling fortune of the crowd, which separates lofty things, joined us. But rather the labor of reading inward things, published in books, and the discoveries of your mind, and the noble doctrine unspoken, and, in return, the good report of your answers. And my Calliope, although at close quarters she may shudder before you, lofty as you are, and hide her face, handling something unworthy: yet this, this bond of soul, and these faithful ties, not even he who broke the Alps, made firm by their mountainous crags, and crushed the Italian cities together with their walls, could sever, nor could anything terrify by force against our strength. Go far off, waters of the Oxus with your swollen windings, or, from the Arimphaeans, the Rhipaean towns, or those of the Caspian, and the Cimmerian dwellings — go to sunder them with your broad stream: and let the regions of the Maeotians, which the Pontus of Helle overwhelms, stretch far the boundaries between Europe and Asia. Does not Dodona, wearying the herds of oxen along both flanks, cut off the Molossians, and the kindred Arabs, from Thalarus by its boundaries? Nor did the friendly covenant of peace remain among the Sidonians, and the kingdom of Pelops, and the sacrilegious Phrygians, although for a time it was a common hospitality to all. Why, finally, should I sing of the discord of brothers, and their fights? Why of the honorable beatings of parents, why of the fury of mothers, and of proud sons?

Est etiam superum concors discordia rerum, Totque fluunt ritus, quot dat sententia leges. Nec tenet unus amor, non si mihi murmura centum Det Boreas, totidemque animas, centumque per ora Lingua rigens adamante fremat, memorare valebo Quae sociata prius veterum natura locorum Distulit, et tereti limavit glarea mundo. Sed nos praetereo, quod ab una exsurgimus urbe, Quod domus una tulit, quod sanguine tangimur uno Seclorum, christiana fides connexuit, et quod Nos iter immensum disterminat, et plaga ponti Interfusa coercet; amor contemnit utrumque. Gaudia qui spernens oculorum, semper amico Absenti fruitur; quoniam de corde profundo Pendet, et internae rimatur pabula fibrae. Interea venient quaecumque futura bonorum Scripta salutiferi sermonis, et illa priorum Aequiparanda favis, reputans quae pectore in alto, Conceptum in lucem vomuisti nectareum mel, Praesentem ipsa mihi te reddent, si mihi morem Gesseris, et libros quibus in te lenta recumbit Musica tradideris, nam ferveo totus in illos. Annue, sic nobis verum ratione patescat, Sic plus Eridano fluat, et contagia mundi Nequicquam volitent nostri circum arva coloni.

4 . Si versus tuus momentis inordinatis perversus esset, si suis legibus non staret, si mensuris imparibus aures auditoris offenderet, puderet te certe, nec differres, nec desisteres donec ordinares, corrigeres, statueres, aequares versum tuum, discendo et agendo artem metricam acerrimo studio, et labore quolibet: quid cum inordinatus ipse perverteris, cum legibus Dei tui ipse non stas, neque in agenda vita honestis tuorum votis, et huic ipsi eruditioni tuae concinis, abjiciendum post tergum putas et negligendum? Quasi prae sono linguae tuae sis tibi vilior, et incompositis moribus quod offendis aures Dei levius sit, quam si incompositis syllabis tuis grammatica succenseret auctoritas. Scribis: O mihi transactos revocet si pristina soles Laetificis aurora rotis, quos libera tecum Otia tentantes, et candida jura bonorum, Duximus Italiae medio, montesque per altos! Non me dura gelu prohiberent frigora cano, Nec fera tempestas Zephyrûm fremitusque Borini, Quin tua sollicito premerem vestigia passu. Hoc opus, ut jubeas tantum.

There is also among the gods above a harmonious discord of things, and as many rites flow forth as opinion gives laws. Nor does a single love hold sway — not even if Boreas should grant me a hundred murmurs, and as many souls, and a tongue hardened with adamant should roar through a hundred mouths, would I be able to recount all that the nature of the ancient regions, once joined together, has since dispersed, and has smoothed with rounded gravel throughout the world. But I pass over ourselves — that we rise from one city, that one house bore us, that we are touched by one blood of the ages, that the Christian faith has bound us together, and that an immense journey separates us, and a stretch of sea poured between confines us; love despises both. Love, spurning the joys of the eyes, always enjoys the absent friend; since it hangs upon the depth of the heart, and searches out the nourishment of the inmost fiber. Meanwhile, whatever future writings of your salvation-bearing discourse shall come, and those to be likened to the honeycombs of the ancients — reflecting, deep in your breast, on what you have poured forth into the light, the nectarous honey once conceived — these will themselves render you present to me, if you will grant my wish, and hand over the books in which unhurried Music reclines in you; for I am wholly aflame for them. Grant this, so that the truth may lie open to us through reason; so that it may flow more abundantly than the Eridanus, and so that the contagions of the world may flit in vain around the fields of our tenant farmer.

4. If your verse were distorted by disordered measures, if it did not stand firm by its own laws, if it offended the ears of the hearer with uneven meters, you would surely be ashamed, and you would not delay nor rest until you had ordered, corrected, established, and made your verse even, by learning and practicing the metrical art with the keenest zeal and whatever labor was needed: what then, when you yourself are disordered and depraved, when you yourself do not stand by the laws of your God, nor, in the conduct of your life, by the honorable resolves of your own people, and while you make this very learning of yours resound so harmoniously, do you think that this is a thing to be cast behind your back and neglected? As if, in comparison with the sound of your tongue, you were of less worth to yourself, and it were a lighter matter that you offend the ears of God by your disordered morals, than if the authority of grammar were angered at your disordered syllables. You write: "O, if only the dawn with its joy-bringing wheels might recall to me those bygone days of old, which, trying free leisure with you, and the pure laws of the good, we spent in the midst of Italy, and through the lofty mountains!" Not the harsh cold with its hoary frost would keep me back, nor the fierce storm of the Zephyrs and the roaring of Boreas, from pressing your footsteps with an eager step. This alone is needed: that you but command it.

Me miserum, si ego non jubeo, si non cogo atque impero, si non rogo ac supplico. Sed si aures tuae adversus meas voces clausae sunt, ori tuo pateant, pateant carmini tuo; exaudi teipsum, durissime, immanissime, surdissime. Quo mihi linguam auream et cor ferreum? quibus ego non carminibus, sed lamentationibus sufficiam plangere carmina tua, in quibus video, quam animam, quod ingenium non mihi liceat apprehendere, et immolare Deo nostro? Exspectas ut ego jubeam, sis bonus, sis quietus, sis beatus; quasi quidquam mihi dierum gratius illucescat, quam ut ingenio tuo fruar in Domino, aut vere tu nescias quam te esuriam et sitiam, aut non hoc ipso id carmine fatearis. Revoca animum quo ista scripsisti, nunc mihi dic: Hoc opus, ut jubeas tantum. Ecce jussum meum: da mihi te, si hoc opus est tantum; da Domino meo te, qui omnium nostrum dominus est, qui tibi illud donavit ingenium. Nam ego quid sum, nisi servus tuus per ipsum, et conservus sub ipso?

5. An ipse non jubet? audi Evangelium: Stabat, inquit, Jesus, et clamabat (Joan. VII, 37): Venite ad me omnes qui laboratis et onerati estis, et ego vos reficiam. Tollite jugum meum super vos, et discite a me quia mitis sum et humilis corde, et invenietis requiem animabus vestris. Jugum enim meum lene est, et sarcina mea levis est. (Matth. XI, 28-30). Si haec non audiuntur, aut usque ad aures audiuntur, exspectasne, Licenti, ut Augustinus jubeat conservo suo, et non plangat potius frustra jubere Dominum suum; imo non jubere, sed invitare et rogare quodammodo, ut qui laborant reficiantur ab eo? Sed videlicet fortissimo et praefidenti collo, jugum mundi jugo Christi est jucundius: qui si laborare nos cogeret, vide quis cogeret, qua mercede cogeret. Vade in Campaniam, disce Paulinum egregium et sanctum Dei servum, quam grandem fastum seculi hujus, tanto generosiore, quanto humiliore cervice incunctanter excusserit, ut eam subderet Christi jugo, sicut subdidit; et nunc illo moderatore itineris sui quietus et modestus exsultat. Vade, disce quibus opibus ingenii sacrificia laudis ei offerat, refundens illi quidquid boni accepit ex illo, ne amittat omnia, si non in eo reponat a quo haec habet.

Wretched me, if I do not command, if I do not compel and order, if I do not ask and beseech. But if your ears are closed to my words, let them be open to your own mouth, let them be open to your own poem; hear yourself, O most hard, most savage, most deaf man. What use to me a golden tongue and an iron heart? With what — not verses, but lamentations — shall I suffice to bewail your poems, in which I see what a soul, what a talent, it is not granted me to seize and offer in sacrifice to our God? Do you expect that I should command: be good, be at peace, be blessed? As if any day could dawn more welcome to me than that I should enjoy your talent in the Lord, or as if you truly did not know how I hunger and thirst for you, or did not confess this very thing in that very poem. Recall the spirit with which you wrote these things, and now say to me: This alone is needed, that you but command it. Behold my command: give yourself to me, if this alone is the task; give yourself to my Lord, who is the Lord of us all, who gave you that talent. For what am I, but your servant through him, and your fellow-servant under him?

5. Does he himself not command? Hear the Gospel: "Jesus stood," it says, "and cried out" (John VII, 37): "Come to me, all you who labor and are burdened, and I will refresh you." Take my yoke upon you, and learn from me, for I am meek and humble of heart, and you will find rest for your souls. For my yoke is easy, and my burden is light. (Matth. XI, 28-30). If these words are not heeded, or are heeded only as far as the ears, do you expect, Licentius, that Augustine should command his fellow-servant, and not rather lament that his own Lord commands in vain — nay, that he does not even command, but in a certain manner invites and asks, that those who labor may be refreshed by him? But no doubt, to a most strong and overconfident neck, the yoke of the world is more pleasant than the yoke of Christ: yet if he were to compel us to labor, consider who would be compelling, with what reward he would be compelling. Go to Campania, learn of Paulinus, that excellent and holy servant of God, how great a pride of this world he shook off without hesitation, with a neck the nobler the more humbly it bowed, in order to submit it to the yoke of Christ, as indeed he did submit it; and now, with Christ as the guide of his journey, he exults, quiet and modest. Go, learn with what riches of talent he offers him sacrifices of praise, pouring back to him whatever good he received from him, lest he lose everything, if he does not lay it up in him from whom he has these things.

Quid aestuas? quid fluctuas? quid imaginationibus mortiferarum voluptatum aurem accommodas, et avertis a nobis? Mentiuntur, moriuntur, in mortem trahunt. Mentiuntur, Licenti: Sic nobis, sicuti optas, verum ratione patescat; Sic plus Eridano fluat. Non dicit verum nisi Veritas: Christus est veritas; veniamus ad eum, ne laboremus. Ut ipse nos reficiat, tollamus jugum ejus super nos, et discamus ab eo quoniam mitis est et humilis corde, et inveniemus requiem animabus nostris. Jugum enim ejus lene est, et sarcina ejus levis est. Ornari abs te diabolus quaerit. Si calicem aureum invenisses in terra, donares illum Ecclesiae Dei. Accepisti a Deo ingenium spiritualiter aureum, et ministras inde libidinibus, et in illo satanae propinas teipsum! Noli, obsecro; sic aliquando sentias quam misero et miserando pectore haec scripserim; et miserearis jam mei, si tibi viluisti.

Augustinus Paulino, amplectens illius benevolentiam, et mutuum declarans amorem: nonnulla de Romaniano et Alypio, nec non de Licentio, cujus aetati metuebat ne vergeret ad ea quae sunt mundi.

Domino vere sancto et venerabili, et eximia in Christo laude praedicando, fratri PAULINO, AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem. 1.

O bone vir et bone frater, latebas animam meam: et ei dico ut toleret quod adhuc lates oculos meos, et vix mihi obtemperat; imo non obtemperat. An vero tolerat? Cur ergo me excruciat desiderium tui apud ipsam intus animam? Nam si molestias corporis paterer, et si non perturbarent aequitatem animi mei, recte illas tolerare dicerer; cum autem non aequo animo fero quod te non video, intolerabile est istam appellare tolerantiam. Sed quando tu talis es, esse sine te fortasse intolerabilius tolleraretur. Bene est ergo, quia aequo animo ferre non possum, quod si aequo animo ferrem, aequo animo ferendus non essem. Mirum est, sed tamen verum, quod mihi accidit: doleo quod te non video, et me ipse consolatur dolor. Ita mihi displicet fortitudo qua patienter fertur absentia bonorum, sicuti es. Nam et Jerusalem futuram desideramus utique, et quanto impatientius desideramus ipsam, tanto patientius sustinemus omnia propter ipsam. Quis igitur potest non gaudere te viso, ut possit quandiu te non videt, non dolere!

6. Why do you seethe? why do you fluctuate? why do you lend an ear to the imaginations of mortiferous pleasures, and turn away from us? They lie, they die, they draw into death. They lie, Licentius: Thus to us, as you wish, let the truth be open by reason; Thus let it flow more than the Eridanus. No one says the truth except the Truth: Christ is the truth; let us come to him, lest we labor. That he himself may refresh us, let us take his yoke upon us, and let us learn from him because he is meek and humble of heart, and we will find rest for your souls. For his yoke is easy, and his burden is light. The devil seeks to be adorned by you. If you had found a golden cup on the earth, you would give it to the Church of God. You received from God a spiritually golden genius, and you serve lusts from it, and in it you toast yourself to Satan! Do not, I beseech; thus may you sometime feel with how wretched and pitiable a breast I have written these things; and may you now have mercy on me, if you have become cheap to yourself.

EPISTLE XXVII. Augustine to Paulinus, embracing his benevolence, and declaring mutual love: some things concerning Romanianus and Alypius, as well as concerning Licentius, for whose age he feared lest it should verge towards those things which are of the world.

To the truly holy and venerable brother PAULINUS, to be preached with extraordinary praise in Christ, AUGUSTINE, health in the Lord.

1. O good man and good brother, you were hidden from my soul: and I tell it to tolerate that you are still hidden from my eyes, and it scarcely obeys me; nay, it does not obey. Or does it truly tolerate? Why then does the desire for you excruciate me within that very soul? For if I were suffering molestations of the body, and if they did not perturb the equity of my mind, I would rightly be said to tolerate them; but when I do not bear with an equal mind that I do not see you, it is intolerable to call that tolerance. But when you are such a one, to be without you would perhaps be tolerated more intolerably. It is well therefore, because I cannot bear it with an equal mind, which if I were to bear with an equal mind, I should not be to be borne with an equal mind. It is a wonder, but yet true, what has happened to me: I grieve because I do not see you, and the grief itself consoles me. Thus that fortitude displeases me by which the absence of the good, such as you are, is borne patiently. For we certainly desire the future Jerusalem also, and by how much more impatiently we desire it, by so much more patiently we sustain all things on account of it. Who therefore can not rejoice when you are seen, so that he may be able, as long as he does not see you, not to grieve!

Ergo neutrum possum, et quoniam si possem, immaniter possem, non posse delector, atque in eo quod delector nonnullum solatium est. Dolentem itaque me non sedatus, sed consideratus consolatur dolor. Ne reprehendas, quaeso, sanctiore gravitate qua praevales, et dicas non recte me dolere, quod adhuc te non noverim, cum animum mihi tuum, hoc est teipsum interiorem aspiciendum patefeceris. Quid enim si uspiam te vel in terrena tua civitate didicissem fratrem et dilectorem meum, et tantum in Domino ac talem virum, nullumne me dolorem sensurum fuisse arbitrareris, si non sinerer nosse domum tuam? Quomodo ergo non doleam, quod nondum faciem tuam novi, hoc est domum animae tuae, quam sicut meam novi?

Legi enim litteras tuas fluentes lac et mel, praeferentes simplicitatem cordis tui, in qua quaeris Dominum sentiens de illo in bonitate, et afferentes ei claritatem et honorem. Legerunt fratres, et gaudent infatigabiliter et ineffabiliter, tam uberibus et tam excellentibus donis Dei, bonis tuis. Quotquot eas legerunt, rapiunt, quia rapiuntur cum legunt. Quam suavis odor Christi, et quam fragrat ex eis, dici non potest. Illae litterae cum te offerunt ut videaris, quantum nos excitant ut quaeraris; nam et perspicabilem faciunt et desiderabilem. Quanto enim praesentiam tuam nobis quodammodo exhibent, tanto absentiam nos ferre non sinunt. Amant te omnes in eis, et amari abs te cupiunt. Laudatur et benedicitur Deus, cujus gratia tu talis es. Ibi excitatur Christus, ut ventos et maria tibi placare dignetur tendenti ad stabilitatem suam. Videtur a legentibus ibi conjux, non dux ad mollitiem viro suo, sed ad fortitudinem redux in ossa viri sui; quam in tuam unitatem redactam et redditam, et spiritualibus tibi tanto firmioribus, quanto castioribus nexibus copulatam, officiis vestrae Sanctitati debitis, in te uno resalutamus . Ibi cedri Libani ad terram depositae, et in arcae fabricam compagine charitatis erectae, mundi hujus fluctus imputribiliter secant. Ibi gloria ut acquiratur, contemnitur, et mundus ut obtineatur, relinquitur. Ibi parvuli, sive etiam grandiusculi filii Babylonis eliduntur ad petram, vitia scilicet confusionis superbiaeque secularis. 3.

Haec atque hujusmodi suavissima et sacratissima spectacula litterae tuae praebent legentibus; litterae illae, litterae fidei non fictae, litterae spei bonae, litterae purae charitatis. Quomodo nobis anhelant sitim tuam, et desiderium defectumque animae tuae in atria Domini! quid amoris sanctissimi spirant! quantam opulentiam sinceri cordis exaestuant! quas agunt gratias Deo! quas impetrant a Deo! Blandiores sunt, an ardentiores; luminosiores, an fecundiores? Quid enim est, quod ita nos mulcent, ita accendunt, ita compluunt et ita serenae sunt?

Therefore I can do neither, and since if I could, I could monstrously, I am delighted not to be able, and in that I am delighted there is some solace. My grief therefore consoles me while grieving, not being settled, but being considered. Do not reprehend me, I pray, with the holier gravity in which you prevail, and say that I do not rightly grieve, because I have not yet known you, when you have opened your mind to me to be beheld, that is, your interior self. For what if somewhere I had learned that you were my brother and lover even in your earthly city, and so great and such a man in the Lord, would you think that I would have felt no grief if I were not permitted to know your house? How therefore should I not grieve, that I do not yet know your face, that is, the house of your soul, which I know as my own?

2. For I have read your letters flowing with milk and honey, preferring the simplicity of your heart, in which you seek the Lord feeling concerning him in goodness, and bringing to him clarity and honor. The brothers have read them, and they rejoice indefatigably and ineffably at the so abundant and so excellent gifts of God, your goods. As many as have read them, snatch them, because they are snatched away when they read. How sweet the odor of Christ is, and how it fragrances from them, cannot be said. Those letters, when they offer you that you may be seen, how much they excite us that you may be sought; for they make you both perspicuous and desirable. For by how much they exhibit your presence to us in a certain way, by so much they do not allow us to bear your absence. All love you in them, and desire to be loved by you. God is praised and blessed, by whose grace you are such a one. There Christ is excited, that he may deign to placate the winds and seas for you tending to his stability. There is seen by those reading a wife, not a leader to softness for her husband, but returned to fortitude into the bones of her husband; whom having been reduced and restored into your unity, and coupled to you by spiritual nexuses by so much more firm as they are more chaste, we re-salute in you alone, with the duties due to your Holiness. There the cedars of Lebanon, laid down to the earth, and erected into the fabric of the ark by the joinery of charity, cut the waves of this world imputribly. There glory, that it may be acquired, is contemned, and the world, that it may be obtained, is left. There the little ones, or even the somewhat larger sons of Babylon, are dashed against the rock, namely the vices of confusion and secular pride.

3. These and such most sweet and most sacred spectacles your letters provide to the readers; those letters, letters of faith not feigned, letters of good hope, letters of pure charity. How they breathe to us your thirst, and the desire and fainting of your soul for the courts of the Lord! what of most holy love they breathe! what opulence of a sincere heart they boil over! what thanks they give to God! what things they impetrate from God! Are they more bland, or more ardent; more luminous, or more fecund? For what is it, that they so soothe us, so kindle us, so rain upon us and are so serene?

quid est, quaeso te, aut quid tibi pro eis rependam, nisi quia totus sum tuus in eo cujus totus es? Si parum est, plus certe non habeo. Tu autem fecisti ut non mihi parum videatur, qui me in illa epistola tantis laudibus honorare dignatus es, ut cum tibi me refundo, si parum hoc putem, tibi non credidisse convincar. Pudet me quidem tantum boni de me credere, sed plus piget tibi non credere. Est quod faciam: non me credam talem qualem putas, quoniam non agnosco; et credam me abs te diligi, quoniam sentio et plane percipio: ita nec in me temerarius, nec in te ingratus extitero. Et cum me tibi totum offero, parum non est: offero enim quem vehementissime diligis; et offero, si non qualem me esse arbitraris, eum tamen pro quo, ut talis esse merear deprecaris. Hoc enim magis jam peto facias, ne minus optes mihi adjici ad id quod sum, dum me existimas jam esse quod non sum.

4. Ecce charissimus meus est, et ab ineunte adolescentia mihi familiariter amicissimus qui hanc Eximietati tuae ac praestantissimae Charitati epistolam apportat. Hujus nomen est in libro de Religione, quem tua Sanctitas, quantum litteris indicas, libentissime legit: factus est enim tibi etiam tanti viri, qui tibi eum misit, commendatione jucundior. Neque tamen huic tam familiari amico meo velim credas, quae de me forte laudans dixerit. Sensi enim etiam ipsum saepe non mentiendi studio, sed amandi propensione falli judicantem, et arbitrari jam me accepisse quaedam, quibus accipiendis a Domino patente ore cordis inhiarem. Et si hoc in os meum, quis non conjiciat quanta de me absente meliora quam veriora laetus effundat? Librorum autem nostrorum copiam faciet venerabili studio tuo: nam nescio me aliquid, sive ad eorum qui extra Ecclesiam Dei sunt, sive ad aures fratrum scripsisse, quod ipse non habeat. Sed tu cum legis, mi sancte Pauline, non te ita rapiant quae per nostram infirmitatem veritas loquitur, ut ea quae ipse loquor minus diligenter advertas; ne dum avidus hauris bona et recta quae data ministro, non ores pro peccatis et erratis quae ipse committo. In his enim quae tibi recte, si adverteris, displicebunt, ego ipse conspicior; in his autem quae per donum Spiritus quod accepisti, recte tibi placent in libris meis, ille amandus, ille praedicandus est apud quem est fons vitae, et in cujus lumine videbimus lumen (Psal. XXXV, 10), sine aenigmate, sed facie ad faciem, nunc autem in aenigmate videmus (I Cor. XIII, 12). In his ergo quae ipse de veteri fermento eructavi, eum ea legens agnosco, me judico cum dolore; in his vero quae de azymo sinceritatis et veritatis dono Dei dixi, exsulto cum tremore. Quid enim habemus, quod non accepimus?

what is it, I ask you, or what shall I repay to you for them, except that I am all yours in him whose all you are? If it is little, I certainly have not more. But you have made that it does not seem little to me, you who deigned to honor me in that epistle with so great praises, that when I pour myself back to you, if I should think this little, I should be convinced not to have believed you. It shames me indeed to believe so much good of myself, but it grieves me more not to believe you. There is what I may do: I will not believe myself such as you think, since I do not recognize it; and I will believe that I am loved by you, since I feel and plainly perceive it: thus I shall have been neither rash in myself, nor ungrateful in you. And when I offer myself all to you, it is not little: for I offer him whom you most vehemently love; and I offer, if not such a one as you judge me to be, yet him for whom you pray that I may deserve to be such. For I now rather ask that you do this, lest you desire less to be added to me to that which I am, while you think me already to be what I am not.

4. Behold, he is my most dear friend, and since my early youth most intimately friendly to me, who brings this letter to your Excellency and most excellent Charity. His name is in the book On Religion, which your Holiness, as much as you indicate by letters, most willingly reads: for it was made even more pleasant to you by the commendation of so great a man, who sent it to you. Yet I would not wish you to believe this so familiar friend of mine in what things he may perhaps have said praising me. For I have felt even him often, not by a study of lying, but by a propensity of loving, to be deceived in judging, and to think that I have already received certain things, for the receiving of which from the Lord I pant with the open mouth of my heart. And if this to my face, who might not conjecture how many better than truer things he joyfully pours out concerning me while absent? But he will make a copy of our books for your venerable study: for I do not know that I have written anything, whether to those who are outside the Church of God, or to the ears of the brothers, which he does not have. But when you read, my holy Paulinus, let not those things which the Truth speaks through our infirmity so snatch you away, that you advert less diligently to those things which I speak myself; lest while you greedily drink the good and right things which being given I minister, you do not pray for the sins and errors which I commit myself. For in those things which rightly, if you advert, will displease you, I myself am beheld; but in those things which through the gift of the Spirit which you have received, rightly please you in my books, he is to be loved, he is to be preached with whom is the fountain of life, and in whose light we shall see light (Psalm XXXV, 10), without an enigma, but face to face, whereas now we see in an enigma (I Cor. XIII, 12). In those things therefore which I myself have belched forth from the old leaven, reading them I recognize them, I judge myself with grief; but in those things which I have said concerning the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth as a gift of God, I exult with trembling. For what have we, which we have not received?

At enim melior est qui majoribus et pluribus, quam qui minoribus et paucioribus donis Dei dives est. Quis negat? sed rursus melius est, vel de parvo Dei dono gratias ipsi agere, quam sibi agi velle de magno. Haec ut ex animo semper confitear, meumque cor a lingua mea non dissonet, ora pro me, frater. Ora, obsecro, ut non laudari volens, sed laudans invocem Dominum, et ab inimicis meis salvus ero.

5. Est etiam aliud quo istum fratrem amplius diligas: nam est cognatus venerabilis, et vere beati episcopi Alypii, quem toto pectore amplecteris, et merito; nam quisquis de illo viro benigne cogitat, de magna Dei misericordia, et de mirabilibus Dei muneribus cogitat. Itaque cum legisset petitionem tuam, qua desiderare te indicasti ut historiam suam tibi scribat, et volebat facere propter benevolentiam tuam, et nolebat propter verecundiam suam: quem cum viderem inter amorem pudoremque fluctuantem, onus ab illo in humeros meos transtuli; nam hoc mihi etiam per epistolam jussit. Cito ergo, si Dominus adjuverit, totum Alypium inseram praecordiis tuis; nam hoc sum ego maxime veritus, ne ille vereretur aperire omnia quae in eum Dominus contulit, ne alicui minus intelligenti (non enim abs te solo illa legerentur), non divina munera concessa hominibus, sed ipsum praedicare videretur, et tu qui nosti quomodo haec legas, propter aliorum cavendam infirmitatem fraternae notitiae debito fraudareris: quod jam fecissem, jamque illum legeres, nisi profectio fratris improvisa repente placuisset. Quem sic commendo cordi et linguae tuae, ut ita comiter ei te praebeas, quasi non nunc illum, sed mecum ante didiceris. Si enim cordi tuo non dubitaverit aperire seipsum, aut ex omni, aut ex magna parte sanabitur per linguam tuam. Volo enim eum numerosius contundi eorum vocibus, qui amicum non seculariter diligunt.

6. Filium autem ejus, filium nostrum , cujus etiam nomen in aliquibus nostris libris invenies, etsi ad tuae charitatis praesentiam ipse non pergeret, statueram litteris in manum tuam tradere consolandum, exhortandum, instruendum, non tam oris sono, quam exemplo roboris tui. Ardeo quippe, ut dum adhuc aetas ejus in viridi feno est, zizania convertat in frugem, et credat expertis quod experiri periculose desiderat. Nunc ergo ex ejus carmine, et ex epistola quam ad eum misi , intelligit benevolentissima et mansuetissima prudentia tua, quid de illo doleam, quid timeam, quid cupiam.

But indeed he is better who is rich with greater and more gifts of God, than he who is rich with smaller and fewer. Who denies it? but again it is better, either to give thanks to him for a small gift of God, than to wish thanks to be given to oneself for a great one. That I may always confess these things from the soul, and my heart may not dissonate from my tongue, pray for me, brother. Pray, I beseech, that not wishing to be praised, but praising I may invoke the Lord, and I shall be safe from my enemies.

5. There is also another thing for which you may love this brother more amply: for he is a kinsman of the venerable and truly blessed bishop Alypius, whom you embrace with your whole heart, and deservedly; for whoever thinks kindly of that man, thinks of the great mercy of God and of the wonderful gifts of God. Therefore when he had read your petition, in which you indicated that you desire that he should write his history to you, and he wished to do it on account of your benevolence, and did not wish on account of his bashfulness: when I saw him fluctuating between love and shame, I transferred the burden from him onto my shoulders; for he also commanded this to me through a letter. Quickly therefore, if the Lord shall have helped, I will insert the whole of Alypius into your heart; for I most feared this, lest he should fear to open all things which the Lord has conferred upon him, lest to some one less understanding (for those things would not be read by you alone), he should seem to preach not divine gifts granted to men, but himself, and you who know how to read these things, on account of the infirmity of others to be avoided, should be defrauded of the debt of fraternal knowledge: which I would have done already, and you would now be reading him, unless the unforeseen departure of the brother had suddenly pleased. Whom I so commend to your heart and tongue, that you so courteously present yourself to him, as if you had learned him not now, but before with me. For if he shall not have doubted to open himself to your heart, he will be healed either entirely or in great part through your tongue. For I wish him to be more numerously struck by the voices of those who do not love a friend secularly.

6. But as for his son, our son, whose name too you will find in some of our books, even if he himself were not to come into the presence of your charity, I had determined to deliver him by letter into your hand, to be consoled, exhorted, and instructed, not so much by the sound of your mouth as by the example of your strength. For I burn with desire that, while his age is still in the green hay, he may turn the tares into grain, and believe those with experience concerning what he dangerously desires to experience for himself. Now, therefore, from his poem and from the letter which I sent to him, your most benevolent and most gentle prudence understands what I grieve over concerning him, what I fear, and what I desire.

Nec despero affuturum Dominum, ut per te ministrum ejus tantis curarum aestibus liberer. Sane quia multa scripta nostra lecturus es, multo erit mihi gratior dilectio tua, si ex his quae tibi displicuerint, emendaveris me justus in misericordia, et argueris me. Non enim talis es, cujus oleo timeam impinguari caput meum. Fratres non solum qui nobiscum habitant, et qui ubilibet habitantes Deo pariter serviunt, sed prope omnes qui nos in Christo libenter noverunt, salutant, venerantur, desiderant Germanitatem, Beatitudinem, Humanitatem tuam. Non audeo petere; sed si tibi ab ecclesiasticis muneribus vacat, vides quid mecum sitiat Africa .

EPISTOLA XXVIII.

Augustinus Hieronymo, de nova post LXX Veteris Testamenti versione; deque Petro reprehenso a Paulo ad Galat. II, expostulans de suscepto hinc patrocinio mendacii officiosi.

Domino dilectissimo, et cultu sincerissimo charitatis obsequendo atque amplectendo fratri et compresbytero HIERONYMO, AUGUSTINUS.

Caput Primum.

1.

Nunquam aeque quisquam tam facie cuilibet innotuit, quam mihi tuorum in Domino studiorum quieta, laeta , et vere exercitatio liberalis. Quanquam ergo percupiam omnino te nosse; tamen exiguum quiddam tui minus habeo, praesentiam videlicet corporis: quam ipsam etiam posteaquam te beatissimus nunc episcopus, tum vero jam episcopatu dignus, frater Alypius vidit, remeansque a me visus est, negare non possum magna ex parte mihi esse relatu ejus impressam; et ante reditum, cum te ille ibi videbat, ego videbam, sed oculis ejus. Non enim animo me atque illum, sed corpore duos, qui noverit, dixerit, concordia duntaxat et familiaritate fidissima, non meritis quibus ille antecellit. Quia ergo me primitus communione spiritus quo in unum nectimur, deinde illius ex ore jam diligis; nequaquam impudenter quasi aliquis ignotus commendo Germanitati tuae fratrem Profuturum , quem nostris conatibus, deinde adjutorio tuo vere profuturum speramus; nisi forte quod talis est, ut ipse tibi per eum fiam commendatior, quam ille per me.

Nor do I despair that the Lord will be present, so that through you as his minister I may be freed from such great tides of care. Indeed, since you are about to read many of our writings, your love will be much more pleasing to me if, concerning the things that displease you, you, as a just man, correct me in mercy and reprove me. For you are not such a one that I should fear my head being fattened by your oil. The brothers—not only those who dwell with us, and those who, dwelling anywhere, likewise serve God, but almost all who have gladly come to know us in Christ—greet, venerate, and long for your Brotherliness, your Beatitude, your Kindness. I do not dare to ask; but if you have leisure from your ecclesiastical duties, you see for what Africa thirsts along with me.

LETTER XXVIII.

Augustine to Jerome, concerning the new version of the Old Testament after the Seventy; and concerning Peter reproved by Paul, to the Galatians, chapter II, expostulating about the patronage of an officious lie taken up on this basis.

To the most beloved lord, and to the brother and fellow-presbyter JEROME, to be honored and embraced with the most sincere devotion of charity, AUGUSTINE.

CHAPTER ONE.

1. Never has anyone become so known to another by face, as the quiet, joyful, and truly liberal exercise of your studies in the Lord has become known to me. Although therefore I greatly desire to know you entirely; yet I have a certain small thing of you less, namely the presence of the body: which itself also, after the most blessed now bishop, but then indeed already worthy of the episcopate, brother Alypius saw you, and returning was seen by me, I cannot deny that it has been impressed upon me in great part by his relation; and before his return, when he saw you there, I saw you, but with his eyes. For one who knows us would not say that I and he are two in mind, but in body, at least in concord and most faithful familiarity, not in merits in which he excels. Because therefore you already love me primarily by the communion of the spirit by which we are bound into one, then from his mouth; I by no means impudently, as if some unknown person, commend to your Brotherhood the brother Profuturus, who we hope will be truly profitable to our endeavors, and then by your help; unless perhaps because he is such a one, that I myself may become more commended to you through him, than he through me.

Hactenus fortasse scribere debuerim, si esse vellem epistolarum solemnium more contentus; sed scatet animus in loquelas communicandas tecum de studiis nostris, quae habemus in Christo Jesu Domino nostro; qui nobis multas utilitates et viatica quaedam demonstrati a se itineris, etiam per tuam charitatem non mediocriter ministrare dignatur.

CAPUT II.

2. Petimus ergo, et nobiscum petit omnis Africanarum Ecclesiarum studiosa societas, ut interpretandis eorum libris, qui graece Scripturas nostras quam optime tractaverunt, curam atque operam impendere non graveris. Potes enim efficere ut nos quoque habeamus tales illos viros, et unum potissimum, quem tu libentius in tuis litteris sonas. De vertendis autem in latinam linguam sanctis Litteris canonicis laborare te nollem, nisi eo modo quo Job interpretatus es; ut signis adhibitis quid inter hanc tuam et Septuaginta, quorum est gravissima auctoritas, interpretationem distet, appareat. Satis autem nequeo mirari, si aliquid adhuc in hebraeis exemplaribus invenitur, quod tot interpretes illius linguae peritissimos fugerit. Omitto enim Septuaginta, de quorum vel consilii vel spiritus majore concordia, quam si unus homo esset, non audeo in aliquam partem certam ferre sententiam, nisi quod eis praeeminentem auctoritatem in hoc munere sine controversia tribuendam existimo. Illi me plus movent, qui cum posteriores interpretarentur, et verborum locutionumque hebraearum viam atque regulas mordicus, ut fertur, tenerent, non solum inter se non consenserunt, sed etiam reliquerunt multa, quae tanto post eruenda et prodenda remanerent. Et aut obscura sunt, aut manifesta: si enim obscura sunt, te quoque in eis falli potuisse creditur; si manifesta, illos in eis falli potuisse non creditur. Hujus igitur rei pro tua charitate, expositis causis, certum me facias obsecraverim.

CAPUT III.

Perniciosa simulatio.

3. Legi etiam quaedam scripta, quae tua dicerentur, in Epistolas apostoli Pauli; quarum ad Galatas, cum enodare velles, venit in manus locus ille, quo apostolus Petrus a perniciosa simulatione revocatur. Ibi patrocinium mendacii susceptum esse vel abs te tali viro, vel a quopiam, si alius illa scripsit, fateor, non mediocriter doleo, donec refellantur (si forte refelli possunt), ea quae me movent.

Hitherto perhaps I ought to have written, if I wished to be content after the manner of solemn epistles; but the mind gushes into speeches to be communicated with you concerning our studies, which we have in Christ Jesus our Lord; who deigns to minister to us many utilities and certain provisions of the journey demonstrated by him, even through your charity not moderately.

CHAPTER TWO.

2. We ask therefore, and with us the entire studious society of the African Churches asks, that you would not find it burdensome to expend care and labor in translating the books of those who have most excellently treated our Scriptures in Greek. For you are able to bring it about that we also may have those such men, and one especially, whom you more willingly sound in your letters. But concerning the translating of the canonical Holy Scriptures into the Latin language, I would not wish you to labor, except in the manner in which you translated Job; so that by signs being applied, it may appear what distance there is between this translation of yours and the Seventy, whose authority is most grave. For I cannot sufficiently wonder if anything is still found in the Hebrew copies which escaped so many most skilled interpreters of that language. For I omit the Seventy, concerning the greater concord of whose counsel or spirit, as if it were one man, I do not dare to bring a certain sentence into any part, except that I think a pre-eminent authority in this duty is to be attributed to them without controversy. Those move me more, who when they translated later, and held the way and rules of the Hebrew words and locutions tenaciously, as it is said, not only did not agree among themselves, but also left many things which would remain to be unearthed and brought forth so long after. And they are either obscure or manifest: for if they are obscure, it is believed that you also could have been deceived in them; if manifest, it is not believed that they could have been deceived in them. Therefore, for the sake of your charity, the causes having been explained, I would beseech that you make me certain of this matter.

Chapter III.

Pernicious simulation.

3. I have also read certain writings, which were said to be yours, on the Epistles of the apostle Paul; of which to the Galatians, when you wished to explain it, there came into your hands that passage where the apostle Peter is recalled from a pernicious simulation. There I confess, I grieve not moderately, that a patronage of lying has been undertaken either by you, such a man, or by someone else, if another wrote those things, until those things which move me are refuted (if perchance they can be refuted).

Mihi enim videtur exitiosissime credi, aliquod in Libris sanctis haberi mendacium; id est eos homines, per quos nobis illa Scriptura ministrata est atque conscripta, aliquid in libris suis fuisse mentitos. Alia quippe quaestio est, sitne aliquando mentiri viri boni; et alia quaestio est, utrum scriptorem sanctarum Scripturarum mentiri oportuerit: imo vero non alia, sed nulla quaestio est. Admisso enim semel in tantum auctoritatis fastigium officioso aliquo mendacio, nulla illorum librorum particula remanebit, quae non ut cuique videbitur vel ad mores difficilis vel ad fidem incredibilis, eadem perniciosissima regula ad mentientis auctoris consilium officiumque referatur.

4. Si enim mentiebatur apostolus Paulus cum apostolum Petrum objurgans diceret, Si tu cum sis Judaeus, gentiliter et non judaice vivis, quemadmodum gentes cogis judaizare? et recte illi videbatur Petrus fecisse, quem non recte fecisse et dixit et scripsit, ut quasi animos tumultuantium deliniret (Gal. II, 11-14); quid respondebimus, cum exsurrexerint perversi homines, prohibentes nuptias, quos futuros ipse praenuntiavit (I Tim. IV, 3), et dixerint totum illud, quod idem apostolus de matrimoniorum jure firmando locutus est (I Cor. VII, 10-16), propter homines qui dilectione conjugum tumultuari poterant, fuisse mentitum; scilicet non quod hoc senserit, sed ut illorum placaretur adversitas? Non opus est multa commemorare. Possunt enim videri etiam de laudibus Dei esse officiosa mendacia, ut apud homines pigriores dilectio ejus ardescat; atque ita nusquam certa erit in Libris sanctis castae veritatis auctoritas. Nonne attendimus eumdem apostolum cum ingenti cura commendandae veritatis dicere: Si autem Christus non resurrexit, inanis est praedicatio nostra, inanis est et fides vestra: invenimur autem et falsi testes Dei; quia testimonium diximus adversus Deum, quod suscitavit Christum, quem non suscitavit (Id. XV, 14 15)? Si quis huic diceret: Quid in hoc mendacio perhorrescis, cum id dixeris, quod etiam si falsum sit, ad laudem Dei maxime pertinet? Nonne hujus detestatus insaniam, quibus posset verbis et significationibus, in lucem penetralia sui cordis aperiret, clamans non minore aut fortasse etiam majore scelere in Deo laudari falsitatem, quam vituperari veritatem? Agendum est igitur ut ad cognitionem divinarum Scripturarum talis homo accedat, qui de sanctis Libris tam sancte et veraciter existimet, ut nolit aliqua eorum parte delectari per officiosa mendacia, potiusque id, quod non intelligit, transeat, quam cor suum praeferat illi veritati. Profecto enim cum hoc dicit, credi sibi expetit, and id agit, ut divinarum Scripturarum auctoritatibus non credamus.

For it seems most disastrous to me to believe that any lie is held in the Holy Books; that is, that those men, through whom that Scripture was ministered and written for us, lied about anything in their books. For it is one question whether a good man should ever lie; and another question is whether the writer of the Holy Scriptures ought to have lied: or rather, it is not another, but no question at all. For once an officious lie has been admitted into such a height of authority, no small part of those books will remain which will not, as it seems to each person either difficult for morals or incredible for faith, be referred by the same most pernicious rule to the counsel and duty of a lying author.

4. For if the apostle Paul was lying when, rebuking the apostle Peter, he said, 'If you, though you are a Jew, live like a Gentile and not like a Jew, how can you compel the Gentiles to judaize?' and it rightly seemed to him that Peter had done so, whom he both said and wrote had not done rightly, so as if to soothe the minds of those in tumult (Gal. II, 11-14); what shall we answer when perverse men arise, forbidding marriage, whom he himself foretold would come (I Tim. IV, 3), and they say that all that which the same apostle spoke concerning the establishing of the right of marriages (I Cor. VII, 10-16), was lied about on account of men who could be in tumult because of the love of their spouses; namely, not that he felt this, but so that their adversity might be appeased? There is no need to commemorate many things. For there can seem to be even officious lies concerning the praises of God, so that among more sluggish men his love may burn; and thus the authority of chaste truth will nowhere be certain in the Holy Books. Do we not attend to the same apostle saying with immense care for commending the truth: 'But if Christ has not risen, our preaching is vain, and your faith is vain: we are found also to be false witnesses of God; because we have given testimony against God, that he raised up Christ, whom he did not raise up' (Id. XV, 14-15)? If anyone said to him: Why do you dread this lie, when you have said that which, even if it be false, pertains most of all to the praise of God? Would he not, having detested the insanity of this man, open the inner chambers of his heart to the light with what words and significations he could, crying out that it is with no less or perhaps even greater crime that falsehood is praised in God, than truth is disparaged? Therefore, it must be acted so that such a man approaches the knowledge of the divine Scriptures, who thinks so holily and truthfully of the Holy Books, that he would not wish to be delighted in any part of them through officious lies, and would rather pass over that which he does not understand, than prefer his own heart to that truth. For surely when he says this, he seeks to be believed, and he acts so that we do not believe the authorities of the divine Scriptures.

5. Et ego quidem qualibuscumque viribus, quas Dominus suggerit, omnia illa testimonia, quae adhibita sunt astruendae utilitati mendacii, aliter oportere intelligi ostenderem, ut ubique eorum firma veritas doceretur. Quam enim testimonia mendacia esse non debent, tam non debent favere mendacio. Sed hoc intelligentiae relinquo tuae. Admota enim lectioni diligentiori consideratione, multo id fortasse facilius videbis quam ego. Ad hanc autem considerationem coget te pietas, qua cognoscis fluctuare auctoritatem Scripturarum divinarum, ut in eis quod vult quisque credat, quod non vult non credat, si semel fuerit persuasum aliqua illos viros, per quos nobis haec ministrata sunt, in scripturis suis officiose potuisse mentiri. Nisi forte regulas quasdam daturus es, quibus noverimus ubi oporteat mentiri, ubi non oporteat. Quod si fieri potest, nullo modo mendacibus dubiisque rationibus id explices, quaeso; nec me onerosum aut impudentem judices, per humanitatem veracissimam Domini nostri. Nam, ut non dicam nulla, certe non magna culpa meus error veritati favet, si recte in te potest veritas favere mendacio.

CAPUT IV.

6. Multa alia cum sincerissimo corde tuo loqui cuperem, et de christiano studio conferre; sed huic desiderio meo nulla epistola satis est. Uberius idipsum possum per fratrem, quem miscendum et alendum dulcibus atque utilibus sermocinationibus tuis misisse me gaudeo. Et tamen, quantum vellem, nec ipse (quod pace ejus dixerim) forsitan capit; quanquam nihilo me illi praetulerim. Ego enim me fateor tui capaciorem; sed ipsum video fieri pleniorem, quo me sine dubitatione antecellit: et posteaquam redierit, quod Domino adjuvante prosperatum iri spero, cum ejus pectoris abs te cumulati particeps fuero, non est impleturus, quod in me adhuc vacuum erit atque avidum sensuum tuorum. Ita fiet ut et ego etiam tunc egentior sim, ille copiosior. Sane idem frater aliqua scripta nostra fert secum; quibus legendis si dignationem adhibueris, etiam sinceram atque fraternam severitatem adhibeas quaeso. Non enim aliter intelligo quod scriptum est, Emendabit me justus in misericordia, et arguet me; oleum autem peccatoris non impinguet caput meum (Psal. CXL, 5); nisi quia magis amat objurgator sanans, quam adulator unguens caput. Ego autem difficillime bonus judex lego quod scripserim, sed aut timidior recto, aut cupidior. Video etiam interdum vitia mea; sed haec malo audire a melioribus, ne cum me recte fortasse reprehendero, rursus mihi blandiar, et meticulosam potius mihi videar in me, quam justam tulisse sententiam.

5. And I indeed with whatever strengths the Lord suggests, would show that all those testimonies, which have been applied to establish the utility of a lie, ought to be understood otherwise, so that the firm truth of them might be taught everywhere. For as testimonies ought not to be false, so they ought not to favor a lie. But I leave this to your understanding. For by applying a more diligent consideration to the reading, you will perhaps see it much more easily than I. But piety will compel you to this consideration, by which you recognize that the authority of the divine Scriptures fluctuates, so that in them each one believes what he wishes, and does not believe what he does not wish, if once it has been persuaded that those men, through whom these things have been ministered to us, could have lied officiously in their writings. Unless perhaps you are going to give certain rules, by which we may know where it is appropriate to lie, and where it is not appropriate. If which can be done, in no way explain it with lying and doubtful reasons, I pray; nor judge me burdensome or impudent, through the most true humanity of our Lord. For, that I may not say no fault, certainly no great fault favors truth in my error, if rightly in you truth can favor a lie.

CHAPTER IV.

6. Many other things I would desire to speak with your most sincere heart, and to confer about Christian study; but no epistle is sufficient for this desire of mine. I am able to do that same thing more abundantly through the brother, whom I rejoice to have sent to be mixed and nourished with your sweet and useful conversations. And yet, however much I might wish, not even he himself (if I may say it with his peace) perhaps captures it; although I would prefer myself to him in nothing. For I confess myself to be more capable of you; but I see him becoming fuller, by which he excels me without doubt: and after he shall have returned, which I hope will be prospered by the Lord helping, when I shall have been a partaker of his breast filled by you, he is not going to fill what will still be empty and greedy for your senses in me. Thus it will happen that even then I may be more needy, he more copious. Certainly the same brother carries some of our writings with him; in reading which if you apply deign, I pray that you also apply a sincere and fraternal severity. For I do not otherwise understand what is written, 'The just man shall correct me in mercy, and shall rebuke me; but the oil of the sinner shall not fatten my head' (Psal. CXL, 5); except because a healing rebuker loves more than a flattering anointer of the head. But I read what I have written as a good judge with the greatest difficulty, but either more timid than is right, or more greedy. I also see my vices at times; but I prefer to hear these from better men, lest when I have perhaps rightly blamed myself, I again flatter myself, and seem to myself rather to have brought a fearful than a just sentence upon myself.

EPISTOLA XXIX. . Augustinus presbyter, Alypio Thagastensi episcopo, narrans quibus adhortationibus obtinuerit demum ut Hipponenses catholici abhorrerent a luxuriosis conviviis, quae in sanctorum natalitiis apud Africanas Ecclesias celebrare mos erat. Epistola Presbyteri Hipponensium-regiorum ad ALYPIUM episcopum Thagastensium, de die Natalis Leontii quondam episcopi Hipponensis.

1. De negotio interim quod non curare non possum, nihil certum scribere potui, absente fratre Machario, qui cito dicitur rediturus; et quod Deo adjuvante peragi potuerit, peragetur. De nostra autem pro eis sollicitudine, quanquam fratres nostri cives qui aderant securos suos facere possent; tamen digna res epistolari colloquio, quo nos invicem consolamur, a Domino praestita est; in quo promerendo multum nos adjutos esse credimus ipsa vestra sollicitudine, quae profecto sine deprecatione pro nobis esse non potuit.

2. Itaque ne praetermittamus vestrae Charitati narrare quid gestum sit, ut nobiscum Deo gratias agatis de accepto beneficio, qui nobiscum preces de accipiendo fudistis: cum post profectionem tuam nobis nuntiatum esset tumultuari homines, et dicere se ferre non posse ut illa solemnitas prohiberetur, quam Laetitiam nominantes, vinolentiae nomen frustra conantur abscondere, sicut etiam te praesente jamjam nuntiabatur; opportune nobis accidit occulta ordinatione omnipotentis Dei, ut quarta feria illud in Evangelio capitulum consequenter tractaretur: Nolite dare sanctum canibus, neque projeceritis margaritas vestras ante porcos (Matth. VII, 6). Tractatum est ergo de canibus et de porcis, ita ut et pervicaci latratu adversus Dei praecepta rixantes, et voluptatum carnalium sordibus dediti erubescere cogerentur; conclusumque ita, ut viderent quam esset nefarium intra ecclesiae parietes id agere nomine religionis, quod in suis domibus si agere perseverarent, a sancto et margaritis ecclesiasticis eos arceri oporteret.

3. Sed haec quamvis grate accepta fuerint, tamen quia pauci convenerant, non erat satisfactum tanto negotio. Iste autem sermo cum ab eis qui aderant, pro cujusque facultate ac studio, foris ventilaretur, multos habuit contradictores. Postea vero quam dies Quadragesimae illuxisset, et frequens multitudo ad horam tractationis occurrit, lectum est istud in Evangelio, ubi Dominus de templo expulsis venditoribus animalium, et eversis mensis nummulariorum, dixit domum Patris sui pro domo orationum speluncam latronum esse factam (Id. XXI, 12):

EPISTLE XXIX. . Augustine, presbyter, to Alypius, Bishop of Thagaste, narrating by what exhortations he at last obtained that the Catholics of Hippo should abhor luxurious banquets, which it was the custom to celebrate in the African Churches on the birthdays of the saints. Epistle of the Presbyter of Hippo Regius to ALYPIUM, Bishop of Thagaste, concerning the day of the Birthday of Leontius, formerly Bishop of Hippo.

1. Concerning the business in the meantime which I cannot not care about, I have been able to write nothing certain, in the absence of brother Macharius, who is said to be about to return quickly; and what can be accomplished with God helping, will be accomplished. But concerning our solicitude for them, although our brother citizens who were present were able to make their own secure; yet a thing worthy of epistolary conversation, by which we console each other, has been granted by the Lord; in the meriting of which we believe ourselves to have been much helped by your very solicitude, which certainly could not have been for us without prayer.

2. And so, lest we omit to narrate to your Charity what has been done, so that you may give thanks to God with us for the benefit received, who poured out prayers with us for receiving it: when after your departure it was announced to us that men were in tumult, and were saying that they could not bear that that solemnity should be prohibited, which naming it Gladness, they try in vain to hide the name of wine-bibbing, just as even while you were present it was already being announced; it happened opportunely for us by the hidden ordination of almighty God, that on the fourth feria that chapter in the Gospel was treated consequently: 'Do not give what is holy to dogs, nor cast your pearls before swine' (Matth. VII, 6). It was treated therefore concerning the dogs and concerning the swine, so that both those brawling with persistent barking against the precepts of God, and those given to the filth of carnal pleasures were compelled to blush; and it was so concluded, that they saw how nefarious it was to do that within the walls of the church in the name of religion, which if they persevered in doing in their own houses, they ought to be barred from the holy thing and the ecclesiastical pearls.

3. But although these things were gratefully received, yet because few had assembled, it was not satisfied for so great a business. But when this discourse was ventilated outside by those who were present, according to each one's faculty and zeal, it had many gainsayers. But afterwards when the day of Lent had dawned, and a frequent multitude ran together at the hour of the discourse, that was read in the Gospel, where the Lord, the sellers of animals having been expelled from the temple, and the tables of the money-changers overturned, said that the house of his Father was made a den of thieves instead of a house of prayers (Id. XXI, 12):

quod capitulum, cum eos intentos proposita vinolentiae quaestione feci, et ipse quoque recitavi, adjunxique disputationem, qua ostenderem quanto commotius et vehementius Dominus noster ebriosa convivia, quae ubique sunt turpia, de templo expelleret, unde sic expulit concessa commercia, cum ea venderentur, quae sacrificiis illo tempore licitis essent necessaria; quaerens ab eis, quibus similiorem putarent speluncam latronum, necessaria vendentibus, an immoderate bibentibus.

4. Et quoniam mihi praeparatae lectiones suggerendae tenebantur, adjunxi deinde ipsum adhuc carnalem populum Judaeorum, in illo templo, ubi nondum corpus et sanguis Domini offerebatur, non solum vinolenta, sed nec sobria quidem unquam celebrasse convivia; nec eos publice religionis nomine inebriatos inveniri in historia, nisi cum festa fabricato idolo exsolverent (Exod. XXXII, 6.) Quae cum dicerem, codicem etiam accepi, et recitavi totum illum locum. Addidi etiam cum dolore quo potui, quoniam Apostolus ait, ad discernendum populum christianum a duritie Judaeorum, Epistolam suam non in tabulis lapideis scriptam, sed in tabulis cordis carnalibus (II Cor. III, 3), cum Moyses famulus Dei, propter illos principes, binas lapideas tabulas confregisset (Exod. XXXII, 19), quomodo non possemus istorum corda confringere, qui homines Novi Testamenti, sanctorum diebus celebrandis ea vellent solemniter exhibere, quae populus Veteris Testamenti et semel et idolo celebravit.

5. Tunc reddito Exodi codice, crimen ebrietatis, quantum tempus sinebat, exaggerans, sumpsi apostolum Paulum, et inter quae peccata posita esset ostendi, legens illum locum, Si quis frater nominetur aut fornicator, aut idolis serviens, aut avarus, aut maledicus, aut ebriosus, aut rapax; cum ejusmodi nec cibum sumere (I Cor. V, 11); ingemiscendo admonens cum quanto periculo convivaremur cum eis qui vel in domibus inebriarentur. Legi etiam illud quod non longo intervallo sequitur: Nolite errare; neque fornicatores, neque idolis servientes, neque adulteri, neque molles, neque masculorum concubitores, neque fures, neque avari, neque ebriosi, neque maledici, neque raptores regnum Dei possidebunt. Et haec quidem fuistis; sed abluti estis, sed justificati estis in nomine Domini Jesu Christi, et spiritu Dei nostri (Ibid., VI, 9-11).

which chapter, when I made them intent by the proposed question of wine-bibbing, I myself also recited, and added a disputation, by which I might show how much more movedly and vehemently our Lord would expel drunken banquets, which are everywhere base, from the temple, from where he thus expelled permitted commerce, since those things were being sold which were necessary for the sacrifices lawful at that time; asking of them, to which they thought a den of thieves more similar, to those selling necessaries, or to those drinking immoderately.

4. And since prepared readings were held to be suggested to me, I added then the still carnal people of the Jews themselves, in that temple, where the body and blood of the Lord was not yet offered, never celebrated not only drunken, but not even sober banquets indeed; nor are they found in history to have been inebriated publicly in the name of religion, except when they performed feasts to the idol they had made (Exod. XXXII, 6). When I was saying these things, I also took the book and recited that whole place. I added also with what grief I could, since the Apostle says, for discerning the Christian people from the hardness of the Jews, that his Epistle was not written on tablets of stone, but on the carnal tablets of the heart (II Cor. III, 3), since Moses the servant of God, on account of those princes, had broken the two stone tablets (Exod. XXXII, 19), how we could not break the hearts of these men, who being men of the New Testament, wished to exhibit solemnly in celebrating the days of the saints those things which the people of the Old Testament celebrated both only once and to an idol.

5. Then the book of Exodus having been returned, exaggerating the crime of drunkenness as much as time permitted, I took the apostle Paul, and showed among which sins it was placed, reading that place, 'If any brother be named either a fornicator, or serving idols, or covetous, or a slanderer, or a drunkard, or a robber; with such a one not even to take food' (I Cor. V, 11); admonishing with groaning with how great danger we banquetted with those who were inebriated even in their houses. I read also that which follows at no long interval: 'Do not err; neither fornicators, nor those serving idols, nor adulterers, nor the effeminate, nor those who lie with males, nor thieves, nor the covetous, nor drunkards, nor slanderers, nor robbers shall possess the kingdom of God. And these things indeed you were; but you have been washed, but you have been justified in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and by the spirit of our God' (Ibid., VI, 9-11).

Quibus lectis, dixi ut considerarent quomodo possent fideles audire, sed abluti estis, qui adhuc talis concupiscentiae sordes, contra quas clauditur regnum coelorum, in corde suo, id est in interiore Dei templo esse patiuntur. Inde ventum est ad illud capitulum: Convenientibus ergo vobis in unum, non est dominicam coenam celebrare: unusquisque enim propriam coenam praesumit in manducando; et alius quidem esurit, alius ebrius est. Numquid domos non habetis ad manducandum et bibendum? an Ecclesiam Dei contemnitis (Ibid., XI, 20-22)? Quo recitato diligentius commendavi, ne honesta quidem et sobria convivia debere in ecclesia celebrari; quandoquidem Apostolus non dixerit, Numquid domos non habetis ad inebriandos vos? ut quasi tantummodo inebriari in ecclesia non liceret: sed, ad manducandum et bibendum, quod potest honeste fieri, sed praeter ecclesiam, ab eis qui domos habent, ubi alimentis necessariis refici possint; et tamen nos ad has angustias corruptorum temporum et diffluentium morum esse perductos, ut iis nondum modesta convivia, sed saltem domesticum regnum ebrietatis optemus.

6. Commemoravi etiam Evangelii capitulum quod pridie tractaveram, ubi de pseudoprophetis dictum est: Ex fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos (Matth. VII, 16). Deinde in memoriam revocavi fructus eo loco non appellatos, nisi opera; tum quaesivi inter quos fructus nominata esset ebrietas, et recitavi illud ad Galatas: Manifesta autem sunt opera carnis, quae sunt fornicationes, immunditiae, luxuriae, idolorum servitus, veneficia, inimicitiae, contentiones, aemulationes, animositates, dissensiones, haereses, invidiae, ebrietates, comessationes, et his similia; quae praedico vobis, sicut praedixi, quoniam qui talia agunt regnum Dei non possidebunt (Gal. V, 19). Post quae verba interrogavi quomodo de fructu ebrietatis agnosceremur christiani, quos de fructibus agnosci Dominus jussit. Adjunxi etiam legendum quod sequitur, Fructus autem spiritus est charitas, gaudium, pax, longanimitas, benignitas, bonitas, fides, mansuetudo, continentia (Ibid., 22): egique ut considerarent quam esset pudendum atque plangendum, quod de illis fructibus carnis non solum privatim vivere, sed etiam honorem Ecclesiae deferre cuperent, et si potestas daretur, totum tam magnae basilicae spatium turbis epulantium ebriorum que complerent; de spiritualibus autem fructibus, ad quos et divinarum Scripturarum auctoritate et nostris gemitibus invitarentur, nolunt afferre Deo munera, et his potissimum celebrare festa sanctorum.

Which things having been read, I said that they should consider how the faithful could hear, 'but you have been washed,' who still suffer the filth of such concupiscence, against which the kingdom of heaven is closed, to be in their heart, that is, in the interior temple of God. Thence it was come to that chapter: 'When therefore you come together into one, it is not to celebrate the Lord's supper: for each one presumes his own supper in eating; and one indeed is hungry, another is drunk. Do you not have houses for eating and drinking? or do you despise the Church of God' (Ibid., XI, 20-22)? Which having been recited I more diligently commended, that not even honest and sober banquets ought to be celebrated in the church; since the Apostle did not say, Do you not have houses for inebriating yourselves? as if only to be inebriated in the church were not lawful: but, 'for eating and drinking,' which can be done honestly, but outside the church, by those who have houses, where they can be refreshed with necessary nourishments; and yet that we have been brought to these straits of corrupt times and flowing morals, that we do not yet wish modest banquets for them, but at least the domestic kingdom of drunkenness.

6. I commemorated also the chapter of the Gospel which I had treated the day before, where it is said concerning false prophets: 'By their fruits you shall know them' (Matth. VII, 16). Then I recalled to memory that fruits were not called in that place except works; then I asked among which fruits drunkenness was named, and I recited that to the Galatians: But the works of the flesh are manifest, which are fornications, impurities, luxuries, service of idols, poisonings, enmities, contentions, emulations, animosities, dissensions, heresies, envies, drunkennesses, revelries, and things similar to these; which I foretell to you, as I have foretold, that those who do such things shall not possess the kingdom of God' (Gal. V, 19). After which words I asked how we were recognized as Christians from the fruit of drunkenness, whom the Lord commanded to be recognized from fruits. I added also what follows to be read: 'But the fruit of the spirit is charity, joy, peace, long-suffering, benignity, goodness, faith, mildness, continence' (Ibid., 22): and I acted so that they should consider how shameful and to be lamented it was, that they should wish not only to live privately from those fruits of the flesh, but even to defer honor to the Church, and if power were given, to fill the whole space of so great a basilica with crowds of feasting and drunken people; but concerning spiritual fruits, to which they were invited both by the authority of the divine Scriptures and by our groans, they do not wish to bring gifts to God, and by these especially to celebrate the feasts of the saints.

7. Quibus peractis, codicem reddidi, et imperata oratione, quantum valui, et quantum me ipsum periculum urgebat, et vires administrare Dominus dignabatur, constitui eis ante oculos commune periculum, et ipsorum qui nobis commissi essent, et nostrum qui de illis rationem reddituri essemus pastorum principi, per cujus humilitatem, insignes contumelias, alapas, et sputa in faciem, et palmas, et spineam coronam, et crucem ac sanguinem obsecravi, ut si se ipsi aliquid offendissent, vel nostri misererentur, et cogitarent venerabilis senis Valerii circa me ineffabilem charitatem, qui mihi tractandi verba veritatis tam periculosum onus non dubitarit propter eos imponere, eisque saepe dixerit quod orationes ejus exauditae essent de nostro adventu; quos non utique ad communem mortem vel spectaculum mortis illorum, sed ad communem conatum in aeternam vitam ad se venisse laetatus est. Postremo etiam dixi certum esse me, et fidere in eum qui mentiri nescit, qui per os prophetae sui pollicitus est de Domino nostro Jesu Christo dicens, Si reliquerint filii ejus legem meam, et in praeceptis meis non ambulaverint, si justificationes meas profanaverint, visitabo in virga facinora eorum, et in flagellis delicta eorum; misericordiam autem meam non auferam (Psalm. LXXXVIII, 31-34): in eum ergo me fidere, quod si haec tanta quae sibi essent lecta et dicta contemnerent, visitaturus esset in virga et in flagello, nec eos permissurus cum hoc mundo damnari. In qua conquestione sic actum, ut pro negotii atque periculi magnitudine tutor et gubernator noster animos facultatemque praebebat. Non ego illorum lacrymas meis lacrymis movi; sed cum talia dicerentur, fateor, eorum fletu praeventus meum abstinere non potui. Et cum jam pariter flevissemus, plenissima spe correctionis illorum, finis sermonis mei factus est.

8. Postridie vero, cum illuxisset dies cui solebant fauces ventresque se parare, nuntiatur mihi nonnullos, eorum etiam qui sermoni aderant, nondum a murmuratione cessasse, tantumque in eis valere vim pessimae consuetudinis, ut ejus tantum voce uterentur et dicerent: Quare modo? Non enim, antea qui haec non prohibuerunt, christiani non erant. Quo audito, quas majores commovendi eos machinas praeparem, omnino nesciebam: disponebam tamen, si perseverandum putarent, lecto illo loco de propheta Ezechiele, Explorator absolvitur, si periculum denuntiaverit, etiamsi illi quibus denuntiatur, cavere noluerint (Ezech. XXXIII, 9), vestimenta mea excutere atque discedere.

7. Which things having been performed, I returned the book, and the prayer having been commanded, as much as I was able, and as much as the danger itself was pressing me, and the Lord was deigning to minister strengths, I set before their eyes the common danger, both of those who were committed to us, and of us who were to give an account of them to the Prince of pastors, through whose humility, signal contumelies, buffets, and spitting in the face, and palms, and thorny crown, and cross and blood I besought, that if they had offended themselves in anything, they would at least have pity on us, and would think of the ineffable charity of the venerable old man Valerius toward me, who did not hesitate to impose the so dangerous burden of treating the words of truth upon me on account of them, and often said to them that his prayers had been heard concerning our arrival; in whose arrival he rejoiced that they had come to him not to a common death or the spectacle of their death, but to a common endeavor into eternal life. Finally I also said that I was certain, and trusted in him who knows not how to lie, who promised through the mouth of his prophet concerning our Lord Jesus Christ, saying: 'If his sons shall leave my law, and shall not walk in my precepts, if they shall profane my justifications, I will visit their crimes in a rod, and their sins in scourges; but my mercy I will not take away' (Psalm. LXXXVIII, 31-34): in him therefore I trusted, that if they contemned these so great things which had been read and said to them, he would visit in the rod and in the scourge, nor would he permit them to be damned with this world. In which complaint it was so acted, that for the magnitude of the business and the danger our protector and governor provided minds and faculty. I did not move their tears with my tears; but when such things were being said, I confess, having been prevented by their weeping I could not restrain my own. And when we had already wept together, with the fullest hope of their correction, the end of my discourse was made.

8. But on the following day, when the day had dawned for which they were accustomed to prepare their throats and bellies, it is announced to me that some, even of those who were present at the discourse, had not yet ceased from murmuring, and that the force of the worst custom was so strong in them, that they used only its voice and were saying: 'Why now? For were those not Christians before, who did not prohibit these things?' Which having been heard, I altogether did not know what greater machines I should prepare to move them: yet I was disposing, if they thought they should persevere, having read that place from the prophet Ezekiel: 'The watchman is absolved, if he shall have announced the danger, even if those to whom it is announced, shall not have wished to beware' (Ezek. XXXIII, 9), to shake my garments and depart.

Tum vero Dominus ostendit quod nos non deserat, et quibus modis in se ut praesumamus hortetur: namque ante horam qua exhedram ascenderemus, ingressi sunt ad me iidem ipsi quos audieram de oppugnatione vetustae consuetudinis fuisse conquestos; quos blande acceptos, paucis verbis in sententiam sanam transtuli; atque ubi ventum est ad tempus disputationis, omissa lectione quam praeparaveram, quia necessaria jam non videbatur, de hac ipsa quaestione pauca disserui, nihil nos nec brevius nec verius posse afferre adversus eos qui dicunt, Quare modo? nisi et nos dicamus, Vel modo.

9. Verumtamem ne illi, qui ante nos tam manifesta imperitae multitudinis crimina vel permiserunt vel prohibere non ausi sunt, aliqua a nobis affici contumelia viderentur, exposui eis qua necessitate ista in Ecclesia viderentur exorta: scilicet post persecutiones tam multas, tamque vehementes, cum facta pace, turbae Gentilium in christianum nomen venire cupientes hoc impedirentur, quod dies festos cum idolis suis solerent in abundantia epularum et ebrietate consumere, nec facile ab his perniciosissimis et tam vetustissimis voluptatibus se possent abstinere, visum fuisse majoribus nostris, ut huic infirmitatis parti interim parceretur, diesque festos, post eos quos relinquebant, alios in honorem sanctorum martyrum vel non simili sacrilegio, quamvis simili luxu celebrarentur: jam Christi nomine colligatis, et tantae auctoritatis jugo subditis salutaria sobrietatis praecepta traderentur, quibus jam propter praecipientis honorem ac timorem resistere non valerent; quocirca jam tempus esse, ut qui non se audent negare christianos, secundum Christi voluntatem vivere incipiant, ut ea quae ut essent christiani concessa sunt, cum christiani sunt, respuantur.

10. Deinde hortatus sum ut transmarinarum Ecclesiarum, in quibus partim ista recepta nunquam sunt, partim jam per bonos rectores populo obtemperante correcta, imitatores esse vellemus. Et quoniam de basilica beati apostoli Petri, quotidianae vinolentiae proferebantur exempla; dixi primo audisse nos saepe esse prohibitum, sed quod remotus sit locus ab episcopi conversatione, et in tanta civitate magna sit carnalium multitudo, peregrinis praesertim, qui novi subinde veniunt tanto violentius, quanto inscitius illam consuetudinem retinentibus, tam immanem pestem nondum compesci sedarique potuisse.

But then the Lord showed that he does not desert us, and in what modes he exhorts us that we should presume in him: for before the hour in which we ascended the exhedra, those very same men entered to me whom I had heard had complained concerning the attacking of the ancient custom; whom having been kindly received, I transferred in a few words into a sound sentence; and when it was come to the time of disputation, the reading which I had prepared having been omitted, because it did not seem necessary now, I disserted a few things concerning this very question, that we could bring nothing neither shorter nor truer against those who say, 'Why now?' except that we also say, 'Even now.'

9. Nevertheless, lest those who before us either permitted or did not dare to prohibit such manifest crimes of the unskilful multitude should seem to be affected with any contumely by us, I exposed to them by what necessity those things seemed to have arisen in the Church: namely, after so many and so vehement persecutions, when peace having been made, crowds of Gentiles desiring to come into the Christian name were hindered by this, that they were accustomed to consume feast days with their idols in abundance of banquets and drunkenness, nor could they easily abstain themselves from these most pernicious and so very ancient pleasures, it seemed to our elders that this part of infirmity should be spared in the meantime, and that other feast days, after those which they were leaving, should be celebrated in honor of the holy martyrs, if not with similar sacrilege, although with similar luxury: now being bound together in the name of Christ, and subjected to the yoke of so great authority, the salutary precepts of sobriety should be delivered, which now on account of the honor and fear of the one commanding they would not be able to resist; wherefore now it is time, that those who do not dare to deny that they are Christians, should begin to live according to the will of Christ, so that those things which were granted so that they might be Christians, are rejected when they are Christians.

10. Then I exhorted them that we should wish to be imitators of the transmarine Churches, in which these things partly have never been received, and partly have already been corrected through good rulers with the people obeying. And since concerning the basilica of the blessed apostle Peter, examples of daily wine-bibbing (quotidianae vinolentiae) were brought forward; I said first that we had heard that it has been often prohibited, but because the place is remote from the conversation of the bishop, and in so great a city there is a great multitude of carnal men, especially with pilgrims, who come from time to time from elsewhere, and retain that custom so much more violently as they do so more ignorantly, so great and immoderate a pestilence could not yet be restrained and calmed.

Verumtamen nos si Petrum apostolum honoraremus, debere praecepta ejus audire, et multo devotius Epistolam in qua voluntas ejus apparet, quam basilicam in qua non apparet, intueri; statimque accepto codice recitavi ubi ait: Christo enim passo pro nobis per carnem, et vos eadem cogitatione armamini; quia qui passus est carne, desiit a carne, ut jam non hominum desideriis, sed voluntate Dei reliquum tempus in carne vivat. Sufficit enim vobis praeteritum tempus voluntate hominum perfecisse, ambulantes in libidinibus, desideriis, ebrietate, comessationibus et nefandis idolorum servitutibus (I Petr. IV, 1-3). Quibus gestis, cum omnes uno animo in bonam voluntatem ire contempta mala consuetudine cernerem, hortatus sum ut meridiano tempore divinis lectionibus et psalmis interessent; ita illum diem multo mundius atque sincerius placere celebrandum; et certe de multitudine convenientium facile posse apparere, qui mentem, et qui ventrem sequeretur. Ita lectis omnibus sermo terminatus est.

11. Pomeridiano autem die, major quam ante meridiem affuit multitudo, et usque ad horam qua cum episcopo egrederemur, legebatur alternatim et psallebatur; nobisque egressis duo psalmi lecti sunt. Deinde me invitum, qui jam cupiebam peractum esse tam periculosum diem, jussum compulit senex ut aliquid eis loquerer. Habui brevem sermonem, quo gratias agerem Deo. Et quoniam in haereticorum basilica audiebamus ab eis solita convivia celebrata, cum adhuc, etiam eo ipso tempore quo a nobis ista gerebantur, illi in poculis perdurarent, dixi diei pulchritudinem noctis comparatione decorari, et colorem candidum nigri vicinitate gratiorem; ita nostrum spiritualis celebrationis conventum minus fortasse futurum fuisse jucundum, nisi ex alia parte carnalis ingurgitatio conferretur, hortatusque sum ut tales epulas instanter appeterent, si gustassent quam suavis est Dominus; illis autem esse metuendum, qui tanquam primum sectantur quod aliquando destruetur, cum quisque comes efficiatur ejus rei quam colit, insultaritque Apostolus talibus dicens, quorum Deus venter (Philipp. III, 19), cum idem alio loco dixerit: Esca ventri et venter escis; Deus autem et hunc et illas evacuabit (I Cor. VI, 13). Nos proinde oportere id sequi quod non evacuatur, quod remotissimum a carnis affectu spiritus sanctificatione retinetur; atque in hanc sententiam, pro tempore, cum ea quae Dominus suggerere dignatus est dicta essent, acta sunt vespertina quae quotidie solent, nobisque cum episcopo recedentibus, fratres eodem loco hymnum dixerunt, non parva multitudine utriusque ad obscuratum diem manente atque psallente.

Nevertheless, if we honored the apostle Peter, we ought to hear his precepts, and much more devoutly look upon the Epistle in which his will appears, than the basilica in which it does not appear; and immediately, the book having been taken up, I recited where he says: For Christ having suffered for us through the flesh, arm yourselves also with the same thought; because he who has suffered in the flesh has ceased from the flesh, that he may no longer live the rest of his time in the flesh according to the desires of men, but according to the will of God. For the time past is sufficient for you to have perfected the will of men, walking in lusts, desires, drunkenness, revellings, and forbidden services of idols (1 Pet. 4:1-3). Which things having been done, when I perceived all with one mind going into a good will, the evil custom having been contemned, I exhorted them that at the noon hour they should be present for the divine readings and psalms; thus that day would please to be celebrated much more purely and sincerely; and certainly from the multitude of those coming together it could easily appear who followed the mind and who followed the belly. Thus, all things having been read, the discourse was ended.

11. But on the afternoon of the day, a greater multitude was present than before noon, and even until the hour in which we went out with the bishop, there was reading and singing of psalms alternately; and after we went out two psalms were read. Then, against my will, who already desired that so dangerous a day should be finished, the old man compelled me by command to speak something to them. I had a brief discourse, in which I gave thanks to God. And since in the basilica of the heretics we heard that the usual banquets were celebrated by them, when even at that same time in which these things were being done by us, they still persisted in their cups, I said that the beauty of the day is decorated by comparison with the night, and the white color is more pleasing by the vicinity of the black; thus our assembly of spiritual celebration would perhaps have been less pleasant, unless on the other side carnal engorgement were brought into comparison, and I exhorted them that they should instantly seek such feasts, if they had tasted how sweet the Lord is; but that those should be feared, who follow as the first thing that which will sometime be destroyed, since everyone is made a companion of that thing which he worships, and the Apostle insulted such men saying, whose God is their belly (Phil. 3:19), when the same said in another place: Meat for the belly and the belly for meats; but God shall evacuate both this and those (1 Cor. 6:13). We therefore ought to follow that which is not evacuated, which, being most remote from the affection of the flesh, is retained by the sanctification of the spirit; and in this sentence, for the time, when those things which the Lord deigned to suggest had been said, the evening acts which are usual daily were performed, and as we receded with the bishop, the brothers in the same place said a hymn, with no small multitude of both sexes remaining and singing psalms until the day grew dark.

12. Digessi vobis quantum breviter potui, quod vos audire desiderasse quis dubitaverit. Orate ut a conatibus nostris omnia scandala et omnia taedia Deus dignetur avertere. Magna sane ex parte vobiscum requiescimus cum alacritate fervoris, quia spiritualis Ecclesiae Thagastensium tam crebra nobis dona nuntiantur. Navis cum fratribus nondum venit. Apud Hasnam, ubi est presbyter frater Argentius, Circumcelliones invadentes basilicam nostram altare comminuerunt. Causa nunc agitur; quae ut pacate agatur et ut Ecclesiam catholicam decet, ad opprimendas linguas haereseos impacatae, multum vos petimus ut oretis. Epistolam Asiarchae misimus. Beatissimi, perseveretis in Domino, memores nostri. Amen.

Epistola XXX.

Paulinus Augustino, non recepto ab eo responso, denuo per alios scribit.

Domino fratri sancto et unanimo AUGUSTINO, PAULINUS et THERASIA peccatores. 1. Jamdudum, frater in Christo Domino mi unanime, ut te in sanctis et piis laboribus tuis nescientem agnovi, absentemque vidi, tota mente complexus, alloquio quoque familiari atque fraterno per litteras audire properavi. Et quoniam in manu, et in gratia Domini sermonem meum ad te fuisse perlatum; sed morante adhuc puero quem ad te aliosque dilectos aeque Deo salutandos, ante hiemem miseramus, non potuimus ultra et officium nostrum suspendere, et desiderium sermonis tui cupidissimum temperare. Scripsimus itaque iterato nunc, si priores ad te litterae nostrae pervenire meruerunt; aut primo, si illis in manus tuas perveniendi felicitas non fuit.

2. Sed tu, frater spiritualis omnia judicans, amorem in te nostrum ne pendas officio solo, aut tempore litterarum. Dominus enim testis est, qui unus atque idem operatur in suis ubique charitatem suam, jam abinde nobis, ex quo te beneficio venerabilium episcoporum Aurelii et Alypii, per tua in Manichaeos opera cognovimus, ita inditam dilectionem tuam, ut nobis non novam aliquam amicitiam sumere, sed quasi veterem charitatem rosumere videremur. Denique nunc etsi sermone, non tamen tanquam et affectu rudes scribimus, teque vicissim spiritu per interiorem hominem, quasi recognoscimus. Nec mirum si et absentes adsumus nobis, et ignoti nosmet novimus; cum unius corporis membra simus, unum habeamus caput, una perfundamur gratia, uno pane vivamus, una incedamus via, eadem habitemus domo. Denique in omne quod sumus, tota spe ac fide, qua stamus in praesenti, nitimur in futurum, tam in spiritu, quam in corpore Domini unum sumus, ne simus nihil si ab uno excidamus.

12. I have digested for you as briefly as I could what no one would doubt you have desired to hear. Pray that from our endeavors God may deign to avert all scandals and all weariness. In great part indeed we rest with you with alacrity of fervor, because so frequent gifts of the spiritual Church of the Tagastenes are announced to us. The ship with the brothers has not yet come. At Hasna, where the presbyter brother Argentius is, the Circumcellions invading our basilica have broken the altar. The cause is now being acted; that it may be acted peacefully and as becomes the Catholic Church, to oppress the tongues of unpacified heresy, we much ask you to pray. We have sent a letter to the Asiarch. Most blessed ones, may you persevere in the Lord, mindful of us. Amen.

Epistle XXX.

Paulinus to Augustine, a response not having been received from him, writes again through others.

To the holy brother and of one mind, AUGUSTINE, PAULINUS and THERASIA, sinners, send greeting. 1. Long since, my brother of one mind in Christ the Lord, I have known you without knowing you in your holy and pious labors, and I have seen you while absent, having embraced you with my whole mind; I have also hastened to hear you through a familiar and fraternal address by letters. And I believe that my word has been carried to you in the hand and in the grace of the Lord; but while the boy whom we had sent before winter to salute you and other beloved ones equally in God was still delaying, we could no longer both suspend our duty and temper our most eager desire for your discourse. Therefore we have written again now, if our prior letters deserved to reach you; or for the first time, if they did not have the happiness of coming into your hands.

2. But you, a spiritual brother judging all things, do not weigh our love toward you by duty alone, or by the time of the letters. For the Lord is witness, who, being one and the same, works his charity in his own everywhere, that from then on, since we knew you by the benefit of the venerable bishops Aurelius and Alypius through your works against the Manicheans, your love was so implanted in us, that we seemed to ourselves not to take up some new friendship, but to resume, as it were, an old charity. Finally, now, although we write as if rude in speech, yet not so in affection, and we, as it were, recognize you in turn in spirit through the inner man. Nor is it a wonder if even while absent we are present to ourselves, and although unknown we know ourselves; since we are members of one body, have one head, are drenched with one grace, live by one bread, walk by one way, and dwell in the same house. Finally, in all that we are, with all hope and faith by which we stand in the present, we strive toward the future; we are one both in the spirit and in the body of the Lord, lest we be nothing if we fall away from the One.

3. Quantulum ergo est, quod absentia corporalis nobis invidet nostri, nisi sane fructum istum, quo pascuntur oculi temporalium exspectatores? quamvis nec corporalis quidem gratia, temporalis in spiritualibus dici debeat, quibus etiam corporum aeternitatem resurrectio largietur, ut audemus in virtute Christi et bonitate Dei Patris, vel indigni praesumere. Quare utinam hoc quoque nobis munus annueret gratia Dei, per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, ut etiam in carne faciem tuam videremus! non solum desideriis nostris magnum conferretur gaudium; sed etiam mentibus lumen accresceret, et ex tua copia locupletaretur inopia nostra. Quod quidem et absentibus largiri potes, hac praesertim occasione, qua filii nostri unanimes et charissimi nobis in Domino, Romanus et Agilis, quos ut nos alteros tibi commendamus, in nomine Domini revertentur, opere charitatis impleto; in quo tuae charitatis affectu specialiter utantur, rogamus. Nosti enim quam celsa promittat Altissimus fratri fratrem adjuvanti. Per hos, si quo me gratiae, quae tibi data est, dono remunerari voles, tuto facies. Sunt enim, velim credas, unum cor et una in Domino anima nobiscum. Gratia Dei tecum, ut est, in aeternum maneat, frater in Christo Domino unanime, venerabilis, dilectissime, et desiderabilis. Omnes in Christo sanctos, quales tibi cohaerere non dubium est, a nobis saluta. Commenda nos omnibus sanctis, ut tecum pro nobis orare dignentur.

SECUNDA CLASSIS. Epistolae quas Augustinus jam episcopus, ante collationem Carthaginensem cum Donatistis habitam, et ante detectam in Africa Pelagii haeresim scripsit, ab anno Christi 396 ad 410.

EPISTOLA XXXI. Paulino pro secundis litteris ab eo receptis, grati animi obsequium exhibet, seque Valerio coepiscopum Hipponensem ordinatum esse renuntians, exoptat ut in Africam trajicere ipse velit, magno cum sibi solatio, tum caeteris christianis exemplo futurus. Dominis dilectissimis et sincerissimis, vere beatissimis atque abundantissima Dei gratia praestantissimis fratribus, PAULINO et THERASIAE, AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

1. Cum litteras meas, quibus respondi prioribus vestris, si tamen vestris litteris ullo modo a me responderi potest, celerrime optaverim venire in vestrae Charitatis manus, ut quoquo pacto absens cito possem esse vobiscum, lucrum mihi vestrae epistolae contulit tarditas mea. Bonus Dominus, qui non tribuit saepe quod volumus, ut quod mallemus attribuat. Aliud enim est, quod accepta epistola mea scripturi estis, aliud quod non accipiendo scripsistis.

How small a thing it is, then, that bodily absence envies us of ourselves, unless indeed it be that fruit on which the eyes of those who wait for temporal things are fed? Although not even bodily grace should be called temporal in spiritual things, to which the resurrection will also grant the eternity of bodies, as we dare, though unworthy, to presume in the virtue of Christ and the goodness of God the Father. Wherefore, would that the grace of God might also grant us this gift, through our Lord Jesus Christ, that we might also see your face in the flesh! Not only would a great joy be conferred on our desires, but also light would increase in our minds, and our poverty would be enriched from your abundance. Which indeed you can grant even to those who are absent, especially on this occasion in which our sons of one mind and most dear to us in the Lord, Romanus and Agilis, whom we commend to you as our other selves, will return in the name of the Lord, their work of charity being fulfilled; in which we ask that they may especially use the affection of your charity. For you know how high things the Most High promises to a brother helping a brother. Through these, if you shall wish to reward me with any gift of the grace which has been given to you, you will do so safely. For they are, I would have you believe, one heart and one soul with us in the Lord. May the grace of God be with you, as it is, and remain forever, my brother of one mind in Christ the Lord, venerable, most beloved, and desirable. Salute from us all the saints, such as no doubt are joined with you. Commend us to all the saints, that they may deign to pray for us with you.

SECOND CLASS. Epistles which Augustine, now a bishop, wrote before the conference of Carthage held with the Donatists, and before the heresy of Pelagius was detected in Africa, from the year of Christ 396 to 410.

EPISTLE XXXI. To Paulinus, for the second letters received from him, he exhibits the service of a grateful mind, and announcing that he has been ordained co-bishop of Hippo to Valerius, he earnestly desires that he himself should wish to cross over into Africa, where he would be both a great solace to himself and an example to the rest of the Christians. To the most beloved and most sincere, truly most blessed and most excellent brothers by the most abundant grace of God, PAULINUS and THERASIA, AUGUSTINE sends greeting in the Lord.

1. When I desired that my letter, in which I responded to your prior ones—if indeed your letters can in any way be responded to by me—should come most swiftly into the hands of your Charity, so that in whatever way I, though absent, might quickly be with you, my delay has conferred a gain on me from your epistle. Good is the Lord, who often does not grant what we wish, that he may bestow what we would prefer. For it is one thing what you are about to write having received my letter, and another what you wrote by not receiving it.

Quod cum laetissime legerimus, defuisset nobis certe ista laetitia, si, ut optavimus maximeque voluimus, cito ad vestram Sanctitatem nostrae litterae permeassent. Nunc vero et haec habere scripta, et illa sperare rescripta, gaudio cumulatiore delectat. Ita nec nostra culpa accusari potest, et Domini largior benignitas fecit quod nostro desiderio conducibilius esse judicavit.

2. Sanctos fratres Romanum et Agilem, aliam epistolam vestram, audientem voces atque reddentem, et suavissimam partem vestrae praesentiae, sed qua vobis visendis inhiaremus avidius, cum magna in Domino jucunditate suscepimus. Unde, aut quando, aut quomodo vel vos praestare, vel nos possemus exigere, ut nos de vobis tanta scribendo doceretis, quanta eorum ore didicimus? Aderat etiam, quod nulli chartae adesse potest, tantum in narrantibus gaudium, ut per ipsum etiam vultum oculosque loquentium, vos in cordibus eorum scriptos cum ineffabili laetitia legeremus. Hoc quoque amplius erat, quod pagina quaelibet quantacumque bona scripta contineat, nihil ipsa proficit, quamvis ad profectum explicetur aliorum: hanc autem epistolam vestram, fraternam scilicet animam, sic in eorum colloquio legebamus, ut tanto beatior appareret nobis, quanto uberius conscripta esset ex vobis. Itaque illam ad ejusdem beatitatis imitationem, studiosissime de vobis omnia percunctando, in nostra corda transcripsimus.

3. Nec ideo tamen eos tam cito a nobis, licet ad vos remeantes, sine molestia passi sumus. Videte enim, quaeso vos, quibus qualiebamur affectibus. Tanto utique dimittendi erant velocius, quanto vobis impensius obedire cupiebant; sed quanto id cupiebant magis, tanto vos nobis praesentius exhibebant: eo quippe indicabant quam chara vestra viscera essent; tanto igitur eos minus dimittere volebamus, quanto justius ut dimitterentur instabant. O rem non ferendam, nisi a nobis ista discessione non discederemus, nisi unius essemus corporis membra, unum haberemus caput, una perfunderemur gratia, uno pane viveremus, una incedemus via, eadem habitaremus domo! Cur enim non eisdem etiam verbis uteremur? Agnoscitis enim, credo, haec esse ex epistola vestra. Sed cur potius haec vestra sint verba quam mea, quae utique quam vera sunt, tam nobis ab ejusdem capitis communione proveniunt? Et si aliquid proprium vobis donatum habent, tanto magis ea sic dilexi, ut obsiderent viam pectoris mei, neque a corde ad linguam meam verba transire sinerent, donec tanto priora, quanto sunt vestra, procederent. Sancti fratres et dilecti Deo, nostraque invicem membra, quis dubitet nos uno spiritu vegetari, nisi qui non sentit qua nobis dilectione vinciamur?

Which when we have read most joyfully, that joy would certainly have been lacking to us if, as we wished and most greatly desired, our letter had quickly reached your Holiness. But now, both to have these written things and to hope for those rewritten things, delights with more accumulated joy. Thus neither can our fault be accused, and the more bountiful benignity of the Lord has done what he judged to be more conducive to our desire.

2. We have received with great joy in the Lord the holy brothers Romanus and Agilis, another epistle of yours, hearing and returning voices, and a most sweet part of your presence, but by which we might gape more eagerly for visiting you. Whence, or when, or how could either you provide, or we demand, that you should teach us so many things concerning you by writing, as many as we have learned by their mouth? There was also present, which can be present to no paper, so great a joy in the narrators, that even through the very face and eyes of the speakers, we read you written in their hearts with ineffable gladness. This also was more, that any page, however great good things it may contain in writing, profits nothing itself, although it may be explained for the profit of others; but this epistle of yours, namely a fraternal soul, we so read in their conversation, that it appeared so much more blessed to us, by how much more abundantly it had been written from you. Therefore, by inquiring most studiously all things concerning you, we transcribed that epistle into our hearts for the imitation of the same beatitude.

3. Yet we did not therefore suffer them so quickly from us, although they were returning to you, without distress. For see, I ask you, with what affections we were tossed. They were certainly to be dismissed so much more swiftly, by how much more impensively they desired to obey you; but the more they desired that, the more presently they exhibited you to us: for by that they indicated how dear your bowels were; therefore we wished to dismiss them so much less, by how much more justly they insisted that they should be dismissed. O thing not to be borne, unless by this departure we did not depart from ourselves, unless we were members of one body, had one head, were drenched with one grace, lived by one bread, walked by one way, and dwelt in the same house! For why should we not even use the same words? For you recognize, I believe, that these things are from your epistle. But why should these words be yours rather than mine, which, as they are indeed true, so they proceed to us from the communion of the same head? And if they have something proper given to you, so much more have I loved them thus, that they might besiege the way of my breast, nor permit words to pass from my heart to my tongue, until they should proceed so much earlier as they are yours. Holy brothers and beloved of God, and our members in turn, who would doubt that we are quickened by one spirit, except he who does not feel by what love we are bound together?

4. Vellem tamen scire, utrum hanc absentiam corporalem vos patientius quam nos faciliusque toleretis? Si ita est, fateor, non amo istam fortitudinem vestram, nisi forte quia nos tales sumus, ut minus a vobis desiderari, quam vos desiderare debeamus. In me certe si esset patientia vestrae absentiae perferendae, displiceret mihi; segniter enim agerem ut vos viderem: quid autem absurdius, quam fortitudine fieri segniorem? Sed qua Ecclesiae cura tenear, ex hoc vestra charitas oportet attendat, quod beatissimus pater Valerius, qui, vos nobiscum quantum salutet, quantumque sitiat, audietis ex fratribus, nec presbyterum me esse suum passus est, nisi majorem mihi coepiscopatus sarcinam imponeret. Quod quidem quia tanta ejus charitate, tantoque populi studio Dominum id velle credidi, nonnullis jam exemplis praecedentibus, quibus mihi omnis excusatio claudebatur, vehementer timui excusare. Sed quanquam jugum Christi per seipsum lene sit, et sarcina levis (Matth. XI, 30); tamen propter nostram asperitatem atque infirmitatem, si quid me mordet hoc vinculum, atque urget hoc onus, ineffabiliter mihi aliquanto vestrae praesentiae solatio, tolerabilius et portabilius redderetur, quos audio curis ejusmodi expeditiores liberioresque vivere. Quare non impudenter ego rogo vos, et postulo, et flagito, ut in Africam majore talium hominum siti, quam siccitatis nobilitate laborantem, venire dignemini.

5. Scit Deus quia non solum propter desiderium meum, neque solum propter eos qui vel per nos vestrum propositum, vel undecumque fama praedicante didicerunt, sed etiam propter caeteros qui partim non audiunt, partim audita non credunt, tamen possunt comperta diligere, vos istis terris etiam corporaliter adesse cupimus. Quamvis enim sedulo atque misericorditer id agitis, tamen etiam coram hominibus regionum nostrarum luceant opera vestra, ut videant bona facta vestra, et glorificent Patrem vestrum, qui in coelis est (Id., V, 16). Piscatores vocante Domino, quod naviculas et retia dimiserunt, omnia se dimisisse, et Dominum secutos esse, etiam commemorando laetati sunt (Id., XIX, 27). Et revera omnia contemnit, qui non solum quantum potuit, sed etiam quantum voluit habere, contemnit. Sed in eo quod cupiebatur, oculi Dei testes sunt; in eo quod habebatur, et hominum. Nescio quo autem modo, cum superflua et terrena diliguntur, arctius adepta quam concupita constringunt. Nam unde tristis ille discessit, qui consilium vitae aeternae consequendae quaerebat a Domino, cum audisset vendenda esse omnia sua, et distribuenda pauperibus, et habendum thesaurum in coelo, si vellet esse perfectus, nisi quia magnas, ut Evangelium loquitur, habebat divitias? (Luc. XVIII, 22, 23.) Aliud est enim, nolle incorporare quae desunt, aliud jam incorporata divellere: illa velut cibi repudiantur, illa velut membra praeciduntur.

4. I would wish to know, however, whether you bear this bodily absence more patiently and easily than we do? If it is so, I confess, I do not love that fortitude of yours, unless perhaps because we are such that we ought to be desired less by you than we ought to desire you. In me certainly if there were patience in bearing your absence, it would displease me; for I would act sluggishly that I might see you: but what is more absurd than to become more sluggish by fortitude? But by what care of the Church I am held, your charity ought to attend to from this, that the most blessed father Valerius—who, you will hear from the brothers how much he salutes you and how much he thirsts for you—did not suffer me to be his presbyter, unless he should impose on me the greater burden of the co-bishopric. Which indeed because, from his so great charity and from so great study of the people, I believed that the Lord willed it, several examples already preceding by which every excuse was closed to me, I vehemently feared to excuse myself. But although the yoke of Christ in itself is easy, and his burden light (Matt. 11:30); yet on account of our roughness and infirmity, if this bond bites me anything, and this burden urges me, it would be rendered ineffably more tolerable and portable to me by some solace of your presence, whom I hear live more unencumbered and free from cares of this kind. Wherefore, not impudently I ask you, and request, and demand, that you deign to come into Africa, laboring with a greater thirst for such men than with the nobility of its drought.

5. God knows that not only on account of my desire, nor only on account of those who either through us have learned of your purpose, or from wherever fame preaching it, but also on account of the others who partly do not hear, and partly having heard do not believe, yet can love what has been found out, we desire you to be present even bodily in these lands. For although you do this sedulously and mercifully, yet even before the men of our regions let your works shine, that they may see your good deeds, and glorify your Father who is in heaven (Matt. 5:16). The fishermen, when the Lord called, because they left their little ships and nets, rejoiced also in commemorating that they had left all things and followed the Lord (Matt. 19:27). And indeed he contemns all things, who contemns not only as much as he could, but also as much as he wished to have. But in that which was desired, the eyes of God are witnesses; in that which was possessed, those of men also. I know not in what way, however, when superfluous and earthly things are loved, they bind more closely when attained than when desired. For whence did that sad man depart, who sought counsel from the Lord for attaining eternal life, when he had heard that all his things were to be sold and distributed to the poor, and that he would have treasure in heaven if he wished to be perfect, unless because he had great riches, as the Gospel speaks? (Luke 18:22, 23). For it is one thing not to wish to incorporate what is lacking, and another to tear away what is already incorporated: those things are rejected like food, these are cut off like members.

Quanto igitur et quantum mirabili gaudio nostris temporibus christiana charitas conspicit, per Domini Evangelium cum laetitia fieri, quod ex ore Domini cum tristitia dives audivit?

6. Quanquam nullis verbis explicem conceptionem ac parturitionem cordis mei; tamen quia prudenter et pie intelligitis non esse istam vestram, hoc est humanam, sed in vobis Domini gloriam; nam et inimicum cautissime intuemini, devotissimeque agitis, ut tanquam discipuli Christi humiles corde ac mites sitis; utilius enim terrena opulentia tenetur humiliter, quam superbe relinquitur: quia ergo recte intelligitis non hanc esse vestram, sed Domini gloriam, videtis quam parva et exigua dixerim. Dixi enim de laudibus Christi, quibus sunt linguae impares Angelorum. Hanc ergo Christi gloriam etiam oculis nostrorum hominum cupimus admoveri, in uno conjugio proposita utrique sexui calcandae superbiae, non desperandae perfectionis exempla. Nescio si quidquam misericordius agitis, quam si tantum nolitis latere, quod tales estis, quantum tales esse voluistis.

7. Vetustinum impiis quoque miserabilem puerum vestrae benignitati charitatique commendo: causas calamitatis et peregrinationis ejus audietis ex ipso. Nam et propositum ejus, quo serviturum se esse pollicetur Deo, tempus prolixius, et aetas robustior, et transactus timor certius indicabunt. Tres libros, atque utinam tam grandis quaestionis ita explicatores ut grandes, tanto minus metuens in te laborem legendi, quanto ardorem perspicio diligendi, misi Sanctitati et Charitati tuae; nam quaestio eorum de Libero Arbitrio est. Hos autem non habere, aut omnes non habere fratrem Romanianum scio, per quem prope omnia, quae quibuslibet auribus accommodata scribere potui, studio in nos tuo non apportanda dedi, sed legenda indicavi. Habebat enim jam ille omnia, secumque gestabat: per eum autem prima rescripta transmisi. Credo jam expertam Sanctitatem tuam sagacitate spirituali, quam tibi Dominus tribuit, quid ille vir boni animo gerat, et quae in illo infirmitate pars claudicet. Unde humanitati et charitati tuae tam ipsum quam filium ejus, legisti, ut spero, qua sollicitudine commendaverim, et quanta mihi necessitudine copulati sint. Aedificet eos per te Dominus. Quod ab illo magis petendum est: nam id tu quam velis novi.

With how much, therefore, and how great and admirable joy in our times does Christian charity behold being done with gladness through the Gospel of the Lord, what the rich man heard from the mouth of the Lord with sadness?

Although I can explain by no words the conception and parturition of my heart; yet because you prudently and piously understand that this is not yours, that is, human, but the glory of the Lord in you; for you also look upon the enemy most cautiously, and act most devoutly, that as disciples of Christ you may be humble of heart and meek; for earthly opulence is more usefully held humbly than left proudly: because therefore you rightly understand that this is not your glory, but the Lord's, you see how small and meager things I have said. For I have spoken of the praises of Christ, to which the tongues of Angels are unequal. This glory of Christ, therefore, we also desire to be moved to the eyes of our men, in one marriage proposed as examples to both sexes of treading upon pride and not despairing of perfection. I know not if you act anything more mercifully than if you should only be unwilling to lie hid, that you are such as you have wished to be.

7. I commend to your benignity and charity the boy Vetustinus, pitiable even to the impious; you will hear the causes of his calamity and pilgrimage from himself. For both his purpose, by which he promises that he will serve God, a longer time, and a more robust age, and his past fear having been transacted, will more certainly indicate. Three books—and would that they were as great explainers of so great a question as they are great in size—I have sent to your Holiness and Charity, fearing the labor of reading in you so much less as I perceive your ardor of loving; for their question is concerning Free Will (Libero Arbitrio). But I know that brother Romanianus does not have these, or does not have them all, through whom I gave almost all things which I could write accommodated to any ears, not to be carried back by your study in us, but I indicated them to be read. For he already had all things and was carrying them with him; through him indeed I transmitted the first replies. I believe your Holiness has already experienced by the spiritual sagacity which the Lord has given you, what that man bears in his mind of good, and in what part he limps with infirmity. Whence to your humanity and charity both himself and his son, you have read, as I hope, with what solicitude I have commended, and by how great a necessity they are joined to me. May the Lord build them up through you. Which is rather to be asked from him; for I know how much you wish it.

8. Adversus Paganos te scribere didici ex fratribus: si quid de tuo pectore meremur, indifferenter mitte ut legamus. Nam pectus tuum tale Domini oraculum est, ut ex eo nobis tam placita, et adversus loquacissimas quaestiones explicatissima dari responsa praesumamus. Libros beatissimi papae Ambrosii credo habere Sanctitatem tuam, eos autem multum desidero, quos adversus nonnullos imperitissimos et superbissimos, qui de Platonis libris Dominum profecisse contendunt, diligentissime et copiosissime scripsit.

9. Beatissimus frater Severus de condiscipulatu nostro Milevitanae antistes Ecclesiae, bene apud eamdem civitatem fratribus cognitus, debito nobiscum officio Sanctitatem vestram salutat. Fratres quoque omnes nobiscum Domino servientes, tam id faciunt quam vos desiderant; tam vos desiderant, quam vos diligunt, et tam diligunt, quam estis boni. Panis quem misimus, uberior benedictio fiet, dilectione accipientis vestrae benignitatis. Custodiat vos Dominus ab ista generatione in aeternum (Psal. XI, 8), domini dilectissimi et sincerissimi, vere benigni, et abundantissima Domini gratia praestantissimi fratres.

Epistola XXXII.

Paulinus Romaniano, gratulans Ecclesiae Hipponensi quod Augustinum meruit episcopi collegam.

Licentium, pro quo scripserat Augustinus, hortatur et prosa et carmine, ut contempto aulae fastu se dedicet Christo.

Domino merito, praedicabili et honorando fratri ROMANIANO, PAULINUS et THERASIA. 1. Pridie quam has daremus, reversis ex Africa fratribus nostris, qaorum exspectatione nos pendere vidisti, optatissime sanctorum et charissimorum virorum, inde epistolas receperamus, id est Aurelii, Alypii, Augustini, Profuturi, Severi, jam omnium pariter episcoporum. Ergo tot sanctorum talium recentissimis sermonibus gratulantes, properavimus ad te nostram referre laetitiam, ut tibi quoque exspectatum in peregrinatione sollicita gaudium festivissimis conferremus indiciis. Si forte eadem de venerabilibus et amantissimis viris per aliarum adventus navium comperisti, per nos etiam repetita accipe, et quasi renovata hilaritate rursus exsulta. Quod si primus hic a nobis tibi nuntius veniet, gratulare tantam nobis in tua patria charitatem Christo donante partam, ut quidquid illic divina Providentia gerat, mirabilis semper, ut scriptum est, in sanctis suis (Psal. LXVII, 36), vel primi, vel cum primis sciamus.

8. I have learned from the brothers that you are writing against the Pagans; if we deserve anything from your breast, send it indifferently that we may read it. For your breast is such an oracle of the Lord, that from it we presume that answers so pleasing and most explained against most loquacious questions are given to us. I believe your Holiness has the books of the most blessed pope Ambrose; but I much desire those which he wrote most diligently and most copiously against some most unskilful and most proud men, who contend that the Lord profited from the books of Plato.

9. The most blessed brother Severus, of our school-fellowship, bishop of the Church of Milevis, well known to the brothers in that same city, salutes your Holiness with the duty owed with us. All the brothers also serving the Lord with us do so as much as they desire you; they desire you as much as they love you, and they love you as much as you are good. The bread which we have sent will become a more abundant blessing by the love of the receiver of your benignity. May the Lord keep you from this generation forever (Ps. 12:7), most beloved and sincere lords, truly benign, and most excellent brothers by the most abundant grace of the Lord.

Epistle XXXII.

Paulinus to Romanianus, congratulating the Church of Hippo because it deserved Augustine as a colleague of the bishop.

He exhorts Licentius, for whom Augustine had written, both in prose and in verse, that, the pomp of the court being contemned, he should dedicate himself to Christ.

To the brother worthily to be praised and honored, ROMANIANUS, PAULINUS and THERASIA send greeting. 1. On the day before we gave these, our brothers having returned from Africa—on whose expectation you saw us hanging—we had received most welcome epistles of holy and most dear men from there, that is, of Aurelius, Alypius, Augustine, Profuturus, Severus, all now equally bishops. Therefore, congratulating in the most recent discourses of so many such holy men, we have hastened to refer our joy to you, that we might also confer on you, in your solicitous pilgrimage, the expected joy by most festive indications. If perhaps you have found out the same things concerning the venerable and most loving men through the arrival of other ships, receive them also as repeated through us, and exult again with, as it were, renewed hilarity. But if this first messenger shall come to you from us, congratulate so great a charity brought forth for us in your country by the gift of Christ, that whatever Divine Providence may do there—ever wonderful, as it is written, in his saints (Ps. 68:35)—we may know it either first, or among the first.

2. Non autem tantum hoc scribimus gratulandum, quod episcopatum Augustinus acceperit, sed quod hanc Dei curam meruerint Africanae Ecclesiae, ut verba coelestia Augustini ore perciperent, qui ad majorem Dominic. muneris gratiam novo more provectus, ita consecratus est, ut non succederet in cathedra episcopo, sed accederet. Nam incolumi Valerio Hipponensis Ecclesiae episcopo, coepiscopus Augustinus est. Et ille beatus senex, cui purissimam mentem nulla unquam liventis invidiae macula suffudit, dignos sui cordis pace nunc ab altissimo fructus capit, ut quem successorem sacerdotii sui simpliciter optabat, hunc mereatur tenere collegam. Credine hoc potuit antequam fieret? Sed in hoc quoque Omnipotentis opere dici evangelicum illud potest: Hominibus haec ardua; apud Deum autem omnia possibilia (Luc. XVIII, 27). Exsultemus itaque et laetemur in eo qui facit mirabilia solus, et qui facit unanimes habitare in domo, quoniam ipse respexit humilitatem nostram, et visitavit in bono plebem suam: qui erexit cornu in domo David pueri sui, et nunc exaltavit cornu Ecclesiae suae in electis suis, ut cornua peccatorum, sicut per prophetam spondet, hoc est Donatistarum Manichaeorumque, confringat.

3. Utinam haec nunc Domini tuba, qua per Augustinum intonat, filii nostri Licentii pulset auditus, sed ut illa audiat aure, qua Christus ingreditur, de qua non rapit Dei semen inimicus! Tunc vere sibi summus Christi pontifex Augustinus videbitur, quia se tunc et exauditum sentiet ab excelso, si quem tibi dignum genuit in litteris, hunc et sibi digne filium pariat in Christo. Nam et nunc, velim credas, flagrantissima de ipso nobis sollicitudine scripsit. Credimus in omnipotentem Christum, quod adolescentis nostri votis carnalibus spiritualia vota Augustini praevaleant. Vincetur vel invitus (mihi crede); vincetur piissimi parentis fide, ne mala victoria vincat, si maluerit in perniciem suam vincere, quani pro salute superari. Lest the office of fraternal humanity should seem empty, from the biscuit (buccellato) of the Christian expedition, in whose preparation we daily serve for the provision of frugality, we have sent five loaves to you and to our son Licentius together. Non enim potuimus a benedictione secernere, quem cupimus eadem nobis gratia penitus annectere. Paucis tamen et ad ipsum loquamur, ne neget sibi scriptum quod de se tibi scriptum est. Aeschino enim dicitur, quod audit Mitio. Sed quid de alienis loquar, cum de proprio cuncta possimus, et aliena loqui non soleat esse sani capitis? quo Dei gratia sano et salvo sumus, quibus caput est Christus. Incolumem te aetate quamplurima, et beatum semper cum tota domo tua, ut cupimus, habeamus in Christo, domine frater, merito honorandissime et desiderantissime.

2. But we write this not only to congratulate you because Augustine has received the episcopate, but because the African Churches have merited this care of God, that they might receive the heavenly words from the mouth of Augustine, who, advanced by a new custom to a greater grace of the Lord's gift, was so consecrated that he did not succeed the bishop in the chair, but approached it. For while Valerius, the bishop of the Church of Hippo, was unharmed, Augustine became co-bishop. And that blessed old man, whose most pure mind no stain of livid envy ever overspread, now receives fruits from the most high in the peace of his heart, so that he whom he simply desired as the successor of his priesthood, he merits to hold as a colleague. Could this be believed before it was done? But in this work of the Almighty also, that evangelical saying can be said: "With men these things are arduous; but with God all things are possible" (Luke 18:27). Let us therefore exult and rejoice in him who alone does wonders, and who makes those of one mind to dwell in a house, because he himself has regarded our humility, and has visited his people in good: who has raised up a horn in the house of David his servant, and has now exalted the horn of his Church in his elect, that he may break the horns of sinners, as he promises through the prophet—that is, of the Donatists and Manichaeans.

3. Would that this trumpet of the Lord, with which he thunders through Augustine, might now strike the hearing of our son Licentius, but that he might hear with that ear by which Christ enters, from which the enemy does not snatch the seed of God! Then truly will Augustine seem to himself the high priest of Christ, because he will then feel himself heard by the most high, if he whom he begot for you worthily in letters, he also worthily bears as a son for himself in Christ. For even now, I would have you believe, he wrote to us with the most burning solicitude concerning him. We believe in the almighty Christ, that the spiritual wishes of Augustine may prevail over the carnal wishes of our young man. He will be conquered even against his will (believe me); he will be conquered by the faith of a most pious parent, lest a bad victory should win, if he should prefer to win to his own perdition, rather than to be overcome for his salvation. Lest the office of fraternal humanity should seem empty, from the biscuit (*buccellatum*) of the Christian expedition, in whose preparation we daily serve for the provision of frugality, we have sent five loaves to you and to our son Licentius together. For we could not separate from the blessing him whom we desire to join intimately to ourselves by the same grace. Yet let us speak a few words to him also, lest he should deny that what was written to you about him was written to him. For it is said to Aeschinus, what Micio hears. But why should I speak of others, when we can do all things from our own, and to speak of others is not usually of a sane head? by the grace of God we are sane and safe, whose head is Christ. May we have you unharmed for very many years, and always blessed with your whole house, as we desire, in Christ, lord brother, worthily most honorable and most longed for.

4. Audi ergo, fili, legem patris tui, id est fidem Augustini, et noli repellere consilia matris tuae, quod aeque nomen in te Augustini pietas jure sibi vindicat, qui te tantillum gestavit sinu suo, et a parvulis primo lacte sapientiae secularis imbutum, nunc etiam spiritualibus lactare et enutrire Domino gestit uberibus. Quoniam te adultum aetate corporea, in spiritualibus adhuc cunabulis vagientem, videt adhuc infantem verbo Dei, vixdum in Christo primis passibus et vestigio titubante repentem, si tamen Augustini doctrina tanquam manus matris et ulna nutricis instabilem regat parvulum. Quem si audias et sequaris, ut rursum te sermone Salomonis alliciam, Fili, coronam accipies gratiarum tuo vertici (Prov. IV, 9). Et tunc vere eris ille non phantasmate somniatus, sed ab ipsa veritate formatus consul et pontifex, vacuas imagines falsi operis implente Christo solidis suae operationis effectibus. Vere enim pontifex et vere consul, Licenti, eris, si Augustini vestigiis propheticis et apostolicis disciplinis, ut sacrato beatus Elisaeus Eliae, ut illustri Apostolo Timotheus adolescens, adhaereas, indivulso per itinera divina comitatu, ut et sacerdotium corde perfecto discas mereri, et populis ad salutem magistro ore consulere.

5. Sat hoc monitis et hortatui: modico enim sermone et labore te arbitror, mi Licenti, ad Christum posse incitari, jam a pueris ad studia veritatis et sapientiae, quod utrumque vere est Christus, et omnis boni summum bonum venerabilis Augustini spiritu et ore flammatum. Qui si parum apud te pro te valuit, quid ego tanto intervallo posterior, et omnium illius opum pauper, efficiam? Sed quia et illius facultatis potentia, et tui ingenii humanitate confisus, pleniora atque majora in te spero elaborata quam elaboranda, ausus sum hiscere duplici gratia, ut et illi viro debita charitate comparar in sollicitudine tui, et inter eos qui salutem tuam diligunt, vel contestato numerarer affectu. Nam effectus in tui perfectione palmam Augustino potissimum destinatam scio. Vereor, fili, ne aures tuas asperitate temerarii sermonis offenderim, et per aures animo etiam tuo taedii mei vulnus intulerim.

4. Hear therefore, son, the law of your father, that is, the faith of Augustine, and do not reject the counsels of your mother, which name the piety of Augustine equally vindicates for itself in you, who carried you as a little one in his bosom, and having imbued you from childhood with the first milk of secular wisdom, now also desires to suckle and nourish you for the Lord with spiritual breasts. Since he sees you, an adult in bodily age, still crying in spiritual cradles, still an infant in the word of God, as yet scarcely creeping with first steps and a tottering track in Christ—if only the doctrine of Augustine, like the hand of a mother and the arm of a nurse, may guide the unstable little one. Whom if you hear and follow, that I may again entice you with the speech of Solomon: "Son, you shall receive a crown of graces for your head" (Prov. 4:9). And then truly you will be that consul and priest, not dreamed of in a phantasm of sleep, but formed by truth itself, Christ filling the empty images of a false work with the solid effects of his own operation. For truly a priest and truly a consul, Licentius, you will be, if you adhere to the footsteps of Augustine in prophetic and apostolic disciplines, as the blessed Elisha to the sacred Elijah, as the young Timothy to the illustrious Apostle, with an undivided company through divine journeys, that you may both learn to merit the priesthood with a perfect heart, and to consult for the people for salvation with a masterly mouth.

5. Enough of this for admonition and exhortation: for by a moderate speech and labor I think you, my Licentius, can be incited to Christ, already from boyhood enflamed by the spirit and mouth of the venerable Augustine for the studies of truth and wisdom—both of which is truly Christ, and the supreme good of every good. If he has availed little with you for yourself, what shall I—so much later in interval, and a pauper of all his riches—accomplish? But because, trusting both in the power of his faculty and in the humanity of your genius, I hope for fuller and greater things worked out in you than yet to be worked out, I have dared to open my mouth with a double grace: that I might be compared to that man with due charity in solicitude for you, and that I might be numbered with a witnessed affection among those who love your salvation. For the effect in your perfection I know to be destined chiefly as a palm for Augustine. I fear, son, lest I should have offended your ears by the asperity of a rash speech, and through your ears should have brought the wound of my weariness even to your mind.

Sed in mentem venit epistola tua, qua te musicis familiarem modis intellexi : a quo studio ego aevi quondam tui non abhorrui. Itaque mihi ad tuam mentem, si in aliquo exulcerassem, deliniendam remedium, litteras tuas recordatus reperi, ut te ad Dominum harmoniae omniformis artificem, modulamine carminis evocarem. Quaeso te ut aure audias, neque causam salutis tuae in verbis meis spernas; sed piam curam et mentem paternam etiam in despiciendis sermonibus libenter accipias, quibus insitum Christi nomen, quod est supra omne nomen, hanc deberi venerationem facit, ut non possit a credente contemni.

Carmen elegiacum paulini

AD LICENTIUM.

Quare age, rumpe moras, et vincla tenacia secli: Nec metuas placidi mite jugum Domini.

Pulchra quidem, sed mira vagis praesentia rerum Mentibus, at sapiens non stupet ista animus.

Nunc te sollicitat variis malesuada figuris, Heu! validos etiam vertere Roma potens;

Sed tibi, nate, precor, semper pater Augustinus Occurset, cunctas Urbis ad illecebras.

Illum tanta inter fragilis discrimina vitae Aspiciens, et habens pectore, tutus eris.

Hoc tamen et repetens iterumque iterumque monebo, Ut fugias durae lubrica militiae.

Blandum nomen honos, mala servitus, exitus aeger Quem nunc velle juvat, mox voluisse piget.

Scandere celsa juvat, tremor est descendere celsis: Si titubes, summa pejus ab arce cades.

Nunc tibi falsa placent bona, nunc rapit omnibus auris Ambitus, et vitreo fert cava fama sinu.

Ast ubi te magno damno succinxerit empto Baltheus, et sterilis fregerit inde labor,

Serus et incassum spes accusabis inanes, Et modo quae nectis, rumpere vincla voles:

Tunc reminisceris frustra patris Augustini Contempsisse dolens veridicos monitus.

But your epistle came to my mind, by which I understood you to be familiar with musical modes: from which study I once, at your age, did not abhor. Therefore, to soothe your mind, if I should have exacerbated it in anything, I found a remedy by remembering your letters, that I might evoke you to the Lord, the artisan of all-formed harmony, by the modulation of a poem. I beseech you that you hear with your ear, nor despise the cause of your salvation in my words; but that you willingly receive the pious care and fatherly mind even in despicable speeches, in which the implanted name of Christ—which is above every name—makes this veneration due, so that it cannot be contemned by a believer.

ELEGIAC POEM OF PAULINUS TO LICENTIUS.

Wherefore come, break the delays, and the tenacious bonds of the age: Nor fear the mild yoke of the placid Lord.

Beautiful indeed, but wonderful to wandering minds is the presence of things, But the wise mind is not stupified by those.

Now Rome, powerful to turn even the strong, solicits you with various ill-persuading figures; Alas! Rome is powerful to turn even the strong;

But to you, son, I pray, may father Augustine always meet you against all the allurements of the City. Meet you against all the allurements of the City.

Beholding him among so great dangers of a fragile life, and having him in your breast, you will be safe. Beholding and having him in your breast, you will be safe.

This however both repeating and again and again I will warn, that you flee the slippery paths of hard military service. That you flee the slippery paths of hard military service.

Honor is a bland name, a bad servitude, a sick end which it now helps to wish, soon it shames to have wished. Which it now helps to wish, soon it shames to have wished.

It helps to climb high places, it is a tremor to descend from the high: if you totter, you will fall worse from the highest citadel. If you totter, you will fall worse from the highest citadel.

Now false goods please you, now ambition ravishes you with all breezes, and hollow fame carries you in a glassy bosom. Ambition, and hollow fame carries you in a glassy bosom.

But when the belt, bought with a great loss, shall have girded you, and sterile labor shall have broken you therefrom, The belt, and sterile labor shall have broken you therefrom,

Late and in vain you will accuse empty hopes, and the bonds which you now knit, you will wish to break: And the bonds which you now knit, you will wish to break:

Then in vain you will remember father Augustine, grieving to have contemned his truth-telling admonitions. Grieving to have contemned his truth-telling admonitions.

Quare si sapiens, et si pius es puer, audi, Et cape verba patrum, consiliumque senum.

Quid retrahis fera colla jugo? mea sarcina lenis, Suave jugum Christi est, vox pia, crede Deo:

Et caput adde jugis, da mollibus ora capistris, Demissosque levi subde humeros oneri.

Nunc potes hoc, dum liber agis, dum nulla retentant Vincula, nulla thori cura, nec altus honor.

Haec bona libertas, Christo servire, et in ipso Omnibus esse supra: non dominis hominum, Non vitiis servit, non regibus ille superbis, Tantum qui Christo se dederit Domino.

Nec tibi nobilitas videatur libera, quam nunc Sublimem attonita conspicis Urbe vehi.

Quam cernis tanta sibi libertate videri, Ut dedignetur flectere colla Deo.

Multis ille miser mortalibus, et quoque servis Servit, et ancillas ut dominentur, emit.

Norunt eunuchos et magna palatia passi, Et quisquis Romam, sponte miser, patitur:

Quanto sudoris pretio, damnoque decoris Constet ibi chlamydis, hic honor officii.

Nec tamen ipse potens, qui celsior omnibus esse Emerit, ut nulli serviat, assequitur.

Cum bene se tota dominum jactaverit Urbe, Servit daemoniis, si simulacra colit.

Proh dolor! hos propter remoraris in Urbe, Licenti Et regnum Christi spernis, ut his placeas:

Hos vocitas dominos, curva et cervice salutas, Quos ligni servos conspicis et lapidis!

Nomine divino argentum venerantur et aurum, Relligio est quod amat morbus avaritiae.

Wherefore if you are a wise and if a pious boy, hear, and take the words of fathers, and the counsel of old men. And take the words of fathers, and the counsel of old men.

Why do you withdraw your fierce neck from the yoke? my burden is light, the yoke of Christ is sweet, a pious voice, believe God: The yoke of Christ is sweet, a pious voice, believe God:

And add your head to the yokes, give your mouth to the soft halters, and subject your lowered shoulders to the light burden. And subject your lowered shoulders to the light burden.

Now you can do this, while you act free, while no bonds retain you, no care of a bed, nor high honor. No bonds retain you, no care of a bed, nor high honor.

This is good liberty, to serve Christ, and in him to be above all things: not to the masters of men, not to vices does he serve, nor to proud kings, he who shall have given himself only to Christ the Lord. To be above all things: not to the masters of men, Not to vices does he serve, nor to proud kings, He who shall have given himself only to Christ the Lord.

Nor let nobility seem free to you, which now sublime you behold carried in the astonished City. Sublime you behold carried in the astonished City.

Which you see to seem to itself with so great liberty, that it disdains to bend its neck to God. That it disdains to bend its neck to God.

Miserable is he to many mortals, and also he serves to servants, and buys handmaids that they may dominate. He serves to servants, and buys handmaids that they may dominate.

Those who have suffered eunuchs and great palaces know, and whoever, miserable by choice, suffers Rome: And whoever, miserable by choice, suffers Rome:

With how great a price of sweat, and loss of decorum the cloak of office consists there, this honor of duty. The cloak of office consists there, this honor of duty.

Nor yet does the powerful man himself, who to be higher than all shall have bought, that he may serve none, attain it. Who shall have bought, that he may serve none, attain it.

When he shall have well boasted himself lord in the whole City, he serves demons, if he worships idols. He serves demons, if he worships idols.

Alas, grief! on account of these you delay in the City, Licentius, and you spurn the kingdom of Christ, that you may please these: And you spurn the kingdom of Christ, that you may please these:

These you call lords, and salute with a curved neck, whom you behold the servants of wood and stone! Whom you behold the servants of wood and stone!

With a divine name they venerate silver and gold, religion is what the disease of avarice loves. Religion is what the disease of avarice loves.

Imprecor hos ut amet, qui non amat Augustinum, Non colat et Christum, cui placet hos colere.

Inde ait ipse Deus, dominis non posse duobus Serviri; quoniam mens placet una Deo:

Una fides, Deus unus, et unicus e Patre Christus, Haud duplex uni servitus est domino.

Quanta etenim coelo ac terris distantia, tanta est Caesaris et Christi rebus et imperiis.

Tollere humo, sed nunc dum spiritus hos regit artus, Mente polum penetra, nil mora carnis obest.

Corporeis jam nunc morere actibus, et bona vitae Coelestis liquido praemeditare animo.

Spiritus es, quanquam tenearis corpore, si nunc Mente pia victor carnis opus perimas.

Haec tibi, chare puer, fido compulsus amore Scripsi; si recipis, suscipiere Deo.

Crede Augustinum tibi nunc in me geminatum, Sume duos una cum pietate patres.

Spernimur? abstraheris majore dolore duobus: Audimur? pignus dulce duobus eris.

In te laeta patrum sudavit cura duorum, Et tibi magnus honos laetificasse duos.

Sed me Augustino, cum copulo, non meritorum Jacto parem, solo comparo amore tui.

Nam quid ego effundam, rorans tibi paupere rivo? Me praeter, gemino flumine prolueris;

Frater Alypius est, Augustinusque magister, Sanguinis hic consors, hic sator ingenii.

Tanto fratre vales et praeceptore, Licenti, Et dubitas pennis talibus astra sequi?

I imprecate that he may love these, who does not love Augustine, nor worship Christ, to whom it pleases to worship these. Nor worship Christ, to whom it pleases to worship these.

Thence God himself says, that one cannot serve two lords; since one mind pleases God: Since one mind pleases God:

One faith, one God, and one Christ from the Father, by no means is there a double servitude to one lord. By no means is there a double servitude to one lord.

For as great as is the distance between heaven and earth, so great is it in the things and empires of Caesar and of Christ. In the things and empires of Caesar and of Christ.

Rise from the ground, but now while the spirit rules these limbs, penetrate the pole with your mind, no delay of the flesh hinders. Penetrate the pole with your mind, no delay of the flesh hinders.

Die even now to corporeal acts, and the goods of the heavenly life premeditate with a clear mind. Premeditate with a clear mind.

You are spirit, although you are held by the body, if now with a pious mind as a victor you slay the work of the flesh. With a pious mind as a victor you slay the work of the flesh.

These things to you, dear boy, compelled by faithful love I have written; if you receive them, you will be received by God. I have written; if you receive them, you will be received by God.

Believe Augustine to be now doubled for you in me, take two fathers together with one piety. Take two fathers together with one piety.

Are we spurned? you are drawn away with greater grief from two: Are we heard? you will be a sweet pledge to two. Are we heard? you will be a sweet pledge to two.

In you the glad care of two fathers has sweated, and to you it is a great honor to have gladdened two. And to you it is a great honor to have gladdened two.

But when I couple myself to Augustine, I do not boast myself equal in merits, I compare myself only in love of you. I boast myself equal in merits, I compare myself only in love of you.

For what shall I pour out, bedewing you with a poor stream? Besides me, you are washed by a double river; Besides me, you are washed by a double river;

Brother Alypius is, and Augustine the master, this one the consort of blood, that one the sower of genius. This one the consort of blood, that one the sower of genius.

With such a brother and teacher you are strong, Licentius, and do you doubt to follow the stars with such wings? And do you doubt to follow the stars with such wings?

Quidquid agas (nam te nec speret mundus amicum), Non daberis terrae, debita Christo anima.

Tu thalamos licet, et celsos mediteris honores, Nunc olim Domino restituere tuo.

Credo unum vincent justi duo peccatorem, Et tua fraternae vota preces abigent.

Ergo redi, qua voce parens, qua sanguine frater, Ambo sacerdotes te remeare jubent.

Ad tua te retrahunt, nam nunc aliena petescis ; Haec mage, quae retinent regna tui, tua sunt.

Haec repete, his inhia, externis ne contere tempus, Si tua nolueris, quisquam aliena dabit?

Non eris ipse tuus, missusque per extera longe Sensibus heu proprii pectoris exsul ages.

Sollicitum satis haec nato cecinisse parentem, Dum tibi quae mihimet, vel volo, vel metuo.

Haec tibi, si recipis, feret olim pagina vitam: Si renuis, eadem haec pagina testis erit.

Incolumem mihi te, fili charissime, Christus Annuat, et servum det sibi perpetuo.

Vive, precor, sed vive Deo: nam vivere mundo Mortis opus; viva est vivere vita Deo .

4. Illud tamen quod promittere dignatus es, peto memineris, ut sedentibus quos ipse delegeris (dummodo verba nostra non inaniter ventilentur, sed stilo excipiantur, ut et tranquillius et ordinatius disseramus, et si quid forte a nobis dictum de memoria lapsum fuerit, recitatione revocetur), rem tam magnam, et ad salutem omnium pertinentem cum concordia requiramus.

Whatever you do (for let the world not hope for you as a friend), you will not be given to the earth, a soul owed to Christ. You will not be given to the earth, a soul owed to Christ.

Although you may meditate on bridal chambers and high honors, now one day you will be restored to your Lord. Now one day you will be restored to your Lord.

I believe two just men will overcome one sinner, and the prayers of your brother will drive away your wishes. And the prayers of your brother will drive away your wishes.

Therefore return, with which voice a parent, with which a brother by blood, both priests, command you to return. Both priests, command you to return.

They pull you back to your own, for now you seek foreign things; these rather, which retain the kingdoms of yours, are yours. These rather, which retain the kingdoms of yours, are yours.

Seek these again, pant for these, do not wear out time in external things, if you will not have yours, will anyone give foreign things? If you will not have yours, will anyone give foreign things?

You will not be your own, and sent far through foreign parts alas, you will act as an exile from the senses of your own breast. Alas, you will act as an exile from the senses of your own breast.

It is enough for a solicitous parent to have sung these to a son, while for you what I either wish or fear for myself. While for you what I either wish or fear for myself.

These things to you, if you receive them, this page will one day bring life: if you refuse, this same page will be a witness. If you refuse, this same page will be a witness.

May Christ grant you to me unharmed, most dear son, and give you as a servant to himself forever. And give you as a servant to himself forever.

Live, I pray, but live to God: for to live to the world is the work of death; a living life is to live to God. Is the work of death; a living life is to live to God.

4. However, I ask that you remember what you have deigned to promise: that with those whom you yourself shall have chosen sitting by (provided that our words be not vainly tossed about, but be taken down by the pen, so that we may discourse both more tranquilly and more orderly, and if anything by chance said by us should have slipped from memory, it may be recalled by reading), we may seek with concord a matter so great, and pertaining to the salvation of all.

Aut si placet, nullo medio interposito, prius nobiscum sive per epistolas, sive per collocutionem atque lectionem, ubi placuerit, conferamus: ne forte intemperantes nonnulli auditores malint quasi nostrum exspectare certamen, quam de nostra salute in nostra collocutione cogitare: ut quod fuerit inter nos terminatum, postea per nos populus noverit; aut si per epistolas agi placet, ipsae plebibus recitentur, ut aliquando non plebes, sed plebs una dicatur. Prorsus sicut volueris, sicut jusseris, sicut tibi placuerit, libenter amplector. Et de animo beatissimi et venerabilis mihi patris Valerii nunc absentis tota securitate polliceor hoc eum cum magna laetitia cogniturum: novi enim quantum diligat pacem, et nulla vani fastus inanitate jactetur.

5. Rogo te quid nobis est cum veteribus dissensionibus? Hucusque vulnera illa duraverint, quae animositas hominum superborum nostris membris inflixit; quorum vulnerum putrefactione etiam dolorem perdidimus, quo solet medicus implorari. Vides quanta et quam miserabili foeditate christianae domus familiaeque turbatae sint. Mariti et uxores de suo lecto sibi consentiunt, et de Christi altari dissentiunt. Per illum sibi jurant, ut inter se pacem habeant, et in illo habere non possunt. Filii cum parentibus unam domum habent suam, et domum Dei non habent unam. Succedere in eorum haereditatem cupiunt, cum quibus de Christi haereditate rixantur. Servi et domini communem Dominum dividunt, qui formam servi accepit, ut omnes serviendo liberaret. Honorant nos vestri, honorant vos nostri. Per coronam nostram nos adjurant vestri, per coronam vestram vos adjurant nostri. Omnium verba suscipimus, neminem offendere volumus. Quid nos solus Christus offendit, cujus membra laniamus? Et homines quidem causas suas seculares apud nos finire cupientes, quando eis necessarii fuerimus, sic nos sanctos et Dei servos appellant, ut negotia terrae suae peragant: aliquando agamus et nos negotium salutis nostrae et salutis ipsorum, non de auro, non de argento, non de fundis et pecoribus, pro quibus rebus quotidie submisso capite salutamur, ut dissensiones hominum terminemus, sed de ipso capite nostro tam turpis inter nos et perniciosa dissensio est. Quantumlibet capita submittant qui nos salutant, ut eos concordes in terra faciamus, de coelo usque ad crucem submissum est caput nostrum, in quo concordes non sumus.

Or if it pleases, with no mediator interposed, let us first confer between ourselves, either by letters, or by conversation and reading, where it shall please: lest by chance some intemperate auditors should prefer to expect, as it were, our contest, than to think of our salvation in our conversation: so that what shall have been determined between us, the people may afterwards know through us; or if it pleases to act by letters, let them be read to the peoples, so that at length not peoples, but one people may be said. Altogether as you shall wish, as you shall command, as it shall please you, I willingly embrace. And concerning the mind of the most blessed and venerable father Valerius, now absent, I promise with all security that he will learn this with great gladness: for I know how much he loves peace, and is tossed by no inanity of vain pomp.

5. I ask you, what have we to do with ancient dissensions? Let those hard wounds last until now, which the animosity of proud men has inflicted on our members; by the putrefaction of which wounds we have even lost the pain, by which the physician is wont to be implored. You see with how great and how miserable foulness the Christian houses and families are disturbed. Husbands and wives agree with each other concerning their bed, and disagree concerning the altar of Christ. By him they swear to each other, that they may have peace between themselves, and in him they cannot have it. Children have one house of their own with parents, and they do not have one house of God. They desire to succeed to their inheritance, with whom they wrangle concerning the inheritance of Christ. Servants and masters divide a common Lord, who took the form of a servant, that he might liberate all by serving. Your people honor us, our people honor you. Your people adjure us by our crown, our people adjure you by your crown. We receive the words of all, we wish to offend no one. Why does Christ alone offend us, whose members we tear? And indeed men desiring to finish their secular causes before us, when we shall have been necessary to them, call us holy and servants of God in such a way, that they may carry out the business of their land: sometimes let us also carry out the business of our salvation and of their own salvation, not concerning gold, not concerning silver, not concerning farms and cattle, for which things we are daily saluted with bowed head, that we may terminate the dissensions of men, but concerning our head himself there is so base and pernicious a dissension among us. However much they bow their heads who salute us, that we may make them concordant on earth, our head has been bowed from heaven even to the cross, in whom we are not concordant.

6. Rogo te atque obsecro, si est in te aliqua humanitas, quam multi praedicant, hic appareat bonitas tua, si non propter honores transitorios simulatur, ut contremiscant in te viscera misericordiae, et velis aliquando rem discuti instando nobiscum orationibus, et omnia pacifice conferendo: ne miserae plebes, quae nostris honoribus obsequuntur, premant nos obsequiis suis in judicio Dei; sed potius nostra non ficta charitate nobiscum revocatae ab erroribus et dissensionibus, in veritatis et pacis itinera dirigantur. Opto te coram oculis Dei beatum esse, domine honorabilis et dilectissime.

EPISTOLA XXXIV. De juvene, qui matrem caedere solitus, demum et mortem minatus transiit ad Donatistas, ab iisque iterato baptizatus est. Quod an Proculeiani episcopi mandato factum sit, uti presbyter ipsius Victor publico officio renuntiarat, inquiri postulat Augustinus, sese interim paratum asserens ad totam, si Proculeianus velit, schismatis causam placide pertractandam.

Domino eximio meritoque suscipiendo atque honorabili fratri EUSEBIO, AUGUSTINUS.

1. Scit Deus, cui manifesta sunt arcana cordis humani, quantum pacem diligo christianam, tantum me moveri sacrilegis eorum factis, qui in ejus dissensione indigne atque impie perseverant; eumque motum animi mei esse pacificum, neque me id agere ut ad communionem catholicam quisquam cogatur invitus, sed ut omnibus errantibus aperta veritas declaretur, et per nostrum ministerium, Deo juvante, manifestata se amplectendam atque sectandam satis ipsa persuadeat.

2. Quid enim exsecrabilius, quaeso te, ut alia taceam, quam id quod nunc accidit? Corripitur ab episcopo suo juvenis, crebris caedibus matris insanus, et impias manus nec illis diebus, cum etiam severitas legum sceleratissimis parcit, a visceribus unde natus est revocans. Minatur eidem matri se in partem Donati transiturum, et eam quam incredibili furore solet caedere perempturum. Minatur ei, transit ad partem Donati, rebaptizatur furens, et in maternum sanguinem fremens albis vestibus candidatur. Constituitur intra cancellos eminens atque conspicuus, et omnium gementium oculis matricidii meditator tanquam renovatus opponitur.

6. I ask and beseech you, if there is in you any humanity, which many proclaim, let your goodness appear here, if it is not simulated on account of transitory honors, that the bowels of mercy may tremble in you, and you may wish at length the matter to be discussed by insisting with us in prayers, and by conferring all things peacefully: lest the miserable peoples, who obey our honors, should press us with their obsequies in the judgment of God; but rather by our unfeigned charity being recalled with us from errors and dissensions, they may be directed into the paths of truth and peace. I wish you to be blessed before the eyes of God, honorable and most beloved lord.

LETTER XXXIV. Concerning a youth, who being accustomed to beat his mother, and at length having even threatened death, went over to the Donatists, and was baptized by them a second time. Augustine demands that it be inquired whether this was done by the mandate of Bishop Proculeianus, as his presbyter Victor had renounced by public office, asserting himself meanwhile ready to treat placidly the whole cause of the schism, if Proculeianus wishes.

To the distinguished and worthily to be received and honorable brother EUSEBIUS, AUGUSTINE.

1. God knows, to whom the secrets of the human heart are manifest, how much I love Christian peace, and how much I am moved by the sacrilegious deeds of those who in its dissension unworthily and impiously persevere; and that that motion of my mind is peaceful, nor do I act that any one should be forced against his will to Catholic communion, but that the truth may be declared open to all wandering ones, and through our ministry, with God helping, once manifested, it may itself sufficiently persuade them that it is to be embraced and followed.

2. For what more execrable, I ask you, that I may be silent of other things, than that which has now happened? A youth is corrected by his bishop, insane with frequent beatings of his mother, and not calling back his impious hands even in those days, when even the severity of laws spares the most wicked, from the bowels whence he was born. He threatens the same mother that he will go over to the party of Donatus, and will kill her whom he is wont to beat with incredible fury. He threatens her, goes over to the party of Donatus, is rebaptized raging, and is made white in white garments while fuming for maternal blood. He is placed within the railings, eminent and conspicuous, and he, the meditator of matricide, is opposed to the eyes of all groaning men as if renewed.

3. Haeccine tandem tibi placent, vir gravissime? Nequaquam hoc de te crediderim: novi considerationem tuam. Caeditur mater carnalis in membris quibus genuit et nutrivit ingratum; prohibet hoc Ecclesia mater spiritualis, caeditur et ipsa in Sacramentis quibus genuit et nutrivit ingratum. Nonne tibi videtur dixisse parricidaliter frendens: Quid faciam Ecclesiae quae me prohibet caedere matrem meam? inveni quid faciam: injuriis quibus potest etiam ipsa feriatur; fiat in me aliquid unde membra ejus doleant. Vadam mihi ad eos qui noverunt exsufflare gratiam in qua illi natus sum, destruere formam quam in utero ejus accepi. Ambas matres meas saevis cruciatibus torqueam: quae me posterior peperit, efferat prior. Ad hujus dolorem, spiritualiter moriar; ad illius caedem, carnaliter vivam. Quid aliud exspectamus, vir honorabilis Eusebi; nisi ut in miseram mulierem, senectute decrepitam, viduitate destitutam, a cujus caedibus in Catholica prohibebatur, jam donatista securus armetur? Quid enim aliud furibundo corde concepit, cum diceret matri: Transferam me in partem Donati, et bibam sanguinem tuum? Ecce jam conscientia cruentus, veste dealbatus perfecit partem pollicitationis suae; restat pars altera, ut matris sanguinem bibat. Si ergo placent ista, urgentur a clericis et sanctificatoribus suis, ut intra octavas suas totum quod vovit exsolvat.

4. Potens est quidem dextera Domini, quae furorem illius a misera vidua et desolata compescat, et eum, quibus modis novit, a tam scelerata dispositione deterreat; verumtamen ego tanto animi dolore percussus, quid facerem nisi saltem loquerer? An vero ista illi faciunt, et mihi dicitur, Tace? Avertat a me Dominus hanc amentiam, ut cum ipse mihi imperet per Apostolum suum, et dicat ab episcopo refelli oportere docentes quae non oportet (Tit. I, 9), ego illorum indignationibus territus taceam? Quod enim publicis Gestis haerere volui tam sacrilegum nefas, ad hoc utique volui, ne me quisquam, maxime in aliis civitatibus ubi opportunum fuerit, ista deplorantem fingere aliquid arbitretur, quando etiam apud ipsam Hipponem jam dicitur, non hoc Proculeianum mandasse quod publicum renuntiavit officium.

3. Do these things then please you, most grave man? By no means would I have believed this of you: I know your consideration. The carnal mother is beaten in the members with which she bore and nourished the ungrateful one; the spiritual mother the Church prohibits this, and she herself is beaten in the Sacraments with which she bore and nourished the ungrateful one. Does it not seem to you that he said, parricidally gnashing: What shall I do to the Church which prohibits me from beating my mother? I have found what I may do: let her also be struck by the injuries by which she can be; let something be done in me from which her members may grieve. I will go to those who know how to exsufflate the grace in which I was born to her, to destroy the form which I received in her womb. I may torture both my mothers with savage torments: let the one which bore me later, bring out the first. To her grief, I shall die spiritually; to her beating, I shall live carnally. What else do we expect, honorable man Eusebius; except that against the miserable woman, decrepit with old age, destitute in widowhood, from whose beatings he was prohibited in the Catholic Church, he may now be armed secure as a Donatist? For what else did he conceive in his furious heart, when he said to his mother: I will transfer myself to the party of Donatus, and I will drink your blood? Behold, already bloody in conscience, made white in garment, he has perfected part of his promise; the other part remains, that he may drink the blood of his mother. If therefore these things please, let them be urged by the clerics and their sanctifiers, that within their octaves he may pay all that he has vowed.

4. The right hand of the Lord is indeed powerful, which may restrain his fury from the miserable and desolate widow, and deter him, in what modes it knows, from so sacrilegious a disposition; nevertheless I, struck with so great pain of mind, what should I do unless at least I should speak? Or indeed do they do these things, and it is said to me: Be silent? May the Lord avert from me this madness, that when he himself commands me through his Apostle, and says that it behooves an bishop to refute those teaching what they ought not (Tit. 1:9), I, terrified by their indignations, should be silent. For that I wished so sacrilegious a wickedness to adhere to public records, I wished it for this purpose surely, lest any one, especially in other cities where it shall be opportune, should think that I am feigning anything in deploring these things, when even at Hippo itself it is already said, that Proculeianus did not command this which the public office has renounced.

5. Quid autem modestius agere possumus, quam ut tam gravem causam, per te tamen agam, virum et clarissima dignitate praeditum, et considerantissima voluntate tranquillum? Peto igitur, sicut jam petivi per fratres nostros bonos atque honestos viros, quos ad tuam Eximietatem misi, ut quaerere digneris utrum Proculeiani presbyter Victor non hoc ab episcopo suo mandatum acceperit, quod officio publico renuntiavit; an forte cum et ipse Victor aliud dixerit, falsum illi apud Acta prosecuti fuerint, cum sint communionis ejusdem. Aut si consentit, ut ipsam totam quaestionem dissensionis nostrae placide pertractemus, ut error qui jam manifestus est, manifestius innotescat, libenter amplector. Audivi enim quod dixerit, ut sine tumultu populari adsint nobiscum deni ex utraque parte graves et honesti viri, et secundum Scripturas, quid in vero sit, perquiramus. Nam illud quod rursus eum dixisse nonnulli ad me pertulerunt, cur non ierim Constantinam, quando ibi plures ipsi erant, vel me debere ire Milevim, quod illic, sicut perhibent, concilium proxime habituri sunt, ridiculum est dicere, quasi ad me pertineat cura propria, nisi Hipponensis Ecclesiae. Mihi tota hujus quaestionis ratio maxime cum Proculeiano est. Sed si forte imparem se putat, cujus voluerit collegae sui imploret auxilium. In aliis enim civitatibus tantum agimus, quod ad Ecclesiam pertinet, quantum vel nos permittunt, vel nobis imponunt earumdem civitatum episcopi, fratres et consacerdotes nostri.

6. Quanquam et iste qui se tot annorum episcopum dicit, quid in me tirone timeat, quominus mecum velit conferre sermonem, non satis intelligo: si doctrinam liberalium litterarum, quas forte ipse aut non didicit, aut minus didicit, quid hoc pertinet ad eam quaestionem, quae vel de sanctis Scripturis, vel documentis ecclesiasticis aut publicis discutienda est, in quibus ille per tot annos versatur, unde in eis deberet esse peritior? Postremo est hic frater et colleague meus, Samsucius episcopus Turrensis ecclesiae, qui nullas tales didicit, quales iste dicitur formidare: ipse adsit, agat cum illo. Rogabo eum, et, ut confido in nomine Christi, facile mihi concedet, ut suscipiat in hac re vicem meam, et eum Dominus pro veritate certantem, quamvis sermone impolitum, tamen vera fide eruditum, sicut confidimus, adjuvabit. Nulla ergo causa est, cur ad alios nescio quos deferat, ne inter nos quod ad nos pertinet peragamus. Nec tamen, ut dixi, etiam illos defugio, si eorum ipse poscit auxilium.

EPISTOLA XXXV. Rursus interpellat Eusebium, ut clericorum donatistarum licentiam curet coercendam per Proculeianum episcopum: alioquin ut de se nullus queratur, si hanc illi perferri in notitiam per codices publicos fecerit.

5. But what can we act more modestly, than that I should act such a grave cause through you, a man both endowed with most distinguished dignity, and tranquil with most considerate will? I ask therefore, as I have already asked through our brothers, good and honest men, whom I sent to your Excellency, that you may deign to inquire whether Proculeianus's presbyter Victor did not receive this mandate from his bishop, which he renounced to the public office; or by chance when Victor himself said another thing, those who followed him at the Acts spoke falsely, since they are of the same communion. Or if he consents, that we treat placidly that whole question of our dissension, so that the error which is already manifest may become more manifestly known, I willingly embrace it. For I have heard that he said, that without popular tumult ten grave and honest men from each side should be present with us, and according to the Scriptures, we should search out what is in the truth. For that which again some have brought to me that he said, why I did not go to Constantina, when more of them were there, or that I ought to go to Milevis, because there, as they perorate, they are about to have a council shortly, it is ridiculous to say, as if proper care pertains to me, except of the Hippo Church. To me the whole reason of this question is especially with Proculeianus. But if by chance he thinks himself unequal, let him implore the aid of whichever of his colleagues he shall have wished. For in other cities we act only so much, what pertains to the Church, as much as either they permit us, or the bishops of the same cities, our brothers and fellow-priests, impose on us.

6. Although even he who calls himself a bishop of so many years, what he should fear in me a tyro, so as not to wish to confer discourse with me, I do not sufficiently understand: if he fears the doctrine of liberal letters, which by chance he himself either did not learn, or learned less, what does this pertain to that question, which is to be discussed either from the holy Scriptures, or from ecclesiastical or public documents, in which he has been versed for so many years, whence in them he ought to be more expert? Finally, here is my brother and colleague, Samsucius, bishop of the Turrensis Church, who learned no such things, such as he is said to dread: let him be present, let him act with him. I will ask him, and, as I trust in the name of Christ, he will easily grant to me, that he may undertake my place in this matter, and the Lord will help him contending for the truth, although impolished in speech, yet erudite in true faith, as we trust. There is therefore no cause, why he should defer to I know not what others, lest we should carry out among ourselves what pertains to us. Nor yet, as I said, do I flee even those, if he himself demands their aid.

LETTER XXXV. Again he interpellates Eusebius, that he may take care that the license of the Donatist clerics be coerced through Bishop Proculeianus: otherwise that no one should complain of him, if he shall have caused this to be brought to his notice through public codices.

Domino eximio meritoque suscipiendo et dilectissimo fratri EUSEBIO, AUGUSTINUS.

1. Non ego recusanti voluntati tuae judicium, sicut dicis, inter episcopos subeundum molestus exhortator aut deprecator imposui. Quod quidem etiamsi suadere voluissem, possem fortasse facile ostendere quam valeas judicare inter nos in tam manifesta atque aperta causa, et quale sit illud quod facis, ut non auditis partibus jam ferre non dubites pro una parte sententiam, qui judicium reformidas; sed hoc, ut dixi, interim omitto. Nihil autem rogaveram aliud honorabilem benignitatem tuam, quod quaeso tandem in hac saltem epistola digneris advertere, nisi ut quaereres a Proculeiano, utrum hoc ipse dixerit Victori presbytero suo, quod ab eo sibi dictum publicum officium renuntiavit; an forte qui missi sunt, non quod a Victore audierunt, sed falsum Gestis persecuti sint; deinde quid illi de tota ipsa quaestione inter nos discutienda videretur. Arbitror autem non judicem fieri eum, qui rogatur ut interroget aliquem, et quod ei responsum fuerit rescribere dignetur. Hoc ergo etiam nunc rogo ut facere non graveris, quia litteras meas, sicut etiam expertus sum, non vult accipere: quod si voluisset, non utique per tuam Eximietatem id agerem. Cum autem id non vult, quid possum mitius agere, quam ut per te talem virum, et qui eum diligis, interrogetur aliquid, unde me tacere mea sarcina prohibet? Quod autem mater a filio caesa, tuae gravitati displicuit; Sed ille, dixisti, si sciret, a communione sua tam nefarium juvenem prohibiturus esset, breviter respondeo: modo cognovit, modo prohibeat.

2. Addo etiam aliud: Subdiaconus quondam Spaniensis Ecclesiae, vocabulo Primus, cum ab accessu indisciplinato sanctimonialium prohiberetur, atque ordinata et sana praecepta contemneret, a clericatu remotus est, et ipse irritatus adversus disciplinam Dei transtulit se ad illos, et rebaptizatus est. Duas etiam sanctimoniales concolonas suas de fundo catholicorum Christianorum, sive idem transtulit, sive illum secutae, etiam ipsae tamen rebaptizatae sunt; et nunc cum gregibus Circumcellionum inter vagabundos greges feminarum, quae propterea maritos habere noluerunt ne habeant disciplinam, in detestabilis vinolentiae bacchationibus superbus exsultat, gaudens latissimam sibi apertam esse licentiam malae conversationis, unde in Catholica prohibebatur. Et hoc fortasse Proculeianus ignorat. Ergo per tuam gravitatem atque modestiam eidem in notitiam perferatur; jubeat eum, qui non ob aliud illam communionem delegit, nisi quia in Catholica clericatum amiserat, propter inobedientiam et perditos mores, a sua communione removeri.

To the distinguished and worthily to be received and most beloved brother EUSEBIUS, AUGUSTINE.

1. I have not, as a troublesome exhorter or deprecator, imposed upon your unwilling will the judgment to be undergone among bishops, as you say. Which indeed if I had wished to persuade, I could perhaps easily show how much you are able to judge between us in so manifest and open a cause, and of what sort that is which you do, that the parts not being heard, you already do not doubt to bring a sentence for one part, who dread judgment; but this, as I said, I meanwhile omit. But I had asked nothing else of your honorable benignity, which I ask at length that you deign to advert to in this letter at least, except that you should inquire from Proculeianus, whether he himself said this to his presbyter Victor, which the public office renounced was said to it by him; or by chance those who were sent, did not follow what they heard from Victor, but followed a falsehood in the Acts; then what should seem to him concerning that whole question to be discussed between us. But I think he does not become a judge, who is asked that he should interrogate some one, and should deign to write back what shall have been responded to him. This therefore I ask even now that you do not think it heavy to do, because he does not wish to receive my letters, as I have also experienced: which if he had wished, I would surely not act through your Excellency. But when he does not wish it, what can I act more mildly, than that through you, such a man, and who loves him, something should be interrogated, from which my burden prohibits me to be silent? But that the mother was beaten by the son, displeased your gravity; but he, you said, if he knew, would be about to prohibit so nefarious a youth from his communion; I briefly respond: now he has learned, now let him prohibit.

2. I add also another thing: A subdeacon once of the Spanish Church, by name Primus, when he was prohibited from the undisciplined access of holy women, and contemned ordained and sound precepts, was removed from the clerical office, and he himself, irritated against the discipline of God, transferred himself to them, and was rebaptized. Two holy women also, his fellow-colonists from a farm of Catholic Christians, whether he himself transferred them, or they followed him, nevertheless they also were rebaptized; and now with troops of Circumcellions among wandering troops of women, who for that reason did not wish to have husbands lest they should have discipline, he exults proud in revelries of detestable wine-bibbing, rejoicing that a most wide license of bad conversation is open to him, whence in the Catholic Church he was prohibited. And this perhaps Proculeianus is ignorant of. Therefore through your gravity and modesty let it be brought to his notice; let him command him, who for no other reason chose that communion, except because in the Catholic Church he had lost the clerical office on account of inobedience and lost morals, to be removed from his communion.

3. Etenim ego, si Domino placet, istum modum servo, ut quisquis apud eos propter disciplinam degradatus ad Catholicam transire voluerit, in humiliatione poenitentiae recipiatur, quo et ipsi eum fortisan cogerent, si apud eos manere voluisset. Ab eis vero considera, quaeso te, quam exsecrabiliter fiat, ut quos male viventes ecclesiastica disciplina corripimus, persuadeatur eis ut ad lavacrum alterum veniant, atque ut id accipere mereantur, Paganos se esse respondeant; quae vox ne procederet de ore christiano, tantus sanguis martyrum fusus est: deinde quasi renovati et quasi sanctificati, disciplinae quam ferre non potuerunt, deteriores facti, sub specie novae gratiae, sacrilegio novi furoris insultent. Aut si male facio, per tuam benevolentiam ista corrigenda curare, de me nullus queratur si haec illi perferri in notitiam per codices publicos fecero, qui mihi negari, ut arbitror, in Romana civitate non possunt. Nam cum Deus imperet ut loquamur et praedicemus verbum, et docentes quae non oportet refellamus, et instemus opportune atque importune, sicut dominicis et apostolicis Litteris probo (II Tim. IV, 2, et Tit. I, 9-11), nullus hominum mihi silentium de his rebus persuadendum arbitretur. Violenter autem vel latrocinanter si quid audendum putaverint, non deerit Dominus ad tuendam Ecclesiam suam, qui jugo suo in gremio ejus toto orbe diffuso omnia terrena regna subjecit.

4. Nam cum ecclesiae quidam colonus filiam suam, quae apud nos fuerat catechumena, et ab illis seducta est invitis parentibus, ut ibi baptizata etiam sanctimonialis formam susciperet, ad communionem catholicam paterna vellet severitate revocare, et ego feminam corruptae mentis nisi volentem, et libero arbitrio meliora deligentem suscipi noluissem; ille rusticus etiam plagis instare coepit, ut sibi filia consentiret; quod statim omnimodo fieri prohibui: tamen per Spanianum transeuntibus nobis, presbyter ipsius stans in medio fundo catholicae ac laudabilis feminae, voce impudentissima post nos clamavit, quod traditores et persecutores essemus; quod convicium etiam in illam feminam jaculatus est, quae communionis est nostrae, in cujus medio fundo stabat; quibus vocibus auditis, non solum meipsum a lite refrenavi, sed etiam multitudinem, quae me comitabatur, compescui. Et tamen si dicam, Quaeratur qui sint vel fuerint traditores vel persecutores; respondetur mihi: Disputare nolumus, et rebaptizare volumus. Nos oves vestras insidiantibus morsibus luporum more depraedemur; vos, si boni pastores estis, tacete. Quid enim aliud mandavit Proculeianus, si vere ipse mandavit? Si Christianus es, serva hoc judicio Dei, nisi nos faciamus, tu tace. Ausus est etiam idem presbyter homini rusticano conductori fundi ecclesiae comminari.

3. For I, if it pleases the Lord, keep this mode, that whoever among them on account of discipline degraded should wish to pass over to the Catholic Church, he may be received in the humiliation of penance, to which even they themselves would perhaps force him, if he had wished to remain among them. But from them, I ask you, consider how execrably it is done, that those whom living badly we correct by ecclesiastical discipline, it should be persuaded to them that they come to another laver, and that they may deserve to receive that, they should respond that they are Pagans; which voice, lest it should proceed from a Christian mouth, so much blood of martyrs was shed: then as if renewed and as if sanctified, made worse for the discipline which they could not bear, under the species of new grace, they may insult with the sacrilege of new fury. Or if I do badly to take care that these things be corrected through your benevolence, let no one complain of me if I shall have made these things be brought to his notice through public codices, which cannot be denied to me, as I think, in the Roman city. For since God commands that we speak and preach the word, and that we refute those teaching what they ought not, and that we insist opportunely and importunely, as I prove by the Lord's and apostolic letters (2 Tim. 4:2, and Tit. 1:9-11), let no man think that silence concerning these things is to be persuaded to me. But if they shall have thought that anything is to be dared violently or robber-like, the Lord will not be wanting to protect his Church, who subjected all earthly kingdoms to his yoke in her bosom diffused through the whole world.

4. For when a certain colonist of the church wished to recall by paternal severity to Catholic communion his daughter, who had been a catechumen among us and was seduced by them against the will of her parents, so that being baptized there she might also take the form of a holy woman, and I would not have wished a woman of corrupted mind to be received except willing, and choosing better things with free will; that rustic also began to insist with beatings, that his daughter should consent to him; which immediately by all means I prohibited to be done: nevertheless as we were passing through Spanianum, his presbyter standing in the middle of a farm of a Catholic and laudable woman, with a most impudent voice cried out after us, that we were traditors and persecutors; which reproach he also hurled at that woman, who is of our communion, in whose middle farm he was standing; which voices being heard, not only did I restrain myself from strife, but I also compressed the multitude which was accompanying me. And yet if I say: Let it be sought who are or have been traditors or persecutors; it is responded to me: We do not wish to dispute, and we wish to rebaptize. Let us as wolves in the manner of those lying in wait for your sheep depredate them with bites; you, if you are good shepherds, be silent. For what else did Proculeianus command, if he truly himself commanded it? If you are a Christian, keep this for the judgment of God, unless we do it, you be silent. The same presbyter also dared to threaten a rustic man, the conductor of a farm of the church.

5. Haec quoque omnia per te, quaeso, noverit Proculeianus; coerceat insaniam clericorum suorum, unde, honorabilis Eusebi, non apud te tacui. Dignaberis itaque non quid tu de his omnibus sentias, ne tibi arbitreris a me judicis onus imponi, sed quid illi respondeant mihi rescribere. Misericordia Dei te incolumem tueatur, domine eximie et merito suscipiende ac dilectissime frater.

Epistola XXXVI.

Augustinus Casulano presbytero, refellens Urbici, id est cujusdam e Romana urbe, dissertationem pro sabbati jejunio, scriptam perquam imperitissime.

Dilectissimo et desiderantissimo fratri et compresbytero CASULANO, AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

CAPUT PRIMUM.

1. Nescio unde sit factum, ut primis tuis litteris meas non redderem: non tamen contemptu id me fecisse scio. Nam et studiis tuis et ipso sermone delector, teque in ista aetate juvenili proficere in verbo Dei et abundare ad aedificationem Ecclesiae, et opto et exhortor. Nunc vero scriptis tuis alteris sumptis, quibus tibi tandem aliquando responderi jure charitatis, in qua unum sumus, fraterno et aequissimo flagitas, differendum tuae dilectionis ulterius desiderium non putavi, et inter arctissimas occupationes meas suscepi isto me debito apud te absolvere.

2. Quod ergo me consulis, utrum liceat sabbato jejunare: respondeo, si nullo modo liceret, profecto quadraginta continuos dies nec Moyses, nec Elias, nec ipse Dominus jejunasset. Verum ista ratione concluditur, etiam dominico die non illicitum esse jejunium. Et quisquis tamen hunc diem jejunio decernendum putaverit, sicut quidam jejunantes sabbatum observant, non parvo scandalo erit Ecclesiae, nec immerito. In his enim rebus de quibus nihil certi statuit Scriptura divina, mos populi Dei, vel instituta majorum pro lege tenenda sunt. De quibus si disputare voluerimus, et ex aliorum consuetudine alios improbare, orietur interminata luctatio, quae labore sermocinationis cum certa documenta nulla veritatis insinuet, utique cavendum est, ne tempestate contentionis serenitatem charitatis obnubilet. Quod periculum vitare neglexit, cujus mihi prolixam disputationem, ut ei responderem, cum tuis prioribus litteris existimasti esse mittendam.

5. Let Proculeianus also know all these things through you, I ask; let him coerce the insanity of his clerics, concerning which, honorable Eusebius, I have not been silent with you. You will deign therefore not to rescribe to me what you think of all these things, lest you think the burden of a judge is imposed on you by me, but what they should respond. May the mercy of God protect you unharmed, distinguished lord and worthily to be received and most beloved brother.

Letter XXXVI.

To Casulanus the presbyter, Augustine refuting the dissertation of Urbicus, that is of a certain one from the city of Rome, for the Sabbath fast, written most unskilfully.

To the most beloved and most desired brother and fellow-presbyter CASULANUS, AUGUSTINE, in the Lord greeting.

CHAPTER ONE.

1. I do not know how it happened that I did not return my letter to your first one; nevertheless, I know that I did not do it out of contempt. For I am delighted both by your studies and by your speech itself, and I both desire and exhort you at this youthful age to progress in the word of God and to abound for the edification of the Church. But now, having received your second writings, in which you demand that you be responded to at last by the right of charity, in which we are one, in a fraternal and most equitable manner, I did not think that the desire of your affection should be deferred further, and among my most pressing occupations, I undertook to absolve myself of this debt to you.

2. As to what you consult me about, therefore, whether it is lawful to fast on the Sabbath: I respond that if it were in no way lawful, surely neither Moses, nor Elijah, nor the Lord Himself would have fasted for forty continuous days. But by this reasoning it is concluded that even on the Lord's day fasting is not unlawful. And yet whoever thinks this day should be decreed for fasting, just as some observe the Sabbath by fasting, it will be of no small scandal to the Church, and not without merit. For in these things about which Divine Scripture has established nothing certain, the custom of the people of God or the institutions of the ancestors are to be held as law. Concerning which, if we wish to dispute and to disapprove of some from the custom of others, an interminable struggle will arise, which, since it suggests no certain documents of truth with the labor of discourse, must surely be avoided, lest the serenity of charity be clouded by the tempest of contention. Which danger he neglected to avoid, whose prolix dissertation you thought should be sent with your prior letters so that it might be responded to.

CAPUT II.

3. Non autem usque adeo mihi spatia temporum larga sunt, ut ea refellendis singulis sententiis ejus impendam, quae aliis operibus magis urgentibus explicandis habeo necessaria. Sed eo quo te mihi in tuis epistolis ostendis ingenio, quod in te donum Dei admodum diligo, eumdem sermonem cujusdam, ut scribis, Urbici, paulo diligentius ipse considera, et videbis eum pene universam Ecclesiam Christi, ab ortu solis usque ad occasum, verbis injuriosissimis nequaquam lacerare timuisse. Nec dixerim pene universam, sed plane universam. Nam neque ipsis, quorum consuetudinem sibi videtur defendere, invenitur pepercisse Romanis; sed quomodo in eos quoque redundet conviciorum ejus impetus nescit, quoniam non advertit. Nam cum ei argumenta deficiunt, quibus probet sabbato jejunandum, in luxurias epularum et temulenta convivia et nequissimas ebrietates insultabundus invehitur, quasi non jejunare, hoc sit inebriari. Quod si hoc est, quid ergo prodest Romanis sabbato jejunare? quandoquidem aliis diebus quibus non jejunant, necesse est eos, secundum disputationem hujus, ebriosos et ventricolas judicari. Porro, si aliud est gravare corda in crapula et ebrietate, quod semper est malum, aliud est autem modestia et temperantia custodita relaxare jejunium, quod certe cum fit die dominico, reprehensorem non habet christianum; prandia prius sanctorum a voracitate et ebriositate ventricolarum iste discernat, ne Romanos ipsos quando non jejunant ventricolas faciat, et tunc inquirat, non utrum liceat inebriari sabbato, quod nec die dominico licet; sed utrum nec sabbato jejunandum sit, sicut dominico non solet.

4. Quod utinam sic quaereret, aut sic affirmaret, ut toto terrarum orbe diffusam, exceptis Romanis et adhuc paucis Occidentalibus, apertissime non blasphemaret Ecclesiam. Nunc vero quis ferat per omnes orientales, et multos etiam occidentales populos christianos de tot tantisque famulis famulabusque Christi, sabbato sobrie modesteque prandentibus, ab isto dici quod in carne sint, et Deo placere non possint, et quod de illis sit scriptum, Recedant iniqui a me, viam eorum nosse nolo;

CHAPTER II.

3. But my spans of time are not so broad that I may spend them in refuting each of his sentences, which I have necessary for explaining other more urgent works. But with that talent by which you show yourself to me in your letters, which gift of God in you I greatly love, consider that same discourse of a certain Urbicus (as you write) a little more diligently yourself, and you will see that he has not at all feared to tear the almost universal Church of Christ, from the rising of the sun even to its setting, with most injurious words. Nor would I say almost universal, but plainly universal. For he is found not to have spared even the Romans themselves, whose custom he seems to defend; but he does not know how the impetus of his reproaches also overflows upon them, because he does not notice. For when arguments fail him by which he may prove that one must fast on the Sabbath, he mockingly inveighs against the luxuries of banquets and drunken feasts and the most wicked ebrieties, as if not to fast were to be inebriated. But if this is so, what then does it benefit the Romans to fast on the Sabbath? since indeed on other days on which they do not fast, it is necessary that they, according to the disputation of this man, be judged drunkards and belly-worshippers. Furthermore, if it is one thing to weigh down hearts in surfeiting and ebriety, which is always evil, but another thing, with modesty and temperance preserved, to relax a fast, which certainly when it is done on the Lord's day has no Christian reprover; let that man first discern the luncheons of the saints from the voracity and ebriety of belly-worshippers, lest he make the Romans themselves belly-worshippers when they do not fast, and then let him inquire, not whether it is lawful to be inebriated on the Sabbath, which is not lawful even on the Lord's day; but whether one should not fast even on the Sabbath, just as it is not customary on the Lord's day.

4. Which would that he thus sought, or thus affirmed, so that he would not most openly blaspheme the Church diffused throughout the whole world, the Romans and still a few Westerners excepted. But now who could bear it that throughout all the Oriental and many Western Christian peoples, concerning so many and such great servants and handmaids of Christ, dining soberly and modestly on the Sabbath, it is said by this man that they are in the flesh and cannot please God, and that it is written of them: 'Depart from me, you wicked, I will not know their way';

et quod sint ventricolae, Judaeam Ecclesiae praeponentes, et ancillae filios; et lege non justa, sed voluptaria, consulentes ventri, non disciplinae succumbentes; et quod caro sint, et mortem sapiant, et caetera hujusmodi: quae si de uno quopiam Dei famulo diceret, quis eum audire, quis non devitare deberet? Cum vero his opprobriis atque maledictis insectatur Ecclesiam per totum mundum fructificantem atque crescentem et die sabbati pene ubique prandentem, admoneo quisquis est, ut sese cohibeat. Nam cujus me nomen ignorare voluisti, profecto de illo me judicare noluisti.

CAPUT III.

5. Filius hominis, inquit, sabbati Dominus est: in quo maxime, bene, quam male facere licet (Matth. XII, 8-12). Si ergo male facimus, quando prandemus; nullo die dominico bene vivimus. Quod autem fatetur Apostolus sabbato manducasse, et dicit, ut tunc jejunaretur temporis non fuisse, propter quod ait Dominus, Venient dies ut auferatur sponsus ab eis, et tunc jejunabunt filii sponsi (Id. IX, 15), quia tempus gaudii, et tempus est luctus (Eccle. III, 4), primum attendere debuit, quod illic Dominus de jejunio, non de sabbati jejunio loquebatur. Deinde cum vult intelligi luctum jejunio, cibo gaudium deputandum, cur non cogitat, quidquid est illud quod significare Deus voluit in eo quod scriptum est, eum die septimo requievisse ab omnibus operibus suis (Gen. II, 2), non ibi luctum significatum fuisse, sed gaudium? Nisi forte dicturus est, in illa requie Dei et sanctificatione sabbati gaudium Judaeis, luctum significatum esse Christianis. Et tamen nec quando sanctificavit Deus diem septimum, quia in illo requievit ab omnibus operibus suis, aliquid de jejunio vel prandio sabbati expressit; nec cum postea populo Hebraeo de ipsius diei observatione mandavit, aliquid de alimentis vel sumendis vel non sumendis locutus est. Vacatio tantum homini a suis, vel a servilibus operibus imperatur: quam prior populus in umbra accipiens futurorum, sic vacavit ab operibus, quemadmodum nunc Judaeos vacare conspicimus; non, ut putatur, Judaeis carnalibus non recte intelligentibus quod recte intelligunt Christiani. Neque enim melius hoc intelligimus quam Prophetae, qui tamen eo tempore, quo ita fieri oportuit, servaverunt hanc sabbati vacationem, quam Judaei putant adhuc esse servandam. Unde illud est, quod lapidare Deus hominem jussit, qui sabbato ligna collegerat (Num. XV, 35); nusquam autem legimus lapidatum, vel aliquo dignum supplicio judicatum, sive jejunantem sabbato, sive prandentem.

and that they are belly-worshippers, preferring Judea to the Church, and children of the bondwoman; and consulting the belly by a law not just but voluptuous, not succumbing to discipline; and that they are flesh and savor of death, and other things of this kind: which if he said of any one servant of God, who ought to hear him, who not to avoid him? But when he pursues with these reproaches and maledictions the Church throughout the whole world bearing fruit and growing and dining almost everywhere on the day of the Sabbath, I admonish whoever he is that he should restrain himself. For since you wished me to be ignorant of his name, surely you did not wish me to judge concerning him.

CHAPTER III.

5. 'The Son of Man,' he says, 'is Lord of the Sabbath': in which especially it is lawful to do well rather than ill (Matth. XII, 8-12). If therefore we do ill when we dine, we live well on no Lord's day. But because he confesses that the Apostle ate on the Sabbath, and says that at that time there was no time for fasting, on account of which the Lord said: 'The days will come that the bridegroom shall be taken away from them, and then shall the children of the bridegroom fast' (Id. IX, 15), because there is a time of joy and a time of mourning (Eccle. III, 4), he ought first to have attended to the fact that there the Lord was speaking of fasting, not of the Sabbath fast. Then when he wishes mourning to be understood by fasting, and joy to be deputed to food, why does he not consider that whatever it is that God wished to signify in that which is written, that on the seventh day He rested from all His works (Gen. II, 2), not mourning was signified there, but joy? Unless perhaps he is going to say that in that rest of God and sanctification of the Sabbath, joy was signified to the Jews, and mourning to the Christians. And yet neither when God sanctified the seventh day, because in it He rested from all His works, did He express anything concerning the fast or the luncheon of the Sabbath; nor when afterwards He commanded the Hebrew people concerning the observation of that same day, did He speak anything concerning taking or not taking foods. Only cessation (vacatio) for man from his own or from servile works is commanded: which the former people, receiving in the shadow of future things, thus ceased from works just as we now see the Jews ceasing; not, as it is thought, to carnal Jews not rightly understanding what Christians rightly understand. For neither do we understand this better than the Prophets, who nevertheless at that time in which it was necessary thus to be done, observed this Sabbath cessation, which the Jews think is still to be observed. Whence it is that God commanded the man to be stoned who had collected wood on the Sabbath (Num. XV, 35); but nowhere do we read of anyone stoned or judged worthy of any punishment, whether fasting on the Sabbath or dining.

Quid tamen horum duorum quieti conveniat, quid labori, iste ipse viderit, qui gaudium manducantibus, luctum jejunantibus deputavit, vel a Domino deputari intellexit, ubi de jejunio respondens ait: Non possunt lugere filii sponsi, quamdiu cum eis est sponsus (Matth. IX, 15).

6. Quod autem propterea dicit sabbato Apostolos manducasse, quia nondum erat tempus ut sabbato jejunarent; quod scilicet veterum traditio prohibebat: numquid ergo jam erat tempus ut sabbato non vacarent? Nonne et hoc traditio veterum prohibebat, et vacare cogebat? et tamen eo ipso sabbati die, quo Christi legimus manducasse discipulos, vulserunt utique spicas (Id. XII, 1); quod sabbato non licebat, quia veterum traditio prohibebat. Videat igitur ne forte congruentius ei respondeatur ideo Dominum die illo a discipulis haec duo fieri voluisse; unum de spicis vellendis, alterum de alimentis sumendis; ut illud esset adversus eos qui sabbato volunt vacare, hoc autem adversus eos qui cogunt sabbato jejunare: cum illud mutato tempore jam superstitiosum esse significasset, hoc autem utroque tempore liberum esse voluisset. Neque id confirmando dixerim, sed quid ei multo aptius, quam sunt ea quae loquitur, responderi possit ostenderim.

CAPUT IV.

7. Quomodo, inquit, non cum Pharisaeo damnabimur, bis in sabbato jejunantes? tanquam Pharisaeus ideo damnetur, quia bis in sabbato jejunabat, et non quia super Publicanum se tumidus extollebat (Luc. XVIII, 11, 12). Potest autem iste dicere etiam illos, qui omnium fructuum suorum decimas dant pauperibus, cum Pharisaeo damnari, quia hoc quoque ille inter sua opera praedicabat; quod cupimus a multis fieri christianis, et vix paucissimos invenimus: aut vero qui non fuerit injustus, adulter et raptor, cum Pharisaeo damnabitur; quia ille se talem non esse jactabat; quod certe quisquis sentit, insanit. Porro si haec sine dubio bona, quae sibi Pharisaeus inesse commemorabat, non habenda sunt cum superbiente jactantia quae in illo apparebat; sed tamen habenda sunt cum pietate humili quae in illo non erat: sic et bis in sabbato jejunare, in homine qualis fuerat ille Pharisaeus, infructuosum est; in homine autem humiliter fideli, vel fideliter humili, religiosum est: quamvis evangelica Scriptura non dixerit damnatum Pharisaeum, sed magis justificatum dixit Publicanum.

Yet which of these two is suitable for rest, which for labor, let that man himself see, who deputed joy to those eating and mourning to those fasting, or understood it to be deputed by the Lord, where responding concerning fasting He says: 'The children of the bridegroom cannot mourn as long as the bridegroom is with them' (Matth. IX, 15).

6. But as to what he says, that the Apostles ate on the Sabbath for this reason, because it was not yet time that they should fast on the Sabbath; because forsooth the tradition of the ancients prohibited it: was it then already time that they should not cease on the Sabbath? Did not the tradition of the ancients also prohibit this and compel them to cease? and yet on that very Sabbath day on which we read that the disciples of Christ ate, they surely plucked ears of corn (Id. XII, 1); which was not lawful on the Sabbath, because the tradition of the ancients prohibited it. Let him see, therefore, whether perhaps it might not more congruously be responded to him that for this reason the Lord wished these two things to be done by the disciples on that day; one concerning the plucking of ears, the other concerning the taking of foods; so that the former would be against those who wish to cease on the Sabbath, but the latter against those who compel fasting on the Sabbath: since the former, the time being changed, He had signified to be already superstitious, but the latter He had wished to be free in both times. Nor would I say this by way of confirming it, but I have shown what might be responded to him much more aptly than those things which he speaks.

CHAPTER IV.

7. 'How,' he says, 'shall we not be condemned with the Pharisee, fasting twice in the Sabbath?' as if the Pharisee were condemned for this reason, because he fasted twice in the Sabbath, and not because he puffed up himself above the Publican (Luke XVIII, 11, 12). But this man can also say that those who give tithes of all their fruits to the poor are condemned with the Pharisee, because he also proclaimed this among his works; which we desire to be done by many Christians, and we find scarcely a very few: or indeed that he who is not unjust, an adulterer, and a robber will be condemned with the Pharisee, because he boasted that he was not such; which certainly whoever feels, is insane. Furthermore, if these without doubt good things which the Pharisee mentioned as being in himself are not to be held with the proud boasting which appeared in him, but yet are to be held with the humble piety which was not in him: thus also to fast twice in the Sabbath in a man such as that Pharisee was is unfruitful; but in a man humbly faithful, or faithfully humble, it is religious: although the evangelical Scripture has not said the Pharisee was condemned, but rather said the Publican was justified.

8. Verum si hoc modo putat iste intelligendum quod ait Dominus, Nisi abundaverit justitia vestra plus quam Scribarum et Pharisaeorum, non intrabilis in regnum coelorum (Matth. V, 21), et nisi amplius quam bis in sabbato jejunemus, hoc praecepto non possimus implere; bene quod septem dies sunt qui volumine temporum per sua vestigia revocantur. Cum ergo ex his biduum quisque detraxerit, ne sabbato dominicoque jejunet, remanent dies quinque in quibus Pharisaeum superare possit bis in sabbato jejunantem. Puto enim quod si ter in sabbato quis jejunat, jam superat Pharisaeum, qui bis in sabbato jejunabat. Quod si et quater, vel etiam ut nullus dierum, excepto sabbato et dominico, praetermittatur, in hebdomade quinquies jejunetur, quod multi tota vita sua faciunt, maxime in monasteriis constituti; non solum Pharisaeus qui bis in sabbato jejunabat, verum etiam christianus qui quarta et sexta et ipso sabbato jejunare consuevit, quod frequenter Romana plebs facit, in labore jejunii superabitur: et tamen nescio quis iste, ut dicis, Urbicus disputator, etiamsi quis quinque continuis praeter sabbatum et dominicum diebus ita jejunent, ut nullo die omnino reficiat corpus, eum carnalem vocat, quasi cibus et potus caeteris diebus non pertineat ad carnem; et ventricolam judicat, quasi solius sabbati prandium descendat in ventrem.

CAPUT V.

9. Huic sane non sufficit quod ad vincendum Pharisaeum jam sufficit, ut ter in sabbato jejunetur; sed excepto dominico sex caeteris diebus ita jejunare compellit, ut dicat: Antiqua remota labe, duo in carne una, Christi jam sub disciplina manentes, non debent cum filiis sine lege et cum principibus Sodomorum, et cum plebe Gomorrhae sabbatorum voluptaria convivia exercere; sed cum sanctimoniae incolis ac Deo devotis solemni et ecclesiastico jure magis ac magis legitime jejunare, ut sex dierum vel levis error, jejunii, orationis et eleemosynae fontibus abluatur, quo possimus dominica alogia refecti omnes aequali corde digne cantare: Saturasti, Domine, animam inanem, et potasti animam sitientem. Ista dicens et a frequentia jejunandi solum diem dominicum excipiens, non tantum Orientis et Occidentis populos christianos, in quibus sabbato nemo jejunat; verum et ipsam Romanam Ecclesiam improvidus et incautus accusat.

8. But if this man thinks that what the Lord said is to be understood in this way: 'Unless your justice shall abound more than that of the Scribes and Pharisees, you shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven' (Matth. V, 20), and that unless we fast more than twice in the Sabbath, we cannot fulfill this precept; it is well that there are seven days which are recalled by the volume of time through their own tracks. When therefore anyone shall have subtracted two days from these, lest he fast on the Sabbath and on the Lord's day, there remain five days in which he can surpass the Pharisee fasting twice in the Sabbath. For I think that if anyone fasts three times in the Sabbath, he already surpasses the Pharisee, who fasted twice in the Sabbath. But if also four times, or even so that none of the days, the Sabbath and the Lord's day excepted, be omitted, he fasts five times in the week, which many do in their whole life, especially those constituted in monasteries; not only the Pharisee who fasted twice in the Sabbath, but even the Christian who has been accustomed to fast on the fourth and sixth days and on the Sabbath itself, which the Roman populace frequently does, will be surpassed in the labor of fasting: and yet I know not who this disputant Urbicus is, as you say, who even if anyone fasts for five continuous days besides the Sabbath and the Lord's day so that on no day at all he refreshes his body, calls him carnal, as if food and drink on the other days did not pertain to the flesh; and judges him a belly-worshipper, as if the luncheon of the Sabbath alone descended into the belly.

CHAPTER V.

9. To this man it certainly does not suffice that which already suffices for overcoming the Pharisee, that one fast three times in the Sabbath; but he compels to fast on the six other days, the Lord's day excepted, so that he says: 'The ancient stain being removed, the two in one flesh, already remaining under the discipline of Christ, ought not to exercise the voluptuous banquets of the Sabbaths with the children without law, and with the princes of Sodom, and with the populace of Gomorrah;' 'but with the inhabitants of holiness and those devoted to God, to fast more and more legitimately by solemn and ecclesiastical right, so that the light error of six days may be washed away by the fountains of fasting, prayer, and almsgiving,' 'by which we may all be able, refreshed by the Lord's alogia, to sing worthily with an equal heart: "Thou hast satisfied, O Lord, the empty soul, and hast given drink to the thirsty soul."' Saying these things and excepting only the Lord's day from the frequency of fasting, he improvidently and incautiously accuses not only the Oriental and Western Christian peoples, among whom no one fasts on the Sabbath; but even the Roman Church itself.

Cum enim dicit, sub disciplina Christi manentes, non debere cum filiis sine lege, cum principibus Sodomae, cum plebe Gomorrhae voluptaria sabbatorum exercere convivia, sed cum sanctimoniae incolis ac Deo devotis, solemni et ecclesiastico jure magis ac magis legitime jejunare; ac deinde definiens quid sit legitime jejunare, subjungit et dicit, ut sex dierum vel levis error, jejunii, orationis et eleemosynae fontibus abluatur: profecto eos qui minus quam sex diebus in hebdomade jejunant, non putat legitime exercere jejunium, nec Deo esse devotos, nec maculas erroris, quae de ista mortalitate contrahuntur, abluere. Videant ergo Romani quid agant, quia etiam ipsi nimium contumeliose hujus disputatione tractantur; apud quos omnibus istis sex diebus, praeter paucissimos clericos aut monachos, quotusquisque invenitur, qui frequentet quotidiana jejunia? maxime quia ibi jejunandum quinta sabbati non videtur.

10. Deinde quaero: si uniuscujusque diei vel levis error ipsius diei jejunio solvitur vel abluitur; sic enim dicit, ut sex dierum vel levis error, jejunii quoque fontibus abluatur; quid faciemus de illo errore qui subrepserit dominico die, in quo scandalum est jejunare? Aut si die ipso nullus Christianis error obrepit, videat homo iste qui ventricolas tanquam magnus jejunator accusat, quantum honoris et utilitatis ventribus tribuat, si tunc non erratur, quando prandetur. An forte in jejunio sabbati tantum bonum constituit, ut aliorum sex dierum, hoc est, ipsius etiam dominici vel levem, sicut dicit, errorem, solum jejunium sabbati possit abolere, et solo ipso die non erretur, quo toto utique jejunatur? Quid est ergo quod diem dominicum sabbato, velut christiano jure, praeponit? Ecce secundum ipsum dies sabbati multo sanctior invenitur, in quo et non erratur, cum ejus toto spatio jejunatur, et eodem jejunio sex caeterorum dierum, ac per hoc ipsius dominici error abluitur: puto quod tibi non placet ista praesumptio.

11. Jamvero cum se hominem spiritualem videri velit, et tanquam carnales, pransores sabbati accuset, attende quemadmodum dominici diei non parco prandio reficiatur, sed alogia delectetur. Quid est autem alogia, quod verbum ex graeca lingua usurpatum est, nisi cum epulis indulgetur, ut a rationis tramite devietur? Unde animalia ratione carentia dicuntur aloga, quibus similes sunt ventri dediti: propter quod, immoderatum convivium, quo mens, in qua ratio dominatur, ingurgitatione vescendi ac bibendi quodammodo obruitur, alogia nuncupatur.

For when he says: 'those remaining under the discipline of Christ ought not to exercise the voluptuous banquets of the Sabbaths with the children without law, with the princes of Sodom, with the populace of Gomorrah, but with the inhabitants of holiness and those devoted to God, to fast more and more legitimately by solemn and ecclesiastical right;' and then defining what it is to fast legitimately, he subjoins and says: 'so that the light error of six days may be washed away by the fountains of fasting, prayer, and almsgiving;' surely he does not think that those who fast less than six days in a week exercise fasting legitimately, nor that they are devoted to God, nor that they wash away the stains of error which are contracted from this mortality. Let the Romans see, therefore, what they should do, because they also are treated too contumeliously by the disputation of this man; among whom on all those six days, a very few clerics or monks excepted, how many are found who frequent daily fasts? especially since it does not seem that one should fast there on the fifth day (Thursday).

10. Then I ask: if the light error of each single day is solved or washed away by the fast of that day itself; for thus he says: 'so that the light error of six days may also be washed away by the fountains of fasting'; what shall we do concerning that error which shall have crept in on the Lord's day, on which it is a scandal to fast? Or if on that day no error steals upon Christians, let that man see, who as a great faster accuses belly-worshippers, how much honor and utility he may attribute to bellies, if then one does not err when one dines. Or perhaps he has constituted so much good in the Sabbath fast that the Sabbath fast alone can abolish the error of the other six days, that is, of the Lord's day itself even if light, as he says, and that on that day alone one does not err, in whose whole space one certainly fasts? Why is it then that he prefers the Lord's day to the Sabbath, as if by Christian right? Behold, according to himself, the Sabbath day is found much more holy, on which one also does not err, since one fasts during its whole space, and by the same fast the error of the six other days, and by this of the Lord's day itself, is washed away: I think that this presumption does not please you.

11. Now indeed since he wishes to be seen as a spiritual man, and accuses those dining on the Sabbath as carnal, attend to how on the Lord's day he is refreshed not by a spare luncheon, but is delighted by alogia. But what is alogia, which word is usurped from the Greek language, unless when one indulges in banquets so that one deviates from the path of reason? Whence animals lacking reason are called aloga, to which those given to the belly are similar: on account of which, an immoderate feast, by which the mind, in which reason dominates, is in a certain way overwhelmed by the engorgement of eating and drinking, is called alogia.

Insuper etiam propter cibum ac potum, non mentis, sed ventris alogia diei dominici dicit esse cantandum: Saturasti, Domine, animam inanem, et potasti animam sitientem. O virum spiritualem! o carnalium reprehensorem! o magnum jejunatorem, et non ventricultorem! Ecce qui nos admonet ne lege ventris legem Domini corrumpamus, ne panem coeli vendamus esca terrena, et adjungit: Quia esca Adam paradiso periit, esca Esau primatum amisit. Ecce qui dicit: Est enim Satanae usitata calumnia, tentatio ventris, qui modicum suadet ut auferat totum. Et horum, inquit, interpretatio praeceptorum ventricolas minus incurvat.

12. Nonne his verbis suis id agere videtur, ut etiam die dominico jejunetur? Alioquin sanctior erit sabbati dies, quo Dominus in monumento requievit, quam dominicus, quo a mortuis resurrexit. Sanctius est enim profecto sabbatum, si secundum verba hujus, in sabbato per jejunium peccatum omne vitatur, et quod diebus aliis contractum est, aboletur: in dominico autem per escam ventris tentatio non cavetur, et diabolicae calumniae locus datur, et paradiso peritur, et primatus amittitur. Quid ergo est, quod rursus sibi ipse contrarius admonet, ut non prandio modesto, sobrio, christiano, reficiamur dominico die, sed in alogia laetantes plaudentesque cantemus: Saturasti, Domine, animam inanem, et potasti animam sitientem? Nempe si tunc non erramus, quando jejunamus, et aliorum sex dierum errores tunc abluimus, cum sabbato jejunamus; nullus erit die dominico deterior, nullus sabbato melior. Crede, dilectissime frater, nemo legem, sicut iste, intelligit, nisi qui non intelligit. Si enim Adam non cibus, sed prohibitus cibus perdidit (Gen. III, 6), et Esau nepotem sancti Abrahae non esca, sed usque ad contemptum sacramenti quod in primatu suo habuit, concupita esca damnavit (Gen. XXV, 33, 34): sic a sanctis et fidelibus pie prandetur, quemadmodum a sacrilegis et incredulis impie jejunatur. Praeponitur autem dies dominicus sabbato fide resurrectionis, non consuetudine refectionis, aut etiam vinolentae licentia cantionis.

CAP. VI. 13. Moyses, inquit, quadraginta diebus panem non manducavit, nec bibit aquam. Cur autem hoc dixerit, subjungit atque ait: Ecce Moyses amicus Dei, nubis inquilinus, delator Legis, et populi dux, ter bina sabbata jejunio celebrans non offensam, sed meritum collocavit. Numquid attendit quid hinc possit consequenter opponi?

Moreover, also on account of food and drink, he says it should be sung with the alogia of the belly, not of the mind, on the Lord's day: 'Thou hast satisfied, O Lord, the empty soul, and hast given drink to the thirsty soul.' O spiritual man! O reprover of the carnal! O great faster, and not a belly-cultivator! Behold him who admonishes us lest by the law of the belly we corrupt the law of the Lord, lest we sell the bread of heaven for earthly food, and he adds: 'Because by food Adam perished from paradise, by food Esau lost his birthright.' Behold him who says: 'For it is a usual calumny of Satan, the temptation of the belly, which persuades a little that it may take away the whole.' And the interpretation of these precepts, he says, bows down belly-worshippers less.

12. Does he not seem by these words of his to act so that one should fast even on the Lord's day? Otherwise the Sabbath day, on which the Lord rested in the tomb, will be more holy than the Lord's day, on which He rose from the dead. For surely the Sabbath is holier if, according to the words of this man, in the Sabbath every sin is avoided through fasting, and that which was contracted on other days is abolished: but on the Lord's day through the food of the belly temptation is not avoided, and a place is given to diabolical calumny, and paradise is lost, and the birthright is forfeited. What then is it that he, again contrary to himself, admonishes that we be refreshed on the Lord's day not by a modest, sober, Christian luncheon, but rejoicing and applauding in alogia we sing: 'Thou hast satisfied, O Lord, the empty soul, and hast given drink to the thirsty soul'? Surely if we do not err then when we fast, and we then wash away the errors of the other six days when we fast on the Sabbath; none will be worse than the Lord's day, none better than the Sabbath. Believe, most beloved brother, no one understands the law as this man does, except he who does not understand. For if not food, but prohibited food lost Adam (Gen. III, 6), and if not food, but food lusted for even to the contempt of the sacrament which he had in his birthright, condemned Esau the grandson of holy Abraham (Gen. XXV, 33, 34): so it is piously dined by the holy and faithful, just as it is impiously fasted by the sacrilegious and incredulous. But the Lord's day is preferred to the Sabbath by the faith of the resurrection, not by the custom of refreshment, or even by the license of wine-bibbing song.

CHAPTER VI. 13. 'Moses,' he says, 'for forty days ate no bread, nor drank water.' But why he said this, he subjoins and says: 'Behold Moses the friend of God, inhabitant of the cloud, deliverer of the Law, and leader of the people, celebrating thrice two Sabbaths by fasting, placed not an offense, but merit.' Does he attend to what can be opposed from here consequently?

Quia utique si Moysi jejunantis propterea ponit exemplum, quoniam in illis quadraginta diebus ter bina, sicut loquitur, sabbata jejunavit, et ex hoc vult persuadere ut sabbato jejunetur; ex hoc ergo persuadeat ut et dominico jejunetur, quia in illis quadraginta diebus nihilominus Moyses ter binos dominicos jejunavit. Sed addit ac dicit, Et adhuc cum Christo dominicus dies imminenti Ecclesiae servabatur. quod cur dixerit, nescio. Si enim propterea quia multo magis jejunandum est, posteaquam venit cum Christo dominicus dies; ergo, quod absit, etiam ipso dominico jejunetur. Si autem timuit ne propter dierum quadraginta jejunium objiceretur etiam dominico jejunandum, et ideo addidit quod adhuc cum Christo imminenti Ecclesiae dies dominicus servabatur, ut videlicet ea causa intelligatur jejunasse Moyses etiam die qui sequitur sabbatum, quia nondum venerat Christus, per quem factus est ipse dies dominicus, quo non expediat jejunari; cur ipse Christus quadraginta diebus similiter jejunavit? cur non in illis diebus quadraginta, ter binis qui sequebantur sabbatum, jejunium solvit, ut jam dominici diei prandium commendaret etiam ante resurrectionem suam, sicut sanguinem suum potandum dedit ante passionem? Vides certe dierum quadraginta jejunium, quod iste commemorat, sic ad rem non pertinere ut sabbato jejunemus, quomodo ad rem non pertinet ut dominico jejunemus.

14. Prorsus non attendit, quid ei de die dominico possit opponi, quando sicut accusanda sunt ebriosa convivia, et omnis vorax ac temulenta luxuries, sic accusat prandia sabbatorum, cum possint et ipsa esse modestorum atque sobriorum. Et ideo non est illi ad singula respondendum, quoniam pro sabbati prandio vitia luxuriae reprehendendo, eadem atque eadem saepe dicit; aliud non inveniendo quod dicat, nisi quod inaniter et ad rem non pertinens dicit. Utrum non sit sabbato jejunandum quaeritur, non utrum sabbato non sit luxuriandum; quod nec dominico faciunt qui Deum timent, quamvis in illo utique non jejunent. Quis autem diceret quod iste ausus est dicere? Quomodo, inquit, pro nobis, aut per nos rata erunt Deo, aut digna, quae nos sanctificata die ad peccatum cogant? Sanctificatam diem sabbati confitetur, et ad peccatum dicit cogi homines, quia prandetur. Ac per hoc secundum istum, aut dies dominicus sanctificatus non est, et incipit esse sabbatum melius; aut si est et dominicus dies sanctificatus, ad peccatum cogimur, quia prandemus.

CAP. VII.

Because surely if he places the example of Moses fasting for this reason, since in those forty days he fasted thrice two Sabbaths, as he speaks, and from this he wishes to persuade that one should fast on the Sabbath; from this therefore let him persuade that one should also fast on the Lord's day, because in those forty days Moses nevertheless fasted thrice two Lord's days. But he adds and says: 'And as yet with Christ the Lord's day was being reserved for the imminent Church.' Why he said this, I know not. For if it is because one must fast much more after the Lord's day came with Christ; then, which be far from it, let it be fasted even on the Lord's day itself. But if he feared lest on account of the fast of forty days it should be objected that one must also fast on the Lord's day, and therefore added that as yet with Christ the Lord's day was being reserved for the imminent Church, so that forsooth it might be understood that for this cause Moses fasted also on the day which follows the Sabbath, because Christ had not yet come, through whom the Lord's day itself was made, on which it may not be expedient to fast; why did Christ Himself fast similarly for forty days? why in those forty days, during the thrice two days which followed the Sabbath, did He not break the fast, so that He might commend the luncheon of the Lord's day even before His resurrection, just as He gave His blood to be drunk before His passion? You see certainly that the fast of forty days, which that man mentions, so does not pertain to the matter that we should fast on the Sabbath, just as it does not pertain to the matter that we should fast on the Lord's day.

14. He simply does not attend to what can be opposed to him concerning the Lord's day, when just as drunken feasts and all voracious and drunken luxury are to be accused, so he accuses the luncheons of the Sabbaths, when they also can be those of the modest and sober. And therefore he is not to be responded to in each point, since by reproving the vices of luxury in place of the Sabbath luncheon, he says the same things over and over again; finding nothing else to say, except what he says vainly and not pertaining to the matter. Whether one should not fast on the Sabbath is asked, not whether one should not be luxurious on the Sabbath; which those who fear God do not do even on the Lord's day, although in it they certainly do not fast. But who would say what this man dared to say? 'How,' he says, 'will those things be ratified to God for us, or through us, or be worthy, which compel us to sin on a sanctified day?' He confesses the Sabbath day is sanctified, and says men are compelled to sin because they dine. And by this according to him, either the Lord's day is not sanctified, and the Sabbath begins to be better; or if the Lord's day is also sanctified, we are compelled to sin because we dine.

CHAPTER VII.

15. Et conatur testimoniis probare divinis sabbato jejunandum: sed unde hoc probet omnino non invenit. Manducavit, inquit, et bibit Jacob vinum, et satiatus est, et recessit a Deo salutari suo, et ceciderunt una die viginti tria millia (Exod. XXXII, 6, 8, 28): quasi dictum sit, Prandit sabbato Jacob, et recessit a Deo salutari suo. Et Apostolus quando commemoravit cecidisse tot millia, non ait: Neque prandeamus sabbato, sicut illi pranderunt; sed ait: Neque fornicemur, sicut quidam eorum fornicati sunt, et ceciderunt una die viginti tria millia. Quid sibi etiam vult quod ait: Sedit autem populus manducare et bibere, et surrexerunt ludere? (I Cor. X, 8, 7.) Posuit quidem et Apostolus hoc testimonium, sed ut a servitute idolorum, non a sabbati prandio prohiberet. Sabbato autem illud factum esse, iste non probat, sed ut libitum est suspicatur. Sicut autem fieri potest ut jejunetur, et cum jejunium solvitur, si quis ebriosus est, tunc inebrietur; ita fieri potest ut non jejunetur, et si temperantes sunt homines, modestissime prandeatur. Quid est ergo quod sabbati volens persuadere jejunium, adhibet Apostolum testem dicentem, Nolite inebriari vino, in quo est omnis luxuria (Eph. V, 18); quasi diceret: Nolite prandere sabbato, quia ibi est omnis luxuria. Sicut autem hoc praeceptum apostolicum ne inebrientur vino, in quo est omnis luxuria, observatur a christianis Deum timentibus, quando prandetur die dominico, ita observatur quando prandetur et sabbato.

16. Ut expressius, inquit, errantibus contradicam, nemo jejunio Deum, etsi non promeretur, offendit; porro et non offendere promereri est. Quis hoc diceret, nisi qui nollet considerare quid diceret? Ergo Pagani quando jejunant, non ideo magis offendunt Deum: aut si de christianis voluit quod dixit intelligi, quis non Deum offendet, si velit cum scandalo totius quae ubique dilatatur Ecclesiae, die dominico jejunare? Deinde subjicit testimonia de Scripturis ad causam quam suscepit nihil valentia. Jejunio, inquit, Elias paradiso donatus in corpore regnat: quasi jejunium non praedicent qui sabbato non jejunant, sicut jejunium praedicant, qui tamen die dominico non jejunant; aut Elias eo tempore jejunaverit, quo populus Dei etiam sabbato jejunabat. Quod autem respondimus de quadraginta diebus jejunii Moysi, hoc deputa esse responsum et de quadraginta diebus Eliae. Jejunio, inquit, Daniel leonum siccam rabiem illaesus evasit: quasi legerit quod sabbato jejunaverit, aut etiam cum ipsis leonibus sabbato fuerit; ubi tamen legimus quod et pranderit.

15. And he tries to prove by divine testimonies that one should fast on the Sabbath: but whence he may prove this he finds not at all. 'Jacob ate,' he says, 'and drank wine, and was satiated, and departed from God his savior, and twenty-three thousand fell in one day' (Exod. XXXII, 6, 8, 28): as if it were said, Jacob dined on the Sabbath, and departed from God his savior. And the Apostle when he mentioned that so many thousands had fallen, did not say: 'Neither let us dine on the Sabbath, just as they dined'; but he said: 'Neither let us fornicate, just as some of them fornicated, and twenty-three thousand fell in one day.' What also does he mean by what he says: 'But the people sat down to eat and drink, and they rose up to play'? (I Cor. X, 8, 7.) The Apostle indeed also placed this testimony, but so that he might prohibit from the servitude of idols, not from the Sabbath luncheon. But that that was done on the Sabbath, this man does not prove, but suspects as he pleases. But just as it can happen that one fasts, and when the fast is broken, if anyone is a drunkard, he is then inebriated; so it can happen that one does not fast, and if men are temperate, it is dined most modestly. Why is it then that, wishing to persuade the Sabbath fast, he employs the Apostle as a witness saying: 'Be not inebriated with wine, in which is all luxury' (Eph. V, 18); as if he were to say: 'Do not dine on the Sabbath, because there is all luxury'? But just as this apostolic precept lest they be inebriated with wine, in which is all luxury, is observed by Christians fearing God when they dine on the Lord's day, so it is observed when they dine also on the Sabbath.

'That I may more expressly,' he says, 'contradict those erring, no one by fasting offends God, even if he does not merit; furthermore, even not to offend is to merit.' Who would say this, except he who would not consider what he said? Therefore the Pagans when they fast do not for that reason more offend God: or if he wished what he said to be understood concerning Christians, who will not offend God if he wishes, with the scandal of the whole Church which is dilated everywhere, to fast on the Lord's day? Then he subjects testimonies from the Scriptures that are worth nothing for the cause which he undertook. 'By fasting,' he says, 'Elijah, gifted with paradise, reigns in the body': as if they do not preach fasting who do not fast on the Sabbath, just as they preach fasting who nevertheless do not fast on the Lord's day; or Elijah fasted at that time in which the people of God also fasted on the Sabbath. But what we responded concerning the forty days of the fast of Moses, think that this is the response also concerning the forty days of Elijah. 'By fasting,' he says, 'Daniel escaped unharmed the dry rage of the lions': as if he had read that he fasted on the Sabbath, or even was with the lions on the Sabbath; where nevertheless we read that he also dined.

Jejunio, inquit, trium fida germanitas ignibus coruscanti carceri dominata, rogi hospitio susceptum Dominum adoravit. Haec exempla sanctorum, nec ad persuadendum cujuscumque diei jejunium valent; quanto minus sabbati? Quandoquidem non solum non legitur tres viros sabbato fuisse missos in caminum ignis ardentem; sed ne illud quidem legitur, tamdiu illic eos fuisse ut possit quisquam dicere eos jejunasse, imo vero vix unius horae spatium est, quo eorum confessio hymnusque cantatur: nec amplius inter illas flammas innoxias deambulaverunt, quam canticum illud terminaverunt. Nisi forte ab isto etiam unius horae spatium jejunio deputatur. Quod si ita est, non habet quod succenseat pransoribus sabbati: usque ad horam enim prandii, multo quam in illo camino prolixius jejunatur.

17. Adhibet et illud Apostoli testimonium, ubi ait: Non est regnum Dei esca et potus, sed justitia et pax, et gaudium in Spiritu sancto (Rom. XIV, 17); et regnum Dei, Ecclesiam vult intelligi, in qua Deus regnat. Obsecro te, numquid hoc agebat Apostolus, cum ista loqueretur, ut sabbato a christianis jejunaretur? Sed nec de ipso cujuscumque diei jejunio loquebatur, cum haec diceret. Dictum est enim adversus eos qui, more Judaeorum, secundum veterem Legem in observatione quorumdam ciborum putabant esse munditiam, et ad eorum fratrum admonitionem, per quorum escam et potum indifferenter acceptum scandalizabantur infirmi. Ideo cum dixisset: Noli illum in esca tua perdere, pro quo Christus mortuus est (Ibid., 15); et, Non ergo blasphemetur bonum nostrum (Ibid., 16); tunc adjunxit: Non enim est regnum Dei esca et potus. Nam sicut iste verba haec Apostoli intelligit, ut regnum Dei, quod est Ecclesia, non sit in esca et potu, sed in jejunio; non dico, sabbatis jejunare, sed nunquam omnino cibum ac potum sumere deberemus, ne de isto Dei regno unquam recederemus. Puto autem quia isto confitente, aliquanto religiosius die dominico ad Ecclesiam pertinemus, quando tamen et ipso concedente prandemus.

CAP. VIII. 18. Cur, inquit, sacrificium potiori Domino charum murmuramus offerre, quod spiritus desiderat et angelus laudat? deinde adjungit angeli testimonium dicentis: Bona est oratio cum jejunio et eleemosyna (Tob. XII, 8). Quid dixerit, potiori Domino, nescio, nisi forte scriptor erravit, et te fugit, ut quod mihi legendum misisti non emendares. Sacrificium ergo Domino charum, jejunium vult intelligi, quasi de jejunio versetur haec quaestio, et non de jejunio sabbati. Neque enim dominicus dies sine sacrificio, quod Deo charum est, peragitur, quia non jejunatur.

'By fasting,' he says, 'the faithful brotherhood of the three, having dominated the prison flashing with fires, adored the Lord received by the hospitality of the pyre.' These examples of the saints are worth nothing for persuading the fast of any day; how much less of the Sabbath? Since indeed it is not only not read that the three men were sent into the furnace of burning fire on the Sabbath; but not even that is read, that they were there so long that anyone could say they fasted, rather indeed it is scarcely the space of one hour in which their confession and hymn is sung: nor did they walk longer among those harmless flames than they finished that canticle. Unless perhaps by this man even the space of one hour is deputed to fasting. But if it is so, he has no reason to be angry with those dining on the Sabbath: for up to the hour of luncheon, it is fasted much more prolixly than in that furnace.

17. He also employs that testimony of the Apostle, where he says: 'The kingdom of God is not food and drink, but justice and peace, and joy in the Holy Spirit' (Rom. XIV, 17); and by the kingdom of God he wishes the Church to be understood, in which God reigns. I beseech you, was the Apostle doing this when he spoke those things, that it should be fasted on the Sabbath by Christians? But neither was he speaking of the fast itself of any day when he said these things. For it was said against those who, in the manner of the Jews, according to the old Law thought there was cleanliness in the observation of certain foods, and for the admonition of those brothers, by whose food and drink accepted indifferently the weak were scandalized. Therefore when he had said: 'Do not destroy him with thy food, for whom Christ died' (Ibid., 15); and, 'Let not then our good be blasphemed' (Ibid., 16); then he added: 'For the kingdom of God is not food and drink.' For just as this man understands these words of the Apostle, so that the kingdom of God, which is the Church, should not be in food and drink, but in fasting; I do not say, to fast on Sabbaths, but we ought never at all to take food and drink, lest we should ever depart from this kingdom of God. But I think that, by this man's confession, we pertain somewhat more religiously to the Church on the Lord's day, when nevertheless even with him conceding it we dine.

CHAPTER VIII. 'Why,' he says, 'do we murmur to offer a sacrifice dear to the more powerful Lord, which the spirit desires and the angel praises?' then he adds the testimony of the angel saying: 'Prayer is good with fasting and almsgiving' (Tob. XII, 8). What he meant by 'to the more powerful Lord,' I know not, unless perhaps the writer erred, and it escaped you, so that you did not emend what you sent to me to be read. He wishes fasting therefore to be understood as a sacrifice dear to the Lord, as if this question turned upon fasting, and not upon the Sabbath fast. For neither is the Lord's day passed without a sacrifice which is dear to God, because it is not fasted.

Sequitur adhuc et ingerit testimonia a causa, quam defendendam suscepit, penitus aliena. Immola, inquit, Deo sacrificium laudis (Psal. XLIX, 14); et istam vocem divini psalmi volens ad quod agitur nescio quomodo connectere: Utique, inquit, non sanguinis aut ebrietatis convivium, quo non laudes debitae Deo, sed blasphemiae diabolo suffragante silvescunt. O improvidam praesumptionem! Non ergo immolatur sacrificium laudis dominico die, quia non jejunatur; sed agitur ebrietatis convivium, et blasphemiae diabolo suffragante silvescunt. Quod si nefas est dicere; intelligat non jejunium significari in eo quod scriptum est: Immola Deo sacrificium laudis. Jejunium quippe certis diebus, et maxime festis non agitur. Sacrificium vero laudis ab Ecclesia toto orbe diffusa diebus omnibus immolatur. Alioquin quod nullus, non dico christianus, sed nec insanus dicere auderet, dies illi quinquaginta post Pascha usque ad Pentecosten quibus non jejunatur, erunt secundum istum a sacrificio laudis alieni, quibus tantummodo diebus in multis ecclesiis, in omnibus autem maxime cantatur Alleluia; quam vocem laudis esse nullus christianus, quamlibet imperitus, ignorat.

19. Confitetur tamen etiam ipso die dominico non in ebrietate, sed in jucunditate pranderi, cum dicit debere nos ex Judaeis et Gentibus multos christianos nomine, fide paucos electos, vespertino sabbatorum incenso, pro pecudum victimis jejunium Deo placitum laudibus immolare, cujus fervore cremata deficiant opera delictorum. Et mane, inquit, exaudiat nos a nobis auditus, et erunt nobis domus ad manducandum et bibendum, non in ebrietate, sed in jucunditate, dominica celebritate perfecta. Tunc ergo eulogia, non ut superius ait, alogia celebratur. Sed quid eum offendit sabbati dies, quem Dominus sanctificavit, ignoro, ut in eo non putet posse manducari et bibi cum tali jucunditate quae careat ebrietate; cum sic ante sabbatum jejunare possimus, quomodo dicit ante dominicum sabbato jejunandum: an continuo biduo pranderi nefas esse arbitratur? Videat ergo quanta afficiat contumelia ipsam quoque Romanam Ecclesiam, ubi et his hebdomadibus, in quibus quarta et sexta et sabbato jejunatur, tribus tamen diebus continuis, dominico scilicet ac deinde secunda et tertia prandetur.

He follows still and brings in testimonies completely alien to the cause which he undertook to defend. 'Offer,' he says, 'to God the sacrifice of praise' (Psal. XLIX, 14); and wishing to connect that voice of the divine psalm to that which is being done, I know not how: 'Surely,' he says, 'not a banquet of blood or of ebriety, in which not the praises due to God, but blasphemies with the devil supporting them grow wild.' O improvident presumption! Therefore the sacrifice of praise is not offered on the Lord's day, because it is not fasted; but a banquet of ebriety is enacted, and blasphemies with the devil supporting them grow wild. Which if it is a nefarious thing to say; let him understand that fasting is not signified in that which is written: 'Offer to God the sacrifice of praise.' For fasting is not enacted on certain days, and especially on feast days. But the sacrifice of praise is offered on all days by the Church diffused throughout the whole world. Otherwise, what no one, I do not say Christian, but not even insane, would dare to say, those fifty days after Easter until Pentecost in which it is not fasted, will be according to this man alien from the sacrifice of praise, on which days only in many churches, but in all especially, Alleluia is sung; which voice to be one of praise no Christian, however unskilful, is ignorant.

19. He confesses nevertheless that even on the Lord's day itself one dines not in ebriety, but in pleasantness, when he says that we, from the Jews and Gentiles many Christians in name, few elect in faith, ought at the evening incense of the Sabbaths to offer a fast pleasing to God with praises in place of the victims of cattle, by whose fervor the works of transgressions being burned may fail. 'And in the morning,' he says, 'may our hearing hear us from ourselves, and there shall be to us houses for eating and drinking, not in ebriety, but in pleasantness, the Lord's celebration being perfected.' Then therefore eulogia, not as he said above, alogia is celebrated. But why the Sabbath day offends him, which the Lord sanctified, I know not, so that in it he does not think one can eat and drink with such pleasantness which may lack ebriety; since we could so fast before the Sabbath, just as he says one must fast on the Sabbath before the Lord's day: or does he judge it to be nefarious that one dines for two continuous days? Let him see therefore with how much contumely he affects the Roman Church itself also, where even in these weeks in which it is fasted on the fourth and sixth days and on the Sabbath, nevertheless on three continuous days, namely the Lord's day and then the second and third days (Monday and Tuesday), one dines.

20. Ovium vitam certum est, inquit, arbitrio pendere pastorum: sed «Vae qui dicunt quod bonum malum, et tenebras lucem, et lucem tenebras, et amarum dulce, et dulce amarum» (Isai. V, 20). Quid sibi velint haec verba ejus, non satis intelligo. Si enim haec, ut scribis, sic Urbicus dicit; in Urbe plebs pendens ex pastoris arbitrio cum episcopo suo jejunat sabbato. Si autem sic ad te ista scripsit, quia in epistola tua et ipse quiddam tale scripsisti; non tibi persuadeat urbem christianam sic laudare sabbato jejunantem, ut cogaris orbem christianum damnare prandentem. Cum enim dicit: Vae qui dicunt quod bonum malum, et tenebras lucem, et lucem tenebras, et amarum dulce, et dulce amarum, jejunium sabbati volens intelligi bonum et lucem et dulce, prandium vero, malum et tenebras et amarum; quis eum dubitat in omnibus christianis sabbato prandentibus universum orbem damnare terrarum? Nec se ipse respicit, nec quid dicat attendit, ut scriptis suis ab ista praecipiti cohibeatur audacia. Continuo quippe subjunxit, Nemo ergo vos judicet in esca aut in potu (Coloss. II, 16): quod ipse utique facit, qui sabbato sumentes escam potumque sic arguit. Quantum erat, ut hinc ei veniret in mentem etiam illud quod idem apostolus alibi dicit: Qui manducat, non manducantem non spernat; et qui non manducat, manducantem non judicet? (Rom. XIV, 3.) Istum modum, hoc temperamentum, quo scandala devitaret, inter jejunantes sabbato et manducantes teneret, ut et ipsum non manducantem manducans quisque non sperneret, et ipse non manducans manducantem non judicaret.

CAPUT IX.

21. Petrus etiam, inquit, Apostolorum caput, coeli janitor, et Ecclesiae fundamentum, exstincto Simone qui diaboli fuerat nonnisi jejunio vincendi figura, idipsum Romanos edocuit, quorum fides annuntiatur universo orbi terrarum. Numquid ergo caeteri Apostoli prandere Christianos contra Petrum docuerunt in universo orbe terrarum? Sicut itaque inter se vixerunt concorditer Petrus et condiscipuli ejus, sic inter se concorditer vivant sabbato jejunantes quos plantavit Petrus, et sabbato prandentes quos plantaverunt condiscipuli ejus. Est quidem et haec opinio plurimorum, quamvis eam perhibeant esse falsam plerique Romani, quod apostolus Petrus cum Simone mago die dominico certaturus, propter ipsum magnae tentationis periculum, pridie cum ejusdem urbis Ecclesia jejunaverit, et consecuto tam prospero gloriosoque successu, eumdem morem tenuerit, eumque imitatae sint nonnullae Occidentis Ecclesiae.

'The life of the sheep is certain,' he says, 'to depend on the judgment of the shepherds: but "Woe to those who say that good is evil, and darkness light, and light darkness, and bitter sweet, and sweet bitter"' (Isai. V, 20). What these words of his mean, I do not sufficiently understand. For if he says these things thus, as you write, Urbicus; in the City the populace depending on the judgment of the shepherd fasts on the Sabbath with its bishop. But if he wrote those things to you thus, because in your letter you yourself also wrote something of such a kind; let him not persuade you so to praise the Christian city fasting on the Sabbath, that you are compelled to condemn the Christian world dining. For when he says: 'Woe to those who say that good is evil, and darkness light, and light darkness, and bitter sweet, and sweet bitter,' wishing the Sabbath fast to be understood as good and light and sweet, but the luncheon as evil and darkness and bitter; who doubts that he condemns the whole world of lands in all Christians dining on the Sabbath? Nor does he respect himself, nor attend to what he says, so that he may be restrained from this headlong audacity by his own writings. For he immediately subjoined: 'Let no one therefore judge you in food or in drink' (Coloss. II, 16): which he himself surely does, who thus argues against those taking food and drink on the Sabbath. How much it was, that from here it should come into his mind also that which the same apostle says elsewhere: 'He that eateth, let him not despise him that eateth not; and he that eateth not, let him not judge him that eateth'? This measure, this temperament, by which he might avoid scandals, he should hold between those fasting on the Sabbath and those eating, so that anyone eating should not despise him not eating, and he not eating should not judge the one eating.

CHAPTER IX.

21. Peter also, he says, the head of the Apostles, the gatekeeper of heaven, and the foundation of the Church, after Simon had been extinguished—who had been a figure of the devil to be conquered only by fasting—taught this very thing to the Romans, whose faith is announced to the whole world of lands. Did the other Apostles then teach Christians throughout the whole world to dine against Peter? Just as Peter and his fellow disciples lived harmoniously among themselves, so let those whom Peter planted live harmoniously among themselves fasting on the Sabbath, and those whom his fellow disciples planted live harmoniously among themselves dining on the Sabbath. There is indeed also this opinion of many, although most Romans claim it to be false, that the apostle Peter, when about to contend with Simon Magus on the Lord's day, because of the danger of that great temptation, fasted on the day before with the Church of the same city, and having followed such a prosperous and glorious success, held the same custom, and some Churches of the West imitated it.

Sed si, ut iste dicit, Simon magus figura erat diaboli, non plane sabbatarius aut dominicarius, sed quotidianus est ille tentator; nec tamen adversus eum quotidie jejunatur, quando et diebus dominicis omnibus, e quinquaginta post Pascha, et per diversa loca diebus solemnibus martyrum et festis quibusque prandetur: et tamen diabolus vincitur, si oculi nostri sint semper ad Dominum, ut ipse evellat de laqueo pedes nostros (Psal. XXIV, 15); et sive manducamus sive bibimus, sive quodcumque facimus, omnia in gloriam Dei faciamus; et quantum in nobis est, sine offensione simus Judaeis et Graecis et Ecclesiae Dei (I Cor. X, 31, 32). Quod parum cogitant, qui cum offensione manducant, vel cum offensione jejunant, et per utramlibet intemperantiam scandala concitant, quibus non superatur diabolus, sed laetatur.

22. Quod si respondetur, hoc docuisse Jacobum Jerosolymis, Ephesi Joannem, caeterosque aliis locis, quod docuit Romae Petrus, id est ut sabbato jejunetur, sed ab hac doctrina terras caeteras deviasse, atque in ea Romam stetisse: et e contrario refertur Occidentis potius aliqua loca in quibus Roma est, non servasse quod Apostoli tradiderunt; Orientis vero terras, unde coepit ipsum Evangelium praedicari, in eo quod ab omnibus simul cum ipso Petro Apostolis traditum est, ne sabbato jejunetur, sine aliqua varietate mansisse: interminabilis est ista contentio, generans lites, non finiens quaestiones. Sit ergo una fides universae quae ubique dilatatur Ecclesiae, tanquam intus in membris, etiamsi ipsa fidei unitas quibusdam diversis observationibus celebratur, quibus nullo modo quod in fide verum est impeditur. Omnis enim pulchritudo filiae regis intrinsecus (Psal. XLIV, 14): illae autem observationes quae variae celebrantur, in ejus veste intelliguntur; unde ibi dicitur, In fimbriis aureis circumamicta varietate (Ibid., 15). Sed ea quoque vestis ita diversis celebrationibus varietur, ut non adversus contentionibus dissipetur.

CAPUT X.

23. Postremo, inquit, si Judaeus sabbatum colendo dominicum negat, quomodo Christianus observat sabbatum? Aut simus Christiani, et dominicum colamus; aut simus Judaei, et sabbatum observemus: «Nemo enim potest duobus dominis servire» (Matth. VI, 24). Nonne ita loquitur, tanquam sabbati alius dominus sit, alius dominici? Nec illud audit quod et ipse commemoravit: Dominus est enim sabbati Filius hominis (Luc. VI, 5).

But if, as that man says, Simon Magus was a figure of the devil, that tempter is clearly not a 'Sabbath-keeper' or a 'Lord's-day-keeper,' but a daily one; yet it is not fasted against him daily, when one dines on all Lord's days, on the fifty days after Easter, and in various places on the solemn days of the martyrs and on every feast: and yet the devil is conquered, if our eyes are always toward the Lord, that he himself may pluck our feet out of the snare (Psal. XXIV, 15); and whether we eat or whether we drink, or whatever we do, let us do all for the glory of God; and as much as is in us, let us be without offense to the Jews and to the Greeks and to the Church of God (I Cor. X, 31, 32). Which they think little of, who eat with offense, or fast with offense, and through either intemperance stir up scandals, by which the devil is not overcome, but rejoices.

22. But if it is answered that James taught this in Jerusalem, John in Ephesus, and the others in other places, which Peter taught in Rome, that is, that it should be fasted on the Sabbath, but that the other lands deviated from this doctrine, and Rome stood in it: and on the contrary it is reported that some places of the West rather, in which Rome is, did not keep what the Apostles delivered; but that the lands of the East, from whence the Gospel itself began to be preached, have remained without any variety in that which was delivered by all the Apostles together with Peter himself, that it should not be fasted on the Sabbath: that contention is endless, generating strifes, not finishing questions. Therefore, let there be one faith of the universal Church which is dilated everywhere, as if within the members, even if the unity of faith itself is celebrated with certain diverse observations, by which in no way that which is true in faith is hindered. For all the beauty of the king's daughter is within (Psal. XLIV, 14): but those observations which are celebrated variously are understood in her garment; whence it is said there, 'Clothed round about with variety in golden fringes' (Ibid., 15). But let that garment also be varied by diverse celebrations in such a way that it is not dissipated by adversarial contentions.

CHAPTER X.

Lastly, he says, if the Jew by culturing the Sabbath denies the Lord's Day, how does the Christian observe the Sabbath? Either let us be Christians, and culture the Lord's Day; or let us be Jews, and observe the Sabbath: 'For no one can serve two masters' (Matth. VI, 24). Does he not speak thus, as if one were the master of the Sabbath, and another of the Lord's Day? Nor does he hear that which he himself mentioned: 'For the Son of Man is Lord even of the Sabbath' (Luc. VI, 5).

Quod autem ita nos vult esse a sabbato alienos, sicut Judaei sunt a dominico alieni, nonne tantum errat ut possit etiam dicere, ita nos non debere accipere Legem nec Prophetas, sicut Judaei non accipiunt Evangelium nec Apostolos? Quod qui sapit, quid mali sapiat utique intelligis. Sed vetera, inquit, omnia transierunt, et in Christo facta sunt nova (II Cor. V, 17): hoc verum est. Nam propterea sicut Judaei sabbatis non vacamus, etiamsi ad significandam requiem quae illo die significata est, christiana sobrietate et frugalitate servata, jejunii vinculum relaxamus. Et si aliqui fratres nostri requiem sabbati, relaxatione jejunii significandam esse non putant, nequaquam de vestis regiae varietate litigamus, ne ipsius reginae, ubi unam fidem etiam de ipsa requie retinemus, interiora membra vexemus. Etsi enim quia vetera transierunt, cum eis transiit etiam carnalis vacatio sabbati; non tamen quia sabbato et dominico sine superstitiosa vacatione prandemus, ideo duobus dominis servimus, quia et sabbati et dominici unus est dominus.

24. Iste autem qui vetera transisse sic dicit, ut in Christo cederet ara altari, gladius jejunio, precibus ignis, pani pecus, poculo sanguis, nescit altaris nomen magis Legis et Prophetarum Litteris frequentatum, et altare Deo prius in tabernaculo, quod per Moysen factum est, collocatum (Exod. XL, 24); aram quoque in apostolicis Litteris inveniri, ubi Martyres clamant sub ara Dei (Apoc. VI, 9, 10). Dicit cessisse jejunio gladium, non recordans illum quo milites evangelici armantur ex utroque Testamento, gladium bis acutum (Eph. VI, 17, et Hebr. IV, 12). Dicit cessisse precibus ignem, quasi non et tunc preces deferebantur in templum, et nunc a Christo ignis est missus in mundum (Luc. XII, 49). Dicit cessisse pani pecus, tanquam nesciens et tunc in Domini mensa panes propositionis poni solere (Exod. XXV, 30), et nunc se de agni immaculati corpore partem sumere. Dicit cessisse poculo sanguinem, non cogitans etiam nunc se accipere in poculo sanguinem (Luc. XXII, 7-20). Quanto ergo melius et congruentius vetera transisse, et nova in Christo facta esse sic diceret, ut cederet altare altari, gladius gladio, ignis igni, panis pani, pecus pecori, sanguis sanguini. Videmus quippe in his omnibus carnalem vetustatem spirituali cedere novitati. Sic ergo intelligendum est, sive in isto die volubili septimo prandeatur, sive a quibusdam etiam jejunetur, tamen sabbato spirituali sabbatum carnale cessisse; quando in isto sempiterna et vera requies concupiscitur, in illo vacatio temporalis jam superstitiosa contemnitur.

But in that he wants us to be so foreign to the Sabbath, just as the Jews are foreign to the Lord's Day, does he not err so much that he could even say that we ought not to receive the Law nor the Prophets, just as the Jews do not receive the Gospel nor the Apostles? You certainly understand what evil he who savors this may savor. But 'all old things,' he says, 'have passed away, and in Christ they have been made new' (II Cor. V, 17): this is true. For on that account we do not vacate for Sabbaths like the Jews, even if for the sake of signifying the rest which was signified on that day, Christian sobriety and frugality being preserved, we relax the bond of the fast. And if some of our brothers do not think that the rest of the Sabbath ought to be signified by the relaxation of the fast, we by no means litigate concerning the variety of the royal garment, lest we vex the interior members of the queen herself, where we hold one faith even concerning that rest. For even if, because old things have passed away, the carnal vacation of the Sabbath has also passed away with them; yet because we dine on the Sabbath and the Lord's Day without superstitious vacation, we do not therefore serve two masters, because there is one master of both the Sabbath and the Lord's Day.

But this man who says that old things have passed away in such a way that in Christ the altar should give way to the altar (ara altari), the sword to fasting, fire to prayers, the beast to bread, and blood to the cup, knows not that the name of the altar is more frequented in the Letters of the Law and the Prophets, and that the altar was first placed for God in the tabernacle which was made through Moses (Exod. XL, 24); and that 'ara' (altar) is also found in the apostolic Letters, where the Martyrs cry out under the altar of God (Apoc. VI, 9, 10). He says that the sword has given way to fasting, not remembering that one with which evangelical soldiers are armed from both Testaments, the two-edged sword (Eph. VI, 17, and Hebr. IV, 12). He says that fire has given way to prayers, as if even then prayers were not brought into the temple, and now fire has been sent by Christ into the world (Luc. XII, 49). He says that the beast has given way to bread, as if not knowing that then also the showbreads were accustomed to be placed on the table of the Lord (Exod. XXV, 30), and now he himself takes a part from the body of the immaculate lamb. He says that blood has given way to the cup, not thinking that even now he receives blood in the cup (Luc. XXII, 7-20). How much better and more congruously would he say that old things have passed away and new things have been made in Christ, such that altar should give way to altar, sword to sword, fire to fire, bread to bread, beast to beast, and blood to blood. For we see in all these things carnal antiquity giving way to spiritual novelty. Thus, therefore, it is to be understood, whether one dines on this revolving seventh day, or whether it is even fasted by some, nevertheless that the carnal Sabbath has given way to the spiritual Sabbath; when in the latter eternal and true rest is desired, while in the former temporal vacation is now contemned as superstitious.

CAP. XI. 25. Caetera quae sequuntur, quibus suam disputationem iste concludit, sicut alia quaedam quae inde commemoranda non arbitratus sum, multo magis ad causam non pertinent, in qua de jejunio sabbati vel prandio disputatur. Sed ea tibi ipsi, maxime si ex iis quae a me dicta sunt aliquid adjuvaris, advertenda et judicanda dimitto. Si autem quoniam huic quantum potui sufficienter respondisse me puto, de hac re sententiam meam quaeris, ego in evangelicis et apostolicis Litteris, totoque instrumento quod appellatur Testamentum Novum, animo id revolvens, video praeceptum esse jejunium. Quibus autem diebus non oporteat jejunare, et quibus oporteat, praecepto Domini vel apostolorum non invenio definitum. Ac per hoc sentio, non quidem ad obtinendam, quam fides obtinet atque justitia in qua est pulchritudo filiae regis intrinsecus, sed tamen ad significandam requiem sempiternam ubi est verum sabbatum, relaxationem quam constrictionem jejunii aptius convenire.

26. Verumtamen in hujus sabbati jejunio sive prandio, nihil mihi videtur tutius pacatiusque servari, quam ut qui manducat, non manducantem non spernat, et qui non manducat, manducantem non judicet; quia neque si manducaverimus abundabimus, neque si non manducaverimus egebimus (Rom. XIV, 3): custodita scilicet eorum inter quos vivimus, et cum quibus Deo vivimus, in his rebus inoffensa societate. Sicut enim quod ait Apostolus verum est, malum esse homini qui per offensionem manducat (Ibid., 20, et I Cor. VIII, 8); ita malum est homini qui per offensionem jejunat. Non itaque simus eis similes, qui videntes Joannem non manducantem nec bibentem, dixerunt: Daemonium habet. Sed nec rursus eis, qui videntes Christum manducantem et bibentem, dixerunt: Ecce homo vorax et vinosus, amicus publicanorum et peccatorum (Matth. XI, 19). Rem quippe valde necessariam his dictis Dominus ipse subjecit atque ait: Et justificata est sapientia in filiis suis (Ibid.). Qui sint autem isti, si requiris, lege quod scriptum est: Filii sapientiae Ecclesia justorum (Eccli. III, 1): ii sunt qui quando manducant, non manducantes non spernunt; quando non manducant, manducantes non judicant; sed eos plane qui per offensionem non manducant sive manducant, vel spernunt vel judicant.

CAPUT XII.

27. Et de die quidem sabbati facilior causa est, quia et Romana jejunat Ecclesia, et aliae nonnullae, etiamsi paucae, sive illi proximae sive longinquae: die autem dominico jejunare scandalum est magnum, maxime posteaquam innotuit detestabilis multumque fidei catholicae Scripturisque divinis apertissime contraria haeresis Manichaeorum, qui suis auditoribus ad jejunandum istum tanquam constituerunt legitimum diem; per quod factum est, ut jejunium diei dominici horribilius haberetur.

CAP. XI. The other things that follow, with which that man concludes his discussion, as well as certain other things that I did not think ought to be mentioned from there, much more do not pertain to the cause in which it is disputed concerning the Sabbath fast or luncheon. But those things I leave to you yourself to be noticed and judged, especially if you have been helped by any of those things which have been said by me. But if, since I think I have answered him sufficiently as much as I could, you seek my opinion concerning this matter, I, revolving it in my mind in the evangelical and apostolic Letters, and in the whole instrument which is called the New Testament, see that fasting has been commanded. But on which days it may not be necessary to fast, and on which it may be necessary, I do not find defined by the precept of the Lord or of the apostles. And through this I feel that—not indeed for obtaining that which faith and justice obtain, in which is the beauty of the king's daughter within, but nevertheless for signifying the eternal rest where the true Sabbath is—relaxation better suits than the constriction of fasting.

26. Nevertheless, in the fasting or luncheon of this Sabbath, nothing seems to me more safely and peacefully preserved than that he who eats should not despise him that eats not, and he that eats not should not judge him that eats; because neither if we eat shall we abound, nor if we eat not shall we lack (Rom. XIV, 3): the inoffensive society of those among whom we live, and with whom we live for God, being surely guarded in these matters. For just as that which the Apostle says is true, that it is evil for the man who eats through offense (Ibid., 20, and I Cor. VIII, 8); so it is evil for the man who fasts through offense. Therefore, let us not be like those who, seeing John not eating nor drinking, said: 'He has a demon.' But nor again like those who, seeing Christ eating and drinking, said: 'Behold a man gluttonous and a wine-bibber, a friend of publicans and sinners' (Matth. XI, 19). For the Lord himself subjoined a very necessary thing to these words and said: 'And wisdom has been justified in her children' (Ibid.). But if you ask who these are, read what is written: 'The children of wisdom are the Church of the just' (Eccli. III, 1): these are they who, when they eat, do not despise those not eating; when they do not eat, they do not judge those eating; but they clearly either despise or judge those who through offense either do not eat or eat.

CHAPTER XII.

27. And concerning the day of the Sabbath indeed the cause is easier, because both the Roman Church fasts, and some others, even if few, whether near to that one or far away: but to fast on the Lord's day is a great scandal, especially after there became known the detestable and much contrary to the catholic faith and divine Scriptures heresy of the Manichaeans, who as it were established this day as legitimate for fasting for their auditors; by which it has come to pass, that the fast of the Lord's day should be held more horribly.

Nisi forte aliquis idoneus sit nulla refectione interposita ultra hebdomadem perpetuare jejunium, ut jejunio quadraginta dierum, quantum potuerit, appropinquet, sicut aliquos fecisse cognovimus. Nam et ad ipsum quadragenarium numerum pervenisse quemdam, a fratribus fide dignissimis nobis asseveratum est. Quemmodum enim veterum patrum temporibus, Moyses et Elias nihil contra prandia sabbatorum fecerunt, cum diebus quadraginta jejunaverunt; ita qui potuerit septem dies jejunando transire, non sibi ad jejunandum elegit dominicum diem, sed in iis eum invenit, quos jejunaturum se vovit plurimos dies. Jejunium tamen etiam continuatum si in hebdomade solvendum est, nullo congruentius quam dominico die solvitur. Si autem post hebdomadem corpus reficitur, non utique ad jejunandum dies dominicus eligitur; sed in numero, quem voveri placuit, invenitur.

CAPUT XIII.

30. Cur autem quarta et sexta maxime jejunet Ecclesia, illa ratio reddi videtur, quod considerato Evangelio, ipsa quarta sabbati, quam vulgo quartam feriam vocant, consilium reperiuntur ad occidendum Dominum fecisse Judaei. Intermisso autem uno die, cujus vespera Dominus Pascha cum discipulis manducavit, qui finis fuit ejus diei quem vocamus quintam sabbati, deinde traditus est ea nocte quae jam ad sextam sabbati, qui dies passionis ejus manifestus est, pertinebat. Hic dies primus azymorum fuit a vespera incipiens. Sed Matthaeus evangelista quintam sabbati dicit fuisse primam diem azymorum; quia ejus vespera sequente, futura erat coena paschalis, qua coena incipiebat azymum et ovis immolatio manducari. Ex quo colligitur quartam sabbati fuisse, quando ait Dominus: Scitis quia post biduum Pascha fiet, et Filius hominis tradetur ut crucifigatur (Matth. XXVI, 2): ac per hoc dies ipse jejunio deputatus est, quia, sicut Evangelista sequitur et dicit, Tunc congregati sunt principes sacerdotum et seniores populi in atrium principis sacerdotum, qui dicebatur Caiphas, et consilium fecerunt ut Jesum dolo tenerent et occiderent (Ibid, 3, 4). Intermisso autem uno die, de quo dicit Evangelium, Prima autem azymorum accesserunt discipuli ad Jesum dicentes: Ubi vis paremus tibi comedere pascha (Ibid., 17)? hoc ergo die intermisso, passus est Dominus, quod nullus ambigit, sexta sabbati; quapropter et ipsa sexta recte jejunio deputatur: jejunia quippe humilitatem significant. Unde dictum est: Et humiliabam in jejunio animam meam (Psal. XXXIV, 13).

Unless perhaps someone is suitable to perpetuate a fast beyond a week with no refection interposed, so that he may approach as much as he can to the fast of forty days, as we have known some to have done. For that a certain one even reached that number of forty, has been asserted to us by brothers most worthy of faith. For just as in the times of the ancient fathers, Moses and Elijah did nothing against the luncheons of the Sabbaths, when they fasted for forty days; so he who could pass seven days by fasting, did not choose for himself the Lord's day for fasting, but found it among those many days in which he vowed that he would fast. Nevertheless, even a continued fast if it is to be loosed within the week, it is loosed by no day more congruously than by the Lord's day. But if after a week the body is refreshed, the Lord's day is surely not chosen for fasting; but it is found in the number which it pleased to be vowed.

CHAPTER XIII.

30. But as to why the Church fasts especially on the fourth and sixth days, that reason seems to be rendered, that considering the Gospel, on that very fourth day of the week, which they commonly call the fourth feria, the Jews are found to have made a counsel for killing the Lord. But one day having been interposed, on whose evening the Lord ate the Passover with the disciples, which was the end of that day which we call the fifth day of the week, he was then betrayed on that night which already belonged to the sixth day of the week, which is manifest as the day of his passion. This was the first day of unleavened bread, beginning from the evening. But Matthew the evangelist says that the fifth day of the week was the first day of unleavened bread; because on its following evening, the paschal supper was to be, at which supper the unleavened bread and the immolation of the sheep began to be eaten. From which it is gathered that it was the fourth day of the week, when the Lord says: You know that after two days the Passover will be, and the Son of man will be betrayed to be crucified (Matth. XXVI, 2): and through this the day itself was deputed to fasting, because, as the Evangelist follows and says, Then were gathered together the princes of the priests and the elders of the people into the court of the prince of the priests, who was called Caiaphas, and they made a counsel that they might hold Jesus by guile and kill him (Ibid, 3, 4). But one day having been interposed, of which the Gospel says, But on the first of the unleavened bread the disciples came to Jesus saying: Where wilt thou that we prepare for thee to eat the passover? (Ibid., 17); this day therefore having been interposed, the Lord suffered, which no one doubts, on the sixth day of the week; wherefore even that sixth day is rightly deputed to fasting: for fasts signify humility. Whence it was said: And I humbled my soul in fasting (Psal. XXXIV, 13).

31. Sequitur sabbatum, quo die caro Christi in monumento requievit, sicut in primis operibus mundi requievit Deus die illo ab omnibus operibus suis. Hinc exorta est ista in reginae illius veste varietas, ut alii, sicut maxime populi Orientis, propter requiem significandam mallent relaxare jejunium, alii propter humilitatem mortis Domini jejunare, sicut Romana et nonnullae Occidentis Ecclesiae. Quod quidem uno die, quo Pascha celebratur propter renovandam rei gestae memoriam, qua discipuli humanitus mortem Domini doluerunt, sic ab omnibus jejunatur, ut etiam illi sabbati jejunium devotissime celebrent, qui caeteris per totum annum sabbatis prandent; utrumque videlicet significantes, et in uno anniversario die luctum discipulorum, et caeteris sabbatis quietis bonum. Duo quippe sunt, quae justorum beatitudinem, et omnis miseriae finem sperari faciunt, mors et resurrectio mortuorum. In morte requies est, de qua dicitur per Prophetam: Plebs mea intra in cellaria tua; abscondere pusillum donec transeat ira Domini (Isai. XXVI, 20). In resurrectione autem in homine toto, id est, in carne et spiritu perfecta felicitas. Hinc factum est ut horum duorum utrumque non significandum putaretur labore jejunii, sed potius refectionis hilaritate, excepto paschali uno sabbato, quo discipulorum, sicut diximus, luctus propter rei gestae memoriam fuerat jejunio prolixiore signandus.

CAPUT XIV.

32. Sed quoniam non invenimus, ut jam supra commemoravi, in evangelicis et apostolicis Litteris, quae ad Novi Testamenti revelationem proprie pertinent, certis diebus aliquibus evidenter praeceptum observanda esse jejunia, et ideo res quoque ista, sicut aliae plurimae quas enumerare difficile est, invenit in veste illius filiae regis, hoc est Ecclesiae, varietatis locum; indicabo tibi quid mihi de hoc requirenti responderit venerandus Ambrosius, a quo baptizatus sum, Mediolanensis episcopus. Nam cum in eadem civitate mater mea mecum esset, et nobis adhuc catechumenis parum ista curantibus, illa sollicitudinem gereret utrum secundum morem nostrae civitatis sibi esset sabbato jejunandum, an Ecclesiae Mediolanensis more prandendum, ut hac eam cunctatione liberarem, interrogavi hoc supradictum hominem Dei. At ille: Quid possum, inquit, hinc docere amplius quam ipse facio?

31. The Sabbath follows, on which day the flesh of Christ rested in the monument, just as in the first works of the world God rested on that day from all his works. Hence has arisen that variety in the garment of that queen, so that some, as especially the peoples of the East, for the sake of signifying rest preferred to relax the fast, others for the sake of the humility of the death of the Lord preferred to fast, as the Roman and some Western Churches. Which indeed on the one day, on which the Passover is celebrated for the sake of renewing the memory of the event done, in which the disciples humanly grieved for the death of the Lord, is so fasted by all, that even those celebrate the fast of the Sabbath most devoutly, who on the other Sabbaths through the whole year have luncheon; signifying both indeed, both the mourning of the disciples on the one anniversary day, and the good of rest on the other Sabbaths. For there are two things, which make the beatitude of the just, and the end of all misery to be hoped for, death and the resurrection of the dead. In death there is rest, of which it is said through the Prophet: My people, enter into thy chambers; hide thyself a little until the wrath of the Lord pass away (Isai. XXVI, 20). But in the resurrection there is perfect felicity in the whole man, that is, in flesh and spirit. Hence it has come to pass that neither of these two was thought to be signified by the labor of fasting, but rather by the hilarity of refection, except for the one paschal Sabbath, on which the mourning of the disciples, as we have said, for the sake of the memory of the event done, had to be signified by a more prolonged fast.

CHAPTER XIV.

32. But since we do not find, as I have already commemorated above, in the evangelical and apostolic Letters, which properly belong to the revelation of the New Testament, that fasts are evidently commanded to be observed on certain specific days, and therefore this thing also, just as many others which it is difficult to enumerate, finds a place of variety in the garment of that daughter of the king, that is the Church; I will indicate to you what the venerable Ambrose, by whom I was baptized, the bishop of Milan, answered to me when I asked about this. For when my mother was with me in the same city, and while we were still catechumens caring little for these things, she bore the solicitude whether she should fast on the Sabbath according to the custom of our city, or have luncheon according to the custom of the Church of Milan; so that I might free her from this hesitation, I interrogated this above-mentioned man of God. But he said: What can I teach here more than I myself do?

Ubi ego putaveram nihil eum ista responsione praecepisse, nisi ut sabbato prandere-mus; hoc quippe ipsum facere sciebam: sed ille secutus adjecit, Quando hic sum, non jejuno sabbato; quando Romae sum, jejuno sabbato: et ad quamcumque Ecclesiam veneritis, inquit, ejus morem servate, si pati scandalum non vultis aut facere. Hoc responsum retuli ad matrem, eique suffecit, nec dubitavit esse obediendum: hoc etiam nos secuti sumus. Sed quoniam contingit, maxime in Africa, ut una Ecclesia vel unius regionis Ecclesiae, alios habeant sabbato prandentes, alios jejunantes; mos eorum mihi sequendus videtur, quibus eorum populorum congregatio regenda commissa est. Quapropter si consilio meo, praesertim quia in hac causa plus forte quam satis fuit, te petente atque urgente, locutus sum, libenter acquiescis; episcopo tuo in hac re noli resistere, et quod facit ipse, sine ullo scrupulo vel disceptatione sectare.

EPISTOLA XXXVII. Gratulatur sibi Augustinus litterarias suas lucubrationes legi et approbari a Simpliciano; ejusque censurae subjicit tum caeteros suos libros, tum eos quos de quaestionibus ab ipso propositis conscripsit. Domino beatissimo et vene-rabiliter sincerissima charitate amplectendo patri SIMPLICIANO, AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

1. Plenas bonorum gaudiorum litteras, quod sis memor mei, meque ut soles diligas, magnaeque gratulationi tibi sit quidquid in me donorum suorum Dominus conferre dignatus est misericordia sua, non meritis meis, missas munere Sanctitatis tuae accepi: in quibus affectum in me paternum de tuo benignissimo corde non repentinum et novum hausi, sed expertum sane cognitumque repetivi, domine beatissime, et venera-biliter sincerissima charitate amplectende.

2. Unde autem tanta exorta est felicitas litterario labori nostro, quo in librorum quorumdam conscriptione sudavimus, ut a tua Dignatione legerentur? nisi quia Do-minus, cui subdita est anima mea, consolari voluit curas meas, et a timore recreare, quo me in talibus operibus necesse est esse sollicitum, necubi forte indoctior vel incautior, quamvis in planissimo campo veritatis, offendam. Cum enim tibi placet quod scribo, novi cui placeat; quoniam quis te inhabitet novi. Idem quippe omnium munerum spiritualium distributor atque largitor per tuam sententiam confirmabit obedientiam meam. Quidquid enim habent illa scripta delectatione tua dignum, in meo ministerio dixit Deus, Fiat, et factum est: in tua vero approbatione vidit Deus quia bonum est (Gen. I, 3, 4).

Where I had thought that he had commanded nothing by this response, except that we should have luncheon on the Sabbath; for I knew that he himself did this: but he followed and added, When I am here, I do not fast on the Sabbath; when I am in Rome, I fast on the Sabbath: and to whatever Church you come, he said, observe its custom, if you do not want to suffer or cause a scandal. I reported this response to my mother, and it sufficed for her, nor did she doubt that she should obey: we also have followed this. But since it happens, especially in Africa, that one Church or the Churches of one region have some having luncheon on the Sabbath, others fasting; their custom seems to me to be followed, to whom the congregation of those peoples has been committed to be ruled. Wherefore if you freely acquiesce in my counsel, especially because in this cause I have spoken perhaps more than was enough, at your asking and urging; do not resist your bishop in this matter, and what he himself does, follow without any scruple or disputation.

LETTER XXXVII. Augustine congratulates himself that his literary lucubrations are read and approved by Simplicianus; and he subjects to his censure both his other books and those which he composed concerning the questions proposed by him. To the most blessed lord and father SIMPLICIANUS, to be embraced with most venerable and sincere charity, AUGUSTINE, greetings in the Lord.

1. I have received by the gift of your Holiness a letter full of good joys, that you are mindful of me, and that you love me as you are wont, and that whatever gifts the Lord has deigned to confer on me by his mercy, not by my merits, is a great congratulation to you: in which I have not drawn a sudden and new paternal affection from your most benign heart, but I have repeated one truly experienced and known, most blessed lord, and to be embraced with most venerable and sincere charity.

2. But whence has such felicity arisen for our literary labor, in which we have sweated in the composition of certain books, that they should be read by your Dignity? unless because the Lord, to whom my soul is subject, willed to console my cares, and to recreate me from fear, with which it is necessary for me to be solicitous in such works, lest anywhere perhaps more unlearned or more incautious, although in the very level field of truth, I may offend. For when what I write pleases you, I know whom it pleases; since I know who inhabits you. For the same distributor and bestower of all spiritual gifts will confirm my obedience through your judgment. For whatever those writings have worthy of your delight, God said in my ministry, Let it be made, and it was made: but in your approbation God saw that it is good (Gen. I, 3, 4).

3. Quaestiunculas sane, quas mihi enodandas jubere dignatus es, etsi mea tarditate implicatus non intelligerem, tuis meritis adjutus aperirem. Tantum illud quaeso, ut pro mea infirmitate depreceris Deum, et sive in iis quibus me exercere benigne paterneque voluisti, sive in aliis quaecumque nostra in tuas sanctas manus forte pervenerint, quia sicut Dei data, sic etiam mea errata cognosco, non solum curam legentis impendas, sed etiam censuram corrigentis assumas. Vale.

Epistola XXXVIII.

Augustine Profuturo, de toleranda adversa valetudine; de morte Megalii, et de cohibenda ira.

Fratri PROFUTURO AUGUSTINUS.

1. Secundum spiritum, quantum Domino placet, atque vires ipse praebere dignatur, recte sumus; corpore autem, ego in lecto sum. Nec ambulare enim, nec stare, nec sedere possum, rhagadis vel exochadis dolore et tumore. Sed etiam sic, quoniam id Domino placet, quid aliud dicendum est, nisi quia recte sumus? Potius enim si id nolumus quod ille vult, nos culpandi sumus, quam ille non recte aliquid vel facere vel sinere existimandus est. Nosti haec omnia: sed quia mihi es alter ego, quid libentius tecum loquerer, nisi quod mecum loquor? Commendamus ergo sanctis orationibus tuis et dies et noctes nostras, ut oretis pro nobis, ne diebus intemperanter utamur, ut noctes aequo animo toleremus, ut etiamsi ambulemus in medio umbrae mortis, nobiscum sit Dominus ne timeamus mala.

2. Quod senex Megalius defunctus sit, jam vos audisse quis dubitet? Erant enim a depositione corporis ejus, cum haec scriberem, dies ferme viginti quatuor. Utrum jam videris, disponebas enim, successorem primatus ejus, si fieri potest, nosse volumus. Non desunt scandala, sed neque refugium; non desunt moerores, sed neque consolationes. Atque inter haec quam vigilandum sit, ne cujusquam odium cordis intima teneat, neque sinat ut oremus Deum in cubiculo nostro clauso ostio (Matth. VI, 6), sed adversus ipsum Deum claudat ostium, nosti, optime frater: subrepit autem, dum nulli irascenti ira sua videtur injusta. Ita enim inveterascens ira fit odium, dum quasi justi doloris admixta dulcedo, diutius eam in vase detinet, donec totum acescat, vasque corrumpat. Quapropter multo melius, nec juste cuiquam irascimur, quam velut juste irascendo in alicujus odium irae occulta facilitate delabimur.

3. The little questions indeed, which you deigned to command me to unfold, even if involved in my slowness I did not understand, I would open aided by your merits. Only this I ask, that you may pray to God for my infirmity, and whether in those things in which you willed to exercise me benignly and paternally, or in others whatever of ours may perhaps come into your holy hands, because just as I know the gifts of God, so also I know my errors, that you may not only bestow the care of a reader, but also assume the censure of a corrector. Farewell.

Letter XXXVIII.

Augustine to Profuturus, concerning the toleration of adverse health; concerning the death of Megalius, and concerning the restraining of anger.

To brother PROFUTURUS, AUGUSTINE.

1. According to the spirit, as much as it pleases the Lord, and he himself deigns to provide strength, we are well; but in body, I am in bed. For I can neither walk, nor stand, nor sit, on account of the pain and tumor of the rhagades or exochades. But even so, since it pleases the Lord, what else is to be said, except that we are well? For rather if we do not want that which he wills, we are to be blamed, than he is to be thought not to do or permit anything rightly. You know all these things: but because you are another ego to me, what would I speak more willingly with you, than what I speak with myself? We commend therefore both our days and our nights to your holy prayers, that you may pray for us, lest we use the days intemperately, that we may tolerate the nights with an equal mind, so that even if we walk in the midst of the shadow of death, the Lord may be with us lest we fear evils.

2. That the old man Megalius has died, who would doubt that you have already heard? For from the deposition of his body, when I was writing these things, there were almost twenty-four days. Whether you have already seen (for you were disposing so) the successor of his primacy, we want to know if it can be done. Scandals are not lacking, but neither is refuge; sorrows are not lacking, but neither are consolations. And among these how one must watch, lest the hatred of anyone hold the innermost parts of the heart, nor permit that we pray to God in our chamber with the door closed (Matth. VI, 6), but close the door against God himself, you know, best brother: but it creeps in, while to no one being angry does his anger seem unjust. For thus anger becoming old becomes hatred, while as it were the sweetness of just grief being mixed in, it detains it longer in the vessel, until the whole becomes sour, and corrupts the vessel. Wherefore much better we are angry at no one even justly, than by being angry as if justly we slide into the hatred of someone with a hidden facility of anger.

In recipiendis enim hospitibus ignotis, solemus dicere, multo esse melius malum hominem perpeti, quam forsitan per ignorantiam excludi bonum, dum cavemus ne recipiatur malus: sed in affectibus animi contra est. Nam incomparabiliter salubrius est etiam irae juste pulsanti non aperire penetrale cordis, quam admittere non facile recessuram, et perventuram de surculo ad trabem. Audet quippe impudenter etiam crescere citius quam putatur. Non enim erubescit in tenebris, cum super eam sol occiderit (Eph. IV, 26). Recolis certe qua cura et quanta sollicitudine ista scripserim, si recolis quid mecum nuper in itinere quodam locutus sis.

3. Fratrem Severum, et qui cum eo sunt, salutamus. Etiam fortasse ipsis scriberemus, si per festinationem perlatoris liceret. Peto autem ut apud eumdem fratrem nostrum Victorem, cui ago etiam apud tuam Sanctitatem gratias quod Constantinam cum pergeret indicavit, petendo adjuves propter negotium quod ipse novit, de quo gravissimum pondus pro ea re multum deprecantis Nectarii majoris patior, per Calamam remeare ne gravetur: sic enim promisit mihi. Vale.

Epistola XXXIX.

Hieronymus Augustino, commendans illi Praesidium, et salvere jubens Alypium.

Domino vere sancto et beatissimo papae AUGUSTINO, HIERONYMUS, in Christo salutem.

CAP. PRIMUM. 1. Anno praeterito, per fratrem nostrum Asterium hypodiaconum Dignationi tuae epistolam miseram, promptum reddens salutationis officium; quam tibi arbitror redditam. Nunc quoque per sanctum fratrem meum Praesidium diaconum, obsecro primum ut memineris mei: deinde ut bajulum litterarum habeas commendatum, et mihi scias germanissimum, et in quibuscumque necessitas postulaverit, foveas atque sustentes; non quo aliqua re (Christo tribuente) indigeat, sed quo bonorum amicitias avidissime expetat, et se in his conjungendis maximum putet beneficium consecutum. Cur autem ad Occidentem navigaverit, ipso poteris narrante cognoscere.

CAP. II.

For in receiving unknown guests, we are wont to say, it is much better to endure a bad man, than perhaps through ignorance to exclude a good one, while we take care lest a bad one be received: but in the affections of the soul it is the contrary. For it is incomparably more salubrious not to open the secret place of the heart even to anger justly knocking, than to admit that which will not easily recede, and will arrive from a twig to a beam. For indeed it dares to grow impudently faster than is thought. For it does not blush in the darkness, when the sun has set upon it (Eph. IV, 26). You surely recall with what care and with how much solicitude I wrote these things, if you recall what you recently spoke with me on a certain journey.

3. We salute brother Severus, and those who are with him. Perhaps we would even write to them, if it were permitted through the haste of the bearer. But I ask that with the same brother of ours Victor, to whom I also give thanks through your Holiness that he indicated Constantina when he was proceeding, you may help by asking on account of the business which he himself knows, concerning which I suffer a very heavy weight for that matter of the much deprecating elder Nectarius, that he may not be burdened to return through Calama: for so he promised me. Farewell.

Letter XXXIX.

Jerome to Augustine, commending to him Praesidius, and bidding Alypius to be well.

To the truly holy and most blessed pope AUGUSTINE, JEROME, greetings in Christ.

CHAPTER FIRST. 1. In the past year, through our brother Asterius the subdeacon I had sent a letter to your Dignity, rendering the prompt office of salutation; which I think was delivered to you. Now also through my holy brother Praesidius the deacon, I beseech first that you may be mindful of me: then that you may have the bearer of the letters commended, and may know him to be most brotherly to me, and in whatever things necessity shall demand, you may cherish and sustain him; not that he lacks anything (Christ granting it), but that he may most greedily seek the friendships of good men, and may think that he has obtained a greatest benefit in joining these. But why he has sailed to the West, you will be able to know by him narrating it.

CHAPTER II.

2. Nos in monasterio constituti, variis hinc inde fluctibus quatimur, et peregrinationis molestias sustinemus. Sed credimus in eo qui dixit, «Confidite; ego vici mundum» (Joan. XVI, 33), quod ipso tribuente et praesule, contra hostem diabolum victoriam consequamur. Sanctum et venerabilem fratrem nostrum papam Alypium, ut meo obsequio salutes, obsecro. Sancti fratres, qui nobiscum in monasterio Domino servire festinant, oppido te salutant. Incolumem te et memorem mei, Christus Deus noster tueatur omnipotens, domine vere sancte et suscipiende papa.

EPISTOLA XL. Augustinus Hieronymo de titulo vulgati ab ipso libri de Scriptoribus ecclesiasticis: tum de Petro reprehenso non mendaciter a Paulo, de quo jam eidem scripsit Epistolam 28. Hortatur postremo ut prodat Origenis et singulorum haereticorum errata. Domino dilectissimo, et cultu sincerissimo charitatis observando atque amplectendo fratri, et compresbytero HIERONYMO, AUGUSTINUS.

CAP. PRIMUM. 1. Habeo gratiam quod pro subscripta salutatione, plenam mihi epistolam reddidisti, sed breviorem multo quam ex te vellem sumere, tali viro, a quo tempora quantalibet occupet, nullus sermo prolixus est. Quanquam itaque nos negotiorum alienorum, eorumque secularium, curis circumstemur ingentibus; tamen epistolae tuae brevitati facile non ignoscerem, nisi cogitarem quam paucioribus verbis meis redderetur. Quare, aggredere, quaeso, istam nobiscum litterariam collocutionem, ne multum ad nos disjungendos liceat absentiae corporali: quanquam simus in Domino Spiritus unitate conjuncti, etiamsi ab stilo quiescamus, et taceamus. Et libri quidem, quos de horreo dominico elaborasti, pene totum te nobis exhibent. Si enim propterea te non novimus, quia faciem tui corporis non vidimus: hoc modo nec ipse te nosti; nam tu quoque non vides eam. Si autem tibi non ob aliud notus es, nisi quia nosti animum tuum; et nos eum non mediocriter novimus in litteris tuis, in quibus benedicimus Domino, quod tibi, et nobis, omnibusque fratribus, qui tua legunt, te talem dedit.

CAP. II. 2. Liber quidam tuus inter caetera non diu est ut venit in manus nostras: quae sit ejus inscriptio, nescimus adhuc; non enim hoc codex ipse, ut assolet, in liminari pagina praetendebat. Epitaphium tamen appellari dicebat frater apud quem inventus est; quod ei nomen tibi placuisse ut inderetur crederemus, si eorum tantum vel vitas, vel scripta ibi legissemus, qui jam defuncti essent. Cum vero multorum et eo tempore quo scribebatur, et nunc usque viventium, ibi commemorentur opuscula; miramur cur hunc ei titulum vel imposueris, vel imposuisse credaris. Sane utiliter a te conscriptum eumdem librum satis approbamus.

2. We, established in the monastery, are tossed by various waves on this side and that, and we endure the molestias of pilgrimage. But we believe in him who said, *Confide; I have overcome the world* (John XVI, 33), that he himself granting it and being the leader, we may obtain the victory against the enemy the devil. I beseech that you salute the holy and venerable brother our pope Alypius with my service. The holy brothers, who with us in the monastery hasten to serve the Lord, salute you greatly. May Christ our God, the Almighty, protect you, truly holy and to be received pope, and mindful of me.

LETTER XL. Augustine to Jerome concerning the title of the book published by him concerning Ecclesiastical Writers: then concerning Peter reproved not mendaciously by Paul, concerning which he has already written to the same the 28th Letter. Finally he exhorts that he should disclose the errors of Origen and of individual heretics. To the most beloved lord, and to be observed with most sincere cult of charity and embraced brother, and fellow-presbyter JEROME, AUGUSTINE.

CHAPTER FIRST. 1. I have gratitude that for the subscripted salutation, you rendered a full letter to me, but much shorter than I would wish to take from you, from such a man, by whom no speech is prolix, however much times it may occupy. Although therefore we are surrounded by great cares of the businesses of others, and those secular; nevertheless I would not easily pardon the brevity of your letter, unless I thought by how much fewer of my words it was rendered. Wherefore, I ask, enter upon this literary conversation with us, lest it be allowed for corporal absence much to disjoin us: although we are conjoined in the Lord by the unity of the Spirit, even if we rest from the style, and are silent. And the books indeed, which you have elaborated from the Lord's granary, exhibit almost the whole of you to us. For if for this reason we do not know you, because we have not seen the face of your body: in this way neither do you know yourself; for you also do not see it. But if you are not known to yourself for anything else, except because you know your mind; we also know it not moderately in your letters, in which we bless the Lord, because he gave you such a one to yourself, and to us, and to all the brothers who read yours.

CHAPTER II. 2. A certain book of yours among the others it is not long since it came into our hands: what its inscription may be, we do not know yet; for the codex itself did not, as is accustomed, pretend this on the liminary page. Nevertheless he called it Epitaph who was the brother in whose possession it was found; which name we would believe that it pleased you to be put upon it, if we had read there only either the lives or the writings of those who were already dead. But since the works of many are commemorated there both at that time when it was being written, and now up to the present living; we wonder why you either imposed this title on it, or are believed to have imposed it. Surely we sufficiently approve the same book as usefully composed by you.

CAP. III.

3. In expositione quoque Epistolae Pauli ad Galatas, invenimus aliquid quod nos multum moveat. Si enim ad Scripturas sanctas admissa fuerint velut officiosa mendacia, quid in eis remanebit auctoritatis? quae tandem de Scripturis illis sententia proferetur, cujus pondere contentiosae falsitatis obteratur improbitas? Statim enim ut protuleris; si aliter sapit qui contra nititur, dicet illud, quod prolatum erit, honesto aliquo officio scriptorem fuisse mentitum. Ubi enim hoc non poterit, si potuit in ea narratione, quam exorsus Apostolus ait, Quae autem scribo vobis, ecce coram Deo quia non mentior (Gal. 1, 20), credi affirmarique mentitus eo loco ubi dixit de Petro et Barnaba: Cum viderem quia non recte ingrediuntur ad veritatem Evangelii (Ibidem, II, 14)? Si enim recte illi ingrediebantur, iste mentitus est; si autem ibi mentitus est, ubi verum dixit? An ibi verum dixisse videbitur, ubi hoc dixerit, quod lector sapit; cum vero contra sensum lectoris aliquid occurrerit, officioso mendacio deputabitur? Non enim deesse poterunt causae, cur existimetur non solum potuisse, verum etiam debuisse mentiri, si huic regulae conceditur locus. Non opus est hanc causam multis verbis agere, praesertim apud te, cui sapienter providenti dictum sat est. Nequaquam vero mihi arrogaverim ut ingenium tuum, divino dono aureum, meis obolis ditare contendam; nec est quisquam te magis idoneus, qui opus illud emendet.

CAP. IV. 4. Neque enim a me docendus es quomodo intelligatur quod idem dicit, Factus sum Judaeis tanquam Judaeus, ut Judaeos lucrifacerem (I Cor. IX, 20); et caetera quae ibi dicuntur compassione misericordiae, non simulatione fallaciae. Fit enim tanquam aegrotus qui ministrat aegroto; non cum se febres habere mentitur, sed cum animo condolentis cogitat quemadmodum sibi serviri vellet, si ipse aegrotaret. Nam utique Judaeus erat; Christianus autem factus, non Judaeorum Sacramenta reliquerat, quae convenienter ille populus et legitimo tempore quo oportebat, acceperat. Itaque suscepit ea celebranda, cum jam Christi esset Apostolus; sed ut doceret non esse perniciosa iis qui ea vellent, sicut a parentibus per Legem acceperant, custodire, etiam cum Christo credidissent, non tamen in eis jam constituerent spem salutis; quoniam per Dominum Jesum salus ipsa, quae illis Sacramentis significabatur, advenerat. Ideoque Gentibus, quod insuetos a fide revocarent onere gravi et non necessario, nullo modo imponenda esse censebat (Act. XV, 28).

CHAPTER III.

3. In the exposition also of the Letter of Paul to the Galatians, we found something which moves us much. For if officious lies were to be admitted to the holy Scriptures, what of authority will remain in them? what sentence at length will be brought forward from those Scriptures, by whose weight the impropriety of contentious falsity may be crushed? For immediately as you shall have brought it forward; if he who strives against it tastes otherwise, he will say that that which shall have been brought forward, the writer lied by some honest office. For where will this not be able to be, if it could in that narration, which the Apostle having begun says, *But the things which I write to you, behold before God because I lie not* (Gal. 1, 20), be believed and affirmed that he lied in that place where he said of Peter and Barnabas: *When I saw that they did not walk uprightly to the truth of the Gospel* (Ibidem, II, 14)? For if they were walking uprightly, he lied; but if he lied there, where did he speak the truth? Or will he be seen to have spoken the truth there, where he shall have said this, which the reader tastes; but when something shall have occurred against the sense of the reader, it will be deputed to an officious lie? For causes will not be able to be lacking, why it should be thought not only to have been able, but even to have been necessary to lie, if a place is granted to this rule. It is not necessary to act this cause with many words, especially with you, to whom it is enough said to the wisely providing one. By no means indeed would I arrogate to myself that I should contend to enrich your genius, golden by a divine gift, with my obols; nor is anyone more suitable than you, who may emend that work.

CHAPTER IV. 4. For you are not to be taught by me how that is understood which the same says, *I became to the Jews as a Jew, that I might gain the Jews* (I Cor. IX, 20); and the other things which are said there by compassion of mercy, not by simulation of fallacy. For he becomes as if sick who ministers to the sick; not when he lies that he has fevers, but when by the mind of the one condoning he thinks in what way he would want to be served to himself, if he himself were sick. For surely he was a Jew; but having been made a Christian, he had not relinquished the Sacraments of the Jews, which conveniently that people and at the legitimate time in which it behooved, had received. Therefore he took them up to be celebrated, when he was already an Apostle of Christ; but that he might teach that they were not pernicious to those who willed them, as they had received from their parents through the Law, to keep, even when they had believed in Christ, nevertheless they should not already constitute the hope of salvation in them; since through the Lord Jesus salvation itself, which was signified by those Sacraments, had arrived. And therefore he thought that to the Gentiles, because they would recall the unaccustomed from the faith by a heavy and not necessary burden, they were by no means to be imposed (Acts XV, 28).

5. Quapropter non ideo Petrum emendavit, quod paternas traditiones observaret: quod si facere vellet, nec mendaciter nec incongrue faceret; quamvis enim jam superflua, tamen solita non nocerent: sed quoniam Gentes cogebat Judaizare (Gal. II, 14), quod nullo modo posset, nisi ea sic ageret, tanquam adhuc etiam post Domini adventum necessaria saluti forent; quod vehementer per apostolatum Pauli veritas dissuasit. Nec apostolus Petrus hoc ignorabat; sed id faciebat, timens eos qui ex circumcisione erant. Ita et ipse vere correctus est, et Paulus vera narravit, ne sancta Scriptura, quae ad fidem posteris edita est, admissa auctoritate mendacii, tota dubia nutet et fluctuet. Non enim potest aut oportet litteris explicari, quanta et quam inexplicabilia mala consequantur, si hoc concesserimus. Posset autem opportune minusque periculose demonstrari, si coram inter nos colloqueremur.

6. Hoc ergo Judaeorum Paulus dimiserat, quod malum habebant; et in primis illud, quod ignorantes Dei justitiam, et suam justitiam volentes constituere, justitiae Dei non sunt subjecti (Rom. X, 3). Deinde quod post passionem et resurrectionem Christi, dato ac manifestato Sacramento gratiae secundum ordinem Melchisedech, adhuc putabant Sacramenta vetera, non ex consuetudine solemnitatis, sed ex necessitate salutis esse celebranda: quae tamen si nunquam fuissent necessaria, infructuose atque inaniter pro eis Machabaei martyres fierent (II Mach. VII, 1). Postremo istud quod praedicatores gratiae Christianos Judaei tanquam hostes Legis persequebantur. Hos atque hujusmodi errores et vitia, dicit se damna et stercora arbitratum, ut Christum lucrifaceret (Philipp. III, 8,); non observationes Legis, si more patrio celebrarentur, sicut et ab ipso celebratae sunt sine ulla salutis necessitate, non sicut Judaei celebrandas putabant, aut fallaci simulatione, quod in Petro reprehenderat. Nam si propterea illa Sacramenta celebravit, quia simulavit se Judaeum ut illos lucrifaceret; cur non etiam sacrificavit cum Gentibus, quia et iis qui sine Lege erant, tanquam sine Lege factus est, ut eos quoque lucrifaceret, nisi quia et illud fecit, ut natura Judaeus, et hoc totum dixit, non ut fallaciter se fingeret esse quod non erat, sed ut misericorditer eis ita subveniendum esse sentiret, ac si ipse in eodem errore laboraret; non scilicet mentientis astu, sed compatientis affectu?

5. Wherefore he did not for that reason emend Peter, that he observed paternal traditions: which if he willed to do, he would do neither mendaciously nor incongruously; for although already superfluous, nevertheless the accustomed things would not hurt: but because he was compelling the Gentiles to Judaize (Gal. II, 14), which he could in no way do, unless he so acted them, as if even after the coming of the Lord they were still necessary to salvation; which truth vehemently dissuaded through the apostleship of Paul. Nor was the apostle Peter ignorant of this; but he did it, fearing those who were of the circumcision. Thus both he himself was truly corrected, and Paul narrated true things, lest the holy Scripture, which was published for faith for posterity, the authority of a lie being admitted, should all nod and fluctuate doubtful. For it cannot or ought not to be explained by letters, how great and how inextricable evils follow, if we shall have conceded this. But it could be demonstrated opportunely and less dangerously, if we were to talk together face to face between ourselves.

6. This of the Jews Paul had dismissed, what they had of evil; and in the first place that, that *ignoring the justice of God, and willing to establish their own justice, they were not subject to the justice of God* (Rom. X, 3). Then because after the passion and resurrection of Christ, the Sacrament of grace having been given and manifested according to the order of Melchizedek, they still thought that the old Sacraments were to be celebrated, not from the custom of solemnity, but from the necessity of salvation: which nevertheless if they had never been necessary, the Maccabean martyrs would become so unfruitfully and in vain for them (II Mach. VII, 1). Finally that which the Jews as enemies of the Law persecuted the preachers of Christian grace. These and such-like errors and vices, he says that he has arbitrated to be losses and dung, that he might gain Christ (Philipp. III, 8,); not the observations of the Law, if they were celebrated in the paternal manner, as they were even celebrated by him without any necessity of salvation, not as the Jews thought they were to be celebrated, or by a fallacious simulation, which he had reproved in Peter. For if for this reason he celebrated those Sacraments, because he simulated himself a Jew that he might gain them; why did he not also sacrifice with the Gentiles, because even to those who were without the Law, he became as if without the Law, that he might gain them also, unless because he both did that, as a Jew by nature, and said this whole thing, not that he fallaciously feigned himself to be what he was not, but that he felt that they were to be so subvened by mercy, as if he himself were laboring in the same error; not surely by the craft of one lying, but by the affection of one compassionating?

Sicut eo ipso loco generaliter intulit, Factus sum infirmis infirmus, ut infirmos lucrifacerem (I Cor. IX, 22); ut sequens conclusio, Omnibus omnia factus sum, ut omnes lucrifacerem (Ibid.), ad hoc referenda intelligatur, ut cujusque infirmitatem tanquam in seipso miseratus appareat. Non enim et cum diceret, Quis infirmatur, et ego non infirmor (II Cor. XI, 29)? infirmitatem alterius simulasse se potius quam condoluisse, volebat intelligi.

7. Quare arripe, obsecro te, ingenuam et vere christianam cum charitate severitatem, ad illud opus corrigendum atque emendandum, et παλινῳδίαν, ut dicitur, cane. Incomparabiliter enim pulchrior est veritas Christianorum, quam Helena Graecorum. Pro ista enim fortius nostri martyres adversus hanc Sodomam, quam pro illa illi heroes adversus Trojam, dimicaverunt. Neque hoc ideo dico, ut oculos cordis recipias; quos absit ut amiseris: sed ut advertas, quos cum habeas sanos et vigiles, nescio qua dissimulatione avertisti, ut non intenderes quae consequantur adversa; si semel creditum fuerit, posse honeste ac pie scriptorem divinorum Librorum in aliqua sui operis parte mentiri.

CAPUT V.

8. Scripseram hinc jam aliquando ad te epistolam quae non perlata est, quia nec perrexit cui perferendam tradideram: ex qua illud mihi suggestum est, cum istam dictarem, quod in hac quoque praetermittere non debui, ut si alia est sententia tua, eademque est melior, timori meo libenter ignoscas. Si enim aliter sentis, verumque tu sentis (nam nisi verum sit, melius esse non potest), ut non dicam nulla, certe non magna culpa meus error veritati favet, si recte in quoquam veritas potest favere mendacio.

CAPUT VI.

9. De Origene autem quod rescribere dignatus es, jam sciebam non tantum in ecclesiasticis litteris, sed in omnibus recta et vera quae invenerimus, approbare atque laudare; falsa vero et prava improbare atque reprehendere. Sed illud de prudentia doctrinaque tua desiderabam, et adhuc desidero, ut nota nobis facias ea ipsa ejus errata, quibus a fide veritatis ille vir tantus recessisse convincitur.

Just as in that very place he brought in generally, *I became weak to the weak, that I might gain the weak* (I Cor. IX, 22); so that the following conclusion, *I became all things to all, that I might gain all* (Ibid.), may be understood to be referred to this, so that he may appear to have pitied the weakness of anyone as if in himself. For neither even when he said, *Who is weak, and I am not weak* (II Cor. XI, 29)? did he want to be understood to have simulated the weakness of another rather than to have condoled.

7. Wherefore arripe, I beseech you, an ingenuous and truly Christian severity with charity, to emend and correct that work, and sing a *palinode*, as it is said. For the truth of the Christians is incomparably more beautiful than the Helen of the Greeks. For for the former our martyrs fought more strongly against this Sodom, than for the latter those heroes fought against Troy. Nor do I say this for this reason, that you may receive the eyes of the heart; which far be it that you have lost: but that you may advert, which when you have healthy and vigilant, I know not by what dissimulation you averted, so that you did not intend what adverse things follow; if once it shall have been believed, that a writer of the divine Books can lie honestly and piously in any part of his work.

CHAPTER V.

8. I had already written a letter to you hence once which was not delivered, because he to whom I had handed it to be delivered did not proceed: from which that occurred to me, when I was dictating this one, which I ought not to have omitted in this one also, that if your opinion is another, and the same is better, you may freely pardon my fear. For if you feel otherwise, and you feel the truth (for unless it be true, it cannot be better), that I may not say no fault, surely no great fault favors my error to the truth, if rightly in anything the truth can favor a lie.

CHAPTER VI.

9. Concerning Origen however that you deigned to write back, I already knew that not only in ecclesiastical letters, but in all things you approve and praise the right and true which we have found; but you disapprove and reprove the false and depraved. But I was desiring from your prudence and doctrine, and still desire, that you make known to us those very errors of his, by which that so great man is convinced to have receded from the faith of truth.

In libro etiam quo cunctos, quorum meminisse potuisti, scriptores ecclesiasticos et eorum scripta commemorasti, commodius, ut arbitror, fieret, si nominatis eis quos haeresiotas esse nosti, quando ne ipsos quidem praetermittere volueris, subjungeres etiam in quibus cavendi essent: quanquam nonnullos etiam praeterieris; quod scire cuperem quo consilio factum sit. Aut si illud volumen forte onerare noluisti, ut commemoratis haereticis, non adderes in quibus eos catholica damnarit auctoritas; peto ne grave sit litterario labori tuo, quo non mediocriter per Domini Dei nostri gratiam, in latina lingua sanctorum studia et accendisti et adjuvisti, id quod tibi per humilitatem meam fraterna charitas indicit, ut si occupationes tuae sinunt, omnium haereticorum perversa dogmata, qui rectitudinem fidei christianae usque ad hoc tempus vel impudentia vel imperitia vel pervicacia depravare conati sunt, uno libello breviter digesta edas, in notitiam eorum quibus aut non vacat propter alia negotia, aut non valent propter alienam linguam tam multa legere atque cognoscere. Diu te rogarem, nisi hoc soleret esse indicium minus praesumentis de charitate. Hunc interea fratrem nostrum Paulum in Christo multum commendo benignitati tuae, cujus in nostris regionibus existimationi bonum coram Deo testimonium perhibemus.

EPISTOLA XLI. Alypius et Augustinus Aurelio gratulantes de sermonibus quos presbyteri praesente ipso ad populum habere coeperant, ipsumque rogantes ut aliqui eorum sermones sibi mittantur. Domino beatissimo et venerabiliter suscipiendo, sincerissimeque charissimo fratri, et consacerdoti papae AURELIO, ALYPIUS et AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

1. Impletum est gaudio os nostrum, et lingua nostra exsultatione (Psal. CXXV, 2), nuntiantibus litteris tuis sanctam cogitationem tuam, adjuvante Domino qui eam inspiravit, ad effectum esse perductam, de omnibus ordinatis fratribus nostris, et praecipue de sermone presbyterorum, qui te praesente populo infunditur; per quorum linguas clamat charitas tua majore voce in cordibus hominum, quam illi in auribus: Deo gratias.

Also in the book in which you commemorated all the ecclesiastical writers whom you were able to remember and their writings, it would be made more conveniently, as I think, if having named those whom you know to be heresiarchs, when you willed not even to omit them, you should also subjoin in what things they were to be avoided: although you also passed over some; which I would desire to know by what counsel it was done. Or if perhaps you did not want to burden that volume, so that having commemorated the heretics, you would not add in what things the catholic authority condemned them; I ask that it may not be heavy to your literary labor, by which not moderately through the grace of the Lord our God, you have both enkindled and aided the studies of the saints in the Latin tongue, that which fraternal charity indicates to you through my humility, that if your occupations permit, you may publish briefly digested in one booklet the perverse dogmas of all heretics, who have tried to deprave the rectitude of the Christian faith up to this time either by impudence or by unskillfulness or by pervicacity, for the knowledge of those for whom either there is no leisure on account of other businesses, or who on account of a foreign language are not able to read and know so many things. I would ask you for a long time, unless this were wont to be an indication of one presuming less of charity. Meanwhile I commend much to your benignity this brother our Paul in Christ, to whose reputation in our regions we render a good testimony before God.

LETTER XLI. Alypius and Augustine congratulating Aurelius concerning the sermons which the presbyters had begun to have to the people in his presence, and asking him that some of their sermons be sent to them. To the most blessed and to be received with venerable respect, and most sincerely beloved brother, and fellow-priest pope AURELIUS, ALYPIUS and AUGUSTINE, greetings in the Lord.

1. *Our mouth was filled with joy, and our tongue with exultation* (Psal. CXXV, 2), your letters announcing that your holy thought, the Lord aiding who inspired it, has been brought to effect, concerning all our ordained brothers, and especially concerning the sermon of the presbyters, which is poured into the people you being present; through whose tongues your charity cries with a greater voice in the hearts of men, than those in the ears: thanks be to God.

Nam quid melius et animo geramus, et ore promamus, et calamo exprimamus quam, Deo gratias? Hoc nec dici brevius, nec audiri laetius, nec intelligi grandius, nec agi fructuosius potest. Deo gratias, qui te et tam fideli pectore ditavit erga filios tuos, et id quod in intimo animae habebas, quo humanus oculus non penetrat, eduxit in lucem, donando tibi, non solum ut bene velles, verum etiam in quibus posset apparere quod velles. Ita plane fiat, fiat: luceant haec opera coram hominibus, ut videant, gaudeant, glorificent Patrem qui in coelis est (Matth. V, 16). Talibus delecteris in Domino: ipse te pro eis orantem dignetur exaudire, quem tu per eos loquentem non dedignaris audire. Eatur, ambuletur, curratur in via Domini; benedicantur pusilli cum magnis, jucundati in his qui dicunt eis, In domum Domini ibimus (Psal. CXXI, 1): praecedant illi, et sequantur isti, imitatores facti eorum, sicut et illi Christi. Ferveat iter sanctarum formicarum, fragrent opera sanctarum apum, feratur fructus in tolerantia cum salute perseverandi usque in finem. Nec sinat Dominus tentari supra quam possumus ferre, sed faciat cum tentatione etiam exitum, ut possimus sustinere (I Cor. X, 13).

2. Orate pro nobis, digni exaudiri; cum tanto quippe sacrificio acceditis ad Deum sincerissimae dilectionis et laudis ejus in operibus vestris: orate ut et in nobis haec luceant; quoniam novit ille quem oratis, cum quanto nostro gaudio in vobis luceant. Haec sunt vota nostra, hae multitudines solatiorum secundum multitudinem dolorum nostrorum in corde nostro jucundant animam nostram (Psal. XCIII, 19). Ita est, quia ita promissum est; ita erit quod restat, sicut promissum est. Obsecramus te per eum qui tibi ista donavit, et populum, cui servis, hac per te benedictione perfudit, ut jubeas singulos quos volueris sermones eorum conscriptos, et emendatos mitti nobis. Nam et ego quod jussisti non negligo, et de Tychonii septem regulis vel clavibus, sicut saepe jam scripsi, cognoscere quid tibi videatur exspecto. Fratrem Hilarinum Hipponensem archiatrum et principalem multum commendamus. Nam de fratre Romano quid satagas novimus, nihilque petendum est nisi ut te pro illo adjuvet Dominus. Amen.

For what better may we both bear in the mind, and bring forth in the mouth, and express with the pen than, *Thanks be to God*? This can neither be said more briefly, nor heard more joyfully, nor understood more grandly, nor acted more fruitfully. Thanks be to God, who both enriched you with such a faithful heart toward your sons, and brought into light that which you had in the intimate of the soul, where the human eye does not penetrate, by giving to you, not only that you might well will, but even in whom it could appear what you willed. Thus clearly let it be made, let it be made: *let these works shine before men, that they may see, rejoice, and glorify the Father who is in heaven* (Matth. V, 16). May you be delighted by such things in the Lord: may he himself deign to hear you praying for them, whom you do not disdain to hear speaking through them. Let it be gone, let it be walked, let it be run in the way of the Lord; let the little ones be blessed with the great, *having rejoiced in those who say to them, We will go into the house of the Lord* (Psal. CXXI, 1): let those precede, and let these follow, having been made imitators of them, as they also of Christ. Let the journey of the holy ants be fervent, let the works of the holy bees be fragrant, let fruit be borne in tolerance with the salvation of persevering unto the end. Nor may the Lord permit that we be tempted above that which we can bear, but *let him make with the temptation also an exit, that we may be able to sustain* (I Cor. X, 13).

2. Pray for us, you who are worthy to be heard; since you approach to God with such a sacrifice of most sincere dilection and of his praise in your works: pray that these may shine in us also; since he whom you pray knows with how much joy of ours they shine in you. These are our vows, these multitudes of solaces according to the multitude of our sorrows in our heart gladden our soul (Psal. XCIII, 19). It is so, because it has been so promised; so will be that which remains, just as it has been promised. We beseech you through him who gave those things to you, and perfused the people, whom you serve, with this blessing through you, that you may command individual sermons of theirs which you shall wish, written and emended, to be sent to us. For I also do not neglect what you commanded, and concerning the seven rules or keys of Tyconius, as I have often already written, I expect to know what may seem to you. We commend much brother Hilarinus the Hippo archiatros and principal. For concerning brother Romanus we know what you are busy with, and nothing is to be asked except that the Lord may help you for him. Amen.

EPISTOLA XLII. Augustinus Paulino, flagitans ut litterarum debitum amplius anno integro non redditum exsolvat, mittatque sibi opus adversus Paganos, cum id perfecerit. Prodit nunc primum ex corticeo codice, qui olim Narbonensis ecclesiae fuit, nunc vero est illustris familiae Phimarconensis: Dominis laudabilibus in Christo sanctissimis fratribus PAULINO et THERASIAE, AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

Num etiam hoc sperari aut exspectari posset, ut per fratrem Severum rescripta flagitaremus, tamdiu tam ardentibus nobis a vestra Charitate non reddita? Quid est quod duas aestates easdemque in Africa sitire cogamur? Quid amplius dicam? O qui res vestras quotidie donatis, debitum reddite. An forte quod adversus daemonicolas te scribere audieram, atque id opus vehementer desiderare me ostenderam, volens perficere ac mittere, tanto tempore ad nos epistolas distulisti? Utinam saltem tam opima mensa jam annosum ab stilo tuo jejunium meum excipias: quae si nondum parata est, non desinemus conqueri, si nos dum illud perficis, non interim reficis. Salutate fratres, maxime Romanum et Agilem. Hinc qui nobiscum sunt vos salutant, et parum nobiscum irascuntur, si parum diligunt.

Epistola XLIII.

Quanta impudentia Donatistae persistant in suo schismate, tot judiciis convicti.

Dominis dilectissimis et merito praedicandis fratribus GLORIO, ELEUSIO, FELICIBUS, GRAMMATICO et caeteris omnibus quibus hoc gratum est, AUGUSTINUS.

CAPUT PRIMUM.

1. Dixit quidem apostolus Paulus: Haereticum hominem post unam correptionem devita, sciens quia subversus est ejusmodi, et peccat, et est a semetipso damnatus (Tit. III, 10, 11). Sed qui sententiam suam, quamvis falsam atque perversam, nulla pertinaci animositate defendunt, praesertim quam non audacia praesumptionis suae pepererunt, sed a seductis atque in errorem lapsis parentibus acceperunt, quaerunt autem cauta sollicitudine veritatem, corrigi parati, cum invenerint; nequaquam sunt inter haereticos deputandi. Tales ergo vos nisi esse crederem, nullas fortasse vobis litteras mitterem. Quanquam et ipsum haereticum quamlibet odiosa superbia tumidum et pervivacia malae contentionis insanum, sicut vitandum monemus, ne infirmos et parvulos fallat; ita non abnuimus, quibuscumque modis possumus corrigendum.

LETTER XLII. Augustine to Paulinus, demanding that the debt of letters not rendered for more than a whole year be paid, and that he send to him the work against the Pagans, when he shall have finished it. It is now produced for the first time from a bark codex, which was once of the church of Narbonne, but now is of the illustrious Phimarconian family: To the laudable lords in Christ most holy brothers PAULINUS and THERASIA, AUGUSTINE, greetings in the Lord.

Could even this be hoped for or expected, that through brother Severus we should demand back responses, not rendered for so long a time to us so burning for your Charity? What is it that for two summers we are compelled to thirst in Africa? What more shall I say? O you who daily give your things, pay the debt. Or perhaps because I had heard that you were writing against the demon-worshippers, and I had shown that I vehemently desired that work, willing to finish and send it, you deferred letters to us for so much time? Would that at least with such a rich table you may now receive my fast of a year from the style: which if it is not yet prepared, we will not cease to complain, if while you finish that, you do not meanwhile refresh us. Salute the brothers, especially Romanus and Agilis. Those who are here with us salute you, and they are little angry with us, if they love little.

Letter XLIII.

With how great impudence the Donatists persist in their schism, convicted by so many judgments.

To the most beloved lords and brothers worthy of merit to be predicated GLORIUS, ELEUSIUS, the FELIXES, GRAMMATICUS and all the others to whom this is pleasing, AUGUSTINE.

CHAPTER FIRST.

1. The apostle Paul indeed said: *Avoid a heretical man after one correction, knowing that such a one is subverted, and sins, and is condemned by himself* (Tit. III, 10, 11). But those who defend their opinion, although false and perverse, with no pertinacious animosity, especially which they did not bear from the audacity of their own presumption, but received from parents seduced and lapsed into error, but who seek the truth with cautious solicitude, prepared to be corrected when they shall have found it; are by no means to be deputed among the heretics. Unless I believed you to be such, perhaps I would send no letters to you. Although we admonish that even the heretic himself, however much swollen with odious pride and insane by the pervicacity of evil contention, is to be avoided, lest he deceive the weak and little ones; so we do not refuse that he is to be corrected in whatever ways we can.

Unde factum est ut etiam ad nonnullos Donatistarum primarios scriberemus, non communicatorias litteras, quas jam olim, propter suam perversitatem ab unitate catholica quae toto orbe diffusa est, non accipiunt; sed tales privatas, qualibus nobis uti etiam ad Paganos licet, quas illi etsi aliquando legerunt, respondere tamen eis sive noluerunt, sive, ut magis creditur, nequiverunt. Ubi nobis satis visum est implevisse nos officium charitatis, quam non solum nostris, sed et omnibus nos debere sanctus Spiritus docet, qui nobis ait per Apostolum: Vos autem Dominus multiplicet, et abundare faciat in charitate, in invicem et in omnes (I Thess. III, 12). Monet etiam alio loco, in modestia corripiendos diversa sentientes; Ne forte, inquit, det illis Deus poenitentiam ad cognoscendam veritatem, et resipiscant de diaboli laqueis, captivati ab ipso in ipsius voluntatem (II Tim. II, 25, 26).

2. Haec praelocutus sum, ne quis me existimet impudentius vobis quam prudentius scripta misisse, et hoc modo vobiscum de negotio animae vestrae aliquid agere voluisse, quia nostrae communionis non estis: cum tamen si de negotio fundi, aut alicujus pecuniariae litis dirimendae vobis aliquid scriberem, nemo fortasse reprehenderet. Usque adeo charus est hic mundus hominibus, et sibimet ipsi viluerunt! Erit ergo mihi ad defensionem testis haec epistola in judicio Dei, qui novit quo animo fecerim, et qui dixit: Beati pacifici, quia ipsi filii Dei vocabuntur (Matth. V, 9).

CAPUT II.

3. Ergo ut meminisse dignamini, cum essemus in vestra civitate, et nonnulla vobiscum de communione christianae unitatis ageremus, prolata sunt a partibus vestris Gesta quaedam, quibus recitatum est quod septuaginta ferme episcopi Caecilianum quondam nostrae communionis episcopum Carthaginensis Ecclesiae cum suis collegis et ordinatoribus damnaverunt. Ubi etiam Felicis Aptungitani causa multo prae caeteris invidiosius et criminosius ventilata est. Quae cum essent cuncta perlecta, respondimus non esse mirandum, si homines qui tunc illud schisma fecerunt, non sine confectione Gestorum, eos in quos fuerant ab aemulis et perditis concitati, absentes causa incognita, temere damnandos esse putaverunt.

Whence it came to pass that we even wrote to some of the principals of the Donatists, not communicatory letters, which for a long time already they do not receive on account of their perversity from the catholic unity which is diffused through the whole world; but such private ones, such as it is licit for us to use even to Pagans, which although they sometimes read them, they nevertheless either willed not to respond to them, or, as it is more believed, were not able. Where it seemed enough to us to have fulfilled the office of charity, which the Holy Spirit teaches that we owe not only to ours, but also to all, who says to us through the Apostle: *But may the Lord multiply you, and make you to abound in charity, toward one another and toward all* (I Thess. III, 12). He also admonishes in another place, that those who feel differently are to be corrected in modesty; *Lest perhaps*, he says, *God give them repentance to acknowledge the truth, and they may recover themselves from the snares of the devil, having been captivated by him into his will* (II Tim. II, 25, 26).

2. I have pre-spoken these things, lest anyone think that I have sent writings to you more impudently than prudently, and have willed in this way to act anything with you concerning the business of your soul, because you are not of our communion: since nevertheless if I should write anything to you concerning the business of a field, or of any pecuniary litigation to be determined, no one perhaps would reprove. To such a degree is this world dear to men, and they have become vile to themselves! This letter therefore will be to me for a defense in the judgment of God, who knows with what mind I have done it, and who said: *Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God* (Matth. V, 9).

CHAPTER II.

3. Therefore, as you may deign to remember, when we were in your city, and were treating some things with you concerning the communion of Christian unity, there were brought forward from your parties certain Acts, in which it was recited that nearly seventy bishops condemned Caecilian, formerly a bishop of our communion of the Church of Carthage, with his colleagues and ordainers. Where also the cause of Felix of Aptungi was ventilated much more invidiously and criminally than the rest. When all these had been read through, we responded that it was not to be wondered at, if the men who then made that schism, not without the making of Acts, thought that those against whom they had been incited by rivals and lost men, being absent and the cause unknown, were rashly to be condemned.

Nos autem alia habere Gesta ecclesiastica, in quibus Secundus Tigisitanus, qui tunc agebat in Numidia primatum, praesentes et confessos traditores reliquit Deo judicandos, et eos in episcopalibus sedibus, sicuti erant, manere permisit, quorum nomina inter damnatores Caeciliani numerantur; cum etiam Secundus ipse concilii ejusdem principatum teneret, ubi absentes quasi traditores per eorum sententias damnavit, quibus praesentibus et confessis ignovit.

4. Deinde diximus, aliquanto post Majorini ordinationem, quem contra Caecilianum nefario scelere levaverunt, erigentes altare contra altare, et unitatem Christi discordiis furialibus dissipantes, eos petiisse a Constantino tunc imperatore judices episcopos, qui de suis quaestionibus quae in Africa exortae pacis vinculum dirimebant, arbitro medio judicarent. Quod posteaquam factum est, praesente Caeciliano et illis qui adversus eum navigaverant, judicante Melchiade tunc Romanae urbis episcopo, cum collegis suis quos ad preces Donatistarum miserat Imperator, in Caecilianum nihil probari potuisse, ac per hoc, illo in episcopatu confirmato, Donatum qui adversus eum tunc aderat improbatum. Quibus peractis rebus, cum illi omnes in pertinacia scelestissimi schismatis permanerent, post apud Arelatum memoratum imperatorem eamdem causam diligentius examinandam terminandamque curasse. Illos vero ab ecclesiastico judicio provocasse, ut causam Constantinus audiret. Quo posteaquam ventum est, utraque parte assistente, innocentem Caecilianum fuisse judicatum, atque illos recessisse superatos, et in eadem tamen perversitate mansisse. Nec de Felicis Aptungitani causa negligentiam consecutam, sed ad ejusdem principis jussionem proconsularibus Gestis etiam ipsum fuisse purgatum.

5. Sed quia haec omnia dicebamus tantum, non etiam legebamus, minus profecto vobis agere videbamur, quam de nostra exspectabatis instantia. Quod ubi sensimus, ad ea quae legenda promiseramus, non distulimus mittere. Quae omnia, dum excurrimus ad Ecclesiam Gelizitanam, inde ad vestrum oppidum reversuri, bidui non pleni intermissione venerunt, atque ut nostis, quantum tempus admisit, uno die recitata sunt vobis. Primo ubi Secundus Tigisitanus confessos traditores a collegio suo removere non ausus est, cum quibus postea non confessum et absentem Caecilianum aliosque suos collegas damnare ausus est: deinde Gesta proconsularia, ubi Felix diligentissimo examine probatus est innocens. Haec ante meridiem vobis lecta esse meministis. Post meridiem vero recitavimus preces eorum ad Constantinum, datisque ab eo judicibus Gesta ecclesiastica in Romana urbe habita, quibus illi improbati sunt, Caecilianum autem in episcopali honore firmatus. Postremo Constantini imperatoris litteras, quibus omnia multo maxime testatissima claruerunt.

But that we have other ecclesiastical Acts, in which Secundus of Tigisis, who then acted as primate in Numidia, left present and confessed traditors to be judged by God, and permitted them to remain in their episcopal sees, just as they were, whose names are numbered among the condemners of Caecilian; since even Secundus himself held the primacy of that same council, where he condemned the absent as if traditors by their sentences, to whom present and confessed he gave indulgence.

4. Then we said that, some time after the ordination of Majorinus, whom they raised against Caecilian with nefarious crime, erecting altar against altar, and dissipating the unity of Christ by furious discords, they petitioned from Constantine then emperor bishop-judges, who might judge as a middle arbiter concerning their questions which, having arisen in Africa, were breaking the bond of peace. After this was done, with Caecilian present and those who had sailed against him, with Melchiades then bishop of the Roman city judging, with his colleagues whom the Emperor had sent at the prayers of the Donatists, nothing could be proved against Caecilian, and by this, he being confirmed in the episcopate, Donatus who was then present against him was disapproved. After these things were performed, since all those remained in the pertinacity of a most wicked schism, afterwards at Arles the mentioned emperor took care that the same cause be more diligently examined and terminated. But they appealed from the ecclesiastical judgment, that Constantine might hear the cause. After it was come to that point, with each party standing by, Caecilian was judged to have been innocent, and those departed overcome, and yet remained in the same perversity. Nor did negligence follow concerning the cause of Felix of Aptungi, but by the command of the same prince even he was purged by proconsular Acts.

5. But because we were only saying all these things, and not also reading them, we seemed to act less for you, than you expected from our instance. When we sensed this, we did not delay to send for those things which we had promised to be read. All which, while we ran out to the Church of Gelizita, to return thence to your town, came with an intermission of not full two days, and as you know, as much as the time admitted, were recited to you in one day. First where Secundus of Tigisis dared not remove confessed traditors from his college, with whom afterwards he dared to condemn the unconfessed and absent Caecilian and others his colleagues: then the proconsular Acts, where Felix was proved innocent by a most diligent examination. You remember these things were read to you before noon. But after noon we recited their prayers to Constantine, and the bishop-judges having been given by him, the ecclesiastical Acts held in the Roman city, by which they were disapproved, but Caecilian confirmed in episcopal honor. Lastly, the letters of the emperor Constantine, by which all things shone forth most especially witnessed.

6. Quid vultis amplius, homines; quid vultis amplius? Non de auro et argento vestro agitur; non terra, non praedia, non denique salus corporis vestri in discrimen vocatur: de adipiscenda vita aeterna et fugienda morte aeterna compellamus animas vestras. Expergiscimini aliquando: non in aliqua obscura quaestione versamur, non recondita secreta rimamur, quibus penetrandis vel nulla vel rara humana corda sufficiant; res in aperto est. Quid eminet clarius? quid cernitur citius? Dicimus temerario concilio, quamlibet numerosissimo, innocentes absentesque fuisse damnatos. Probamus hoc proconsularibus Gestis, quibus ab omni traditionis crimine alienus judicatus est ille, quem maxime criminosum a vestris prolata concilii Gesta sonuerunt. Dicimus a traditoribus confessis, in eos qui traditores dicerentur, dictas fuisse sententias. Probamus hoc ecclesiasticis Gestis, ubi nominatim declarantur, in quibus Secundus Tigisitanus ea quae cognovit, velut contuitu pacis ignovit, et cum quibus postea non cognovit, discissa pace damnavit. Unde apparuit eum etiam primo non paci consuluisse, sed sibi timuisse. Objecerat ei namque Purpurius Limatensis quod etiam ipse, cum detentus esset a curatore et ordine ut Scripturas traderet, dimissus est, utique non frustra, nisi quia tradidit, aut tradi aliquid jussit. Hanc ille suspicionem satis probabilem metuens, accepto consilio a minore Secundo consanguineo suo, consultisque caeteris qui cum eo erant episcopis, manifestissima crimina Deo judicanda dimisit, atque ita paci prospexisse visus est; quod falsum erat, cum sibi prospexerit.

7. Nam si in ejus corde cogitatio pacis habitaret, non apud Carthaginem postea cum traditoribus, quos praesentes atque confessos Deo dimiserat, damnaret crimine traditionis, quos absentes apud eum nemo convicerat. Tanto magis enim timere debuit ne pax unitatis violaretur, quanto erat Carthago civitas ampla et illustris, unde se per totum Africae corpus malum quod ibi esset exortum, tanquam a vertice effunderet. Erat etiam transmarinis vicina regionibus et fama celeberrima nobilis: unde non mediocris utique auctoritatis habebat episcopum, qui posset non curare conspirantem multitudinem inimicorum, cum se videret et Romanae Ecclesiae, in qua semper apostolicae cathedrae viguit principatus, et caeteris terris, unde Evangelium ad ipsam Africam venit, per communicatorias litteras esse conjunctum, ubi paratus esset causam suam dicere, si adversarii ejus ab eo illas Ecclesias alienare conarentur.

6. What more do you wish, men; what more do you wish? It is not concerning your gold and silver that it is acted; not land, not estates, not finally the health of your body is called into risk: concerning the attaining of eternal life and the fleeing of eternal death we compel your souls. Awake at last: we are not turned in some obscure question, we do not search out recondite secrets, for the penetrating of which either no or rare human hearts may suffice; the matter is in the open. What stands out more clearly? what is discerned more quickly? We say that in a rash council, however numerous, the innocent and absent were condemned. We prove this by proconsular Acts, by which he was judged alien from every crime of tradition, whom the Acts of the council brought forward by yours sounded as most especially criminal. We say that by confessed traditors, against those who were said to be traditors, sentences were spoken. We prove this by ecclesiastical Acts, where they are declared by name, in which Secundus of Tigisis gave indulgence to those things which he knew, as if with a view of peace, and with whom afterwards he did not know, peace being torn asunder he condemned. Whence it appeared that he even at first had not consulted for peace, but had feared for himself. For Purpurius of Limata had objected to him that even he himself, when he had been detained by the curator and order that he might deliver the Scriptures, was dismissed, certainly not in vain, unless because he delivered them, or ordered something to be delivered. He fearing this sufficiently probable suspicion, a counsel having been accepted from the younger Secundus his kinsman, and the other bishops who were with him being consulted, he dismissed the most manifest crimes to be judged by God, and thus he seemed to have looked forward to peace; which was false, since he looked forward to himself.

7. For if the thought of peace dwelt in his heart, he would not afterwards at Carthage with traditors, whom present and confessed he had dismissed to God, condemn by the crime of tradition those whom absent at his place no one had convicted. For by so much more he ought to have feared lest the peace of unity be violated, by how much Carthage was a city large and illustrious, whence the evil which had arisen there might pour itself through the whole body of Africa, as if from the head. It was also near to transmarine regions and noble with most celebrated fame: whence it certainly had a bishop of no mediocre authority, who could not care for the conspiring multitude of enemies, when he saw himself to be joined by communicatory letters both to the Roman Church, in which the primacy of the apostolic chair has always flourished, and to the other lands, whence the Gospel came to Africa itself, where he would be prepared to plead his cause, if his adversaries should try to alienate those Churches from him.

Quia ergo venire noluit ad hospitium collegarum, quos a suis inimicis contra veritatem suae causae perversos esse sentiebat vel suspicabatur, vel, ut ipsi asserunt, simulabat, tanto magis Secundus, si verae pacis custos esse voluisset, cavere debuit ne damnarentur absentes, qui judicio eorum omnino interesse noluerunt. Neque enim de presbyteris aut diaconis aut inferioris ordinis clericis, sed de collegis agebatur, qui possent aliorum collegarum judicio, praesertim apostolicarum Ecclesiarum, causam suam integram reservare; ubi contra eos sententiae dictae in absentes, nullo modo aliquid valerent, quando eorum judicium non primo aditum postea deseruerunt, sed suspectum semper habitum nunquam adire voluerunt.

8. Haec res maxime sollicitare debuit Secundum qui tunc erat primas, si propterea concilium regebat, ut paci consuleret; facile enim fortassis rabida in absentes ora placata vel frenata comprimeret, si diceret: Videtis, fratres, post tantam stragem persecutionis, misericordia Dei a principibus saeculi pacem esse concessam; non debemus nos christiani et episcopi unitatem disrumpere christianam, quam jam paganus non insequitur inimicus. Itaque aut istas omnes causas, quas clades turbulentissimi temporis inflixit Ecclesiae, Deo judici dimittamus: aut si aliqui in vobis sunt qui certa istorum crimina ita noverint, ut ea facile valeant edocere, negantesque convincere, et talibus communicare formidant, pergant ad fratres and collegas nostros transmarinarum Ecclesiarum episcopos, et ibi prius de istorum factis et contumacia conquerantur, quod ad judicium collegarum Afrorum male sibi conscii venire noluerunt, ut inde illis denuntietur ut veniant, ibique objectis respondeant. Quod si non fecerint, ibi etiam eorum pravitas et perversitas innotescet, missaque tractatoria super eorum nomine per totum orbem terrarum, quacumque jam Christi Ecclesia dilata est, ab omnibus Ecclesiis eorum communio praecidetur, ne aliquis error in Cathedra Ecclesiae Carthaginis oriatur. Tum demum securi episcopum alium plebi Carthaginis ordinabimus, cum a tota Ecclesia isti fuerint separati: ne forte cum alius modo fuerit ordinatus, non ei communicetur ab Ecclesia transmarina, quia iste ab honore depositus non videbitur, quem jam ordinatum fama celebravit, et ad eum commeare communicatorias litteras fecit; atque ita magnum scandalum schismatis in unitate Christi jam pacatis temporibus oriatur, dum praepropere nostras volumus praecipitare sententias, et non contra Caecilianum, sed contra orbem terrarum, qui ei per ignorantiam communicat, altare alterum erigere audeamus.

Because therefore he willed not to come to the hospitality of colleagues, whom he sensed or suspected to have been perverted against the truth of his cause by his enemies, or, as they themselves assert, he feigned, by so much more Secundus, if he had willed to be a guardian of true peace, ought to have taken care lest the absent be condemned, who by no means willed to be present at their judgment. For it was not acted concerning presbyters or deacons or clerics of an inferior order, but concerning colleagues, who could reserve their cause entire for the judgment of other colleagues, especially of the apostolic Churches; where sentences spoken against them in their absence would in no way avail anything, when they did not first desert their judgment having approached it, but having always held it suspect they never willed to approach it.

8. This matter most especially ought to have solicited Secundus, who then was primate, if for this reason he ruled the council, that he might consult for peace; for he might easily perhaps have compressed the rabid mouths against the absent, pacified or bridled, if he should say: You see, brothers, after so great a slaughter of persecution, that peace has been granted by the princes of the world by the mercy of God; we Christians and bishops ought not to disrupt the Christian unity, which now a pagan enemy does not follow. Therefore let us either dismiss all those causes, which the slaughter of a most turbulent time inflicted on the Church, to God the judge: or if there are some among you who so know certain crimes of those men, that they can easily be strong to teach them, and to convict those denying, and they fear to communicate with such, let them go to our brothers and colleagues the bishops of the transmarine Churches, and there first let them complain concerning the deeds and contumacy of those men, because they willed not to come to the judgment of African colleagues, being badly conscious to themselves, that thence it may be denounced to them that they come, and there respond to the things objected. Which if they shall not have done, there also their depravity and perversity will become known, and a tractatory letter having been sent concerning their name through the whole circle of the lands, wherever now the Church of Christ is dilated, their communion will be cut off by all the Churches, lest any error arise in the Chair of the Church of Carthage. Then finally secure we shall ordain another bishop for the people of Carthage, when those shall have been separated from the whole Church: lest perhaps when another shall now have been ordained, he may not be communicated with by the transmarine Church, because he will not seem to be deposed from honor, whom fame has already celebrated as ordained, and has made communicatory letters to resort to him; and thus a great scandal of schism may arise in the unity of Christ in now pacified times, while we wish to precipitate our sentences prematurely, and dare to erect another altar, not against Caecilian, but against the whole circle of lands, which communicates to him through ignorance.

9. Huic tam sano rectoque consilio quisquis infrenis obtemperare noluisset, quid esset facturus? aut quomodo aliquem absentium collegarum esset damnaturus, cum in potestate Acta concilii non haberet, contradicente primate? Quod si tanta et adversus primam sedem seditio nasceretur, ut nonnulli damnare jam vellent quos volebat ille differri, quanto melius a talibus inquieta et impacata molientibus, quam a totius orbis communione dissentiretur? Sed quia non erant quae in Caecilianum et ordinatores ejus transmarino judicio probarentur, propterea nec priusquam in eum sententias dicerent, deferre voluerunt, nec posteaquam dixerunt, perseveranter id agere ut Ecclesiae transmarinae in notitiam perferretur, quorum traditorum in Africa damnatorum communionem vitare deberet. Quia si id facere tentavissent, adessent sibi Caecilianum et caeteri, et suam causam adversus fallaces criminatores, apud transmarinos ecclesiasticos judices diligentissima discussione purgarent.

10. Itaque concilium illud perversum atque nefarium, maxime ut creditur traditorum fuit, quibus confessis Secundus Tigisitanus ignoverat: ut quoniam de traditione fama crebruerat, infamatis aliis a se averterent suspicionem, et cum homines per Africam totam credentes episcopis, falsa de innocentibus loquerentur, quod damnati essent apud Carthaginem traditores, tanquam in nebula mendacissimi rumoris, ipsi qui vere tradiderant latitarent. Unde videtis, charissimi, fieri potuisse, quod verisimile non esse quidam vestrum dicebant, ut qui essent de sua traditione confessi, causamque suam impetravissent Deo dimitti oportere, iidem judices damnatoresque tanquam traditorum absentium postea consedissent. Magis enim amplexi sunt occasionem, qua possent alios falsa criminatione perfundere, et conversas in eos linguas hominum ab inquisitione criminum suorum hoc modo declinare. Alioquin si fieri non posset ut quisque mala quae ipse committeret, in alio judicaret, non diceret quibusdam Paulus apostolus: Propterea inexcusabilis es, o homo omnis qui judicas. In quo enim alium judicas, temetipsum condemnas; eadem enim agis, quae judicas. (Rom. II, 1.) Quod illi omnino fecerunt, ut haec verba apostolica integre in eos apteque conveniant.

9. To this so sane and right counsel, whoever unbridled should have willed not to obey, what would he have been about to do? or how would he have been about to condemn any of the absent colleagues, when he would not have the Acts of the council in his power, the primate contradicting? But if so great a sedition should be born even against the first see, that some should already wish to condemn those whom he willed to be deferred, how much better would it be to dissent from such restless ones and those attempting unpacified things, than from the communion of the whole world? But because there were not things which could be proved against Caecilian and his ordainers in a transmarine judgment, for that reason they willed neither before they should speak sentences against him to defer, nor after they spoke, perseveringly to act that it might be carried through into the notice of the transmarine Churches, whose communion of traditors condemned in Africa it ought to avoid. Because if they had attempted to do that, Caecilian and the rest would be present for themselves, and would purge their cause against the deceitful accusers, with most diligent discussion among the transmarine ecclesiastical judges.

10. And so that perverse and nefarious council was, as it is believed, most especially of traditors, to whom present and confessed Secundus of Tigisis had given indulgence: so that since the fame concerning tradition had become frequent, by infaming others they might turn away suspicion from themselves, and since men through all Africa believing the bishops, spoke false things concerning the innocent, that they had been condemned at Carthage as traditors, they themselves who truly had delivered might lie hidden, as if in a cloud of a most lying rumor. Whence you see, most dear ones, that it could have been done, which some of you said was not likely, that they who were confessed concerning their own tradition, and had impetrated that their cause ought to be dismissed to God, the same should have sat afterwards as judges and condemners as if of absent traditors. For they rather embraced the occasion, by which they could pour over others a false crimination, and thus decline the tongues of men turned toward them from the inquisition of their own crimes. Otherwise, if it could not be that each one should judge in another the evils which he himself committed, the apostle Paul would not say to certain ones: *Therefore you are inexcusable, O man, whoever you are who judge. For in that in which you judge another, you condemn yourself; for you do the same things which you judge* (Rom. II, 1). Which they altogether did, so that these apostolic words may agree entirely and aptly against them.

11. Non ergo tunc Secundus, quando eorum crimina Deo dimisit, paci unitatique consuluit: alioquin magis hoc apud Carthaginem provideret, ne schisma fieret, ubi nullus aderat cui confesso crimen donare cogeretur; sed quod erat facillimum, tota conservatio pacis esset absentes nolle damnare. Itaque injuriam facerent innocentibus, etiamsi eis non convictis, neque confessis, neque omnino praesentibus ignoscere voluissent. Ille quippe accipit veniam, cujus culpa certissima est. Quanto ergo immaniores et caeciores fuerunt, qui ea se putaverunt posse damnare, quae incognita nec donare potuissent? Sed illic cognita dimissa sunt Deo, ne alia quaererentur: hic incognita damnata sunt, ut illa tegerentur. Sed dicet aliquis: Cognoverunt. Quod etsi concedam, etiam sic absentibus utique parci oportebat. Neque enim judicium deseruerant, ubi nunquam omnino constiterant; nec in illis solis episcopis Afris erat Ecclesia, ut omne judicium ecclesiasticum vitasse viderentur, qui se judicio eorum praesentare noluissent. Millia quippe collegarum transmarina restabant, ubi apparebat eos judicari posse, qui videbantur Afros vel Numidas collegas habere suspectos. Ubi est enim quod Scriptura clamat: Antequam interroges, ne vituperes quemquam; et cum interrogaveris, corripe juste (Eccli. XI, 7). Si ergo nec vituperari, nec corripi nisi interrogatum Spiritus sanctus voluit; quanto sceleratius non vituperati aut correpti, sed omnino damnati sunt, qui de suis criminibus nihil absentes interrogari potuerunt?

12. Sed tamen isti, qui licet absentium, et nequaquam judicium deserentium, quia nunquam affuerunt, et semper sibi cuneum illum suspectum esse declaraverunt, tamen cognita crimina se damnasse dicunt, quaeso vos, fratres mei, quomodo cognoverunt? Respondetis: Nescimus, quandoquidem ipsa cognitio in illis Gestis explicata non est. Sed ego vobis ostendam quomodo cognoverunt. Attendite causam Felicis Aptungitani, et primo legite quam vehementiores in eum fuerunt. Sic ergo et caeterorum causam noverant, sicut hujus qui postea innocentissimus diligenti et terribili inquisitione probatus est. Quanto itaque justius et tutius et citius innocentes eos existimare debemus, quorum crimina ab istis levius accusata sunt, et parciore reprehensione damnata, quando ille inventus est innocens, in quem multo immanius saevierunt!

CAPUT IV.

11. Secundus therefore did not then consult for peace and unity when he dismissed their crimes to God: otherwise he would rather provide for this at Carthage, lest a schism be made, where no one was present to whom he was compelled to give a confessed crime; but what was most easy, the whole conservation of peace would be not to wish to condemn the absent. And so they would do injury to the innocent, even if they had willed to give indulgence to them not convicted, nor confessed, nor altogether present. For he receives pardon, whose fault is most certain. By how much more therefore were they more immoderate and blinder, who thought themselves able to condemn those things which being unknown they could not even have given? But there things known were dismissed to God, lest others be sought: here things unknown were condemned, that those might be covered. But someone will say: They knew. Which even if I should concede, even thus the absent altogether ought to have been spared. For they had not deserted the judgment, where they had never altogether stood; nor was the Church in those African bishops alone, so that they who had willed not to present themselves to their judgment should seem to have avoided every ecclesiastical judgment. For thousands of transmarine colleagues remained, where it appeared that they could be judged, who seemed to have African or Numidian colleagues suspect. For where is it that the Scripture cries out: *Before you question, do not blame anyone; and when you shall have questioned, reprove justly* (Eccli. XI, 7). If therefore the Holy Spirit willed one neither to be blamed nor reproved unless questioned; by how much more wickedly were they not blamed or reproved, but altogether condemned, who being absent could in no way be questioned concerning their crimes?

12. But nevertheless these, who although of the absent, and by no means deserting the judgment, because they were never present, and always declared that wedge to be suspect to them, nevertheless say that they condemned known crimes, I ask you, my brothers, how did they know? You respond: We know not, since that cognition itself is not unfolded in those Acts. But I will show you how they knew. Attend to the cause of Felix of Aptungi, and first read how much more vehement they were against him. Thus therefore they also knew the cause of the rest, as of this one who afterwards was proved most innocent by a diligent and terrible inquisition. By how much more justly therefore and more safely and more quickly ought we to think those innocent, whose crimes were more lightly accused by these, and condemned with more sparing reprehension, when he was found innocent, against whom they raged much more immoderately!

CHAPTER IV.

13. An forte sicut quidam dixit, quod quidem cum vobis diceretur displicuit, sed tamen praetermittendum non est; ait enim quidam. Non debuit episcopus proconsulari judicio purgari: quasi vero ipse sibi hoc comparaverit, ac non imperator ita quaeri jusserit, ad cujus curam, de qua rationem Deo redditurus esset, res illa maxime pertinebat. Arbitrum enim et judicem causae traditionis et schismatis illi eum fecerant, qui ad eum etiam preces miserant, ad quem postea provocarunt; et tamen judicio ejus acquiescere noluerunt. Itaque si culpandus est quem judex terrenus absolvit, cum ipse sibi hoc non poposcisset; quanto magis culpandi sunt, qui terrenum regem suae causae judicem esse voluerunt? Si autem criminis non est provocare ad imperatorem, non est criminis audiri ab imperatore: ergo nec ab illo, cui causam delegaverit imperator. Quemdam etiam suspensum equuleo in causa Felicis episcopi amicus ille voluit criminari, ut quis etiam ungulis vexaretur. Numquid poterat Felix contradicere, ne tanta diligentia vel severitate quaereretur, cum ejus causam inveniendam cognitor agitaret? Quid enim erat aliud nolle sic quaeri, quam de crimine confiteri? Et tamen ille ipse proconsul inter praeconum terribiles voces et cruentas carnificum manus nunquam collegam damnaret absentem, qui judicio ejus se praesentare noluisset, cum haberet aliud quo posset audiri. Aut si damnaret, certe etiam ipsis securalibus legibus poenas justas et debitas lueret.

CAPUT V.

14. Quod si Gesta proconsularia displicent, ecclesiasticis cedite. Omnia vobis ordine recitata sunt. An forte non debuit Romanae Ecclesiae Melchiades episcopus cum collegis transmarinis episcopis illud sibi usurpare judicium, quod ab Afris septuaginta, ubi primas Tigisitanus praesedit, fuerat terminatum? Quid quod nec ipse usurpavit? Rogatus quippe imperator, judices misit episcopos qui cum eo sederent, et de tota illa causa quod justum videretur statuerent. Hoc probamus et Donatistarum precibus, et verbis ipsius imperatoris: utraque enim vobis lecta meministis, et inspiciendi ac describendi licentiam nunc habetis. Legite et considerate omnia. Videte quanta cura pacis atque unitatis conservandae vel restituendae cuncta discussa sint;

13. Or perhaps as a certain one said, which indeed when it was said to you displeased, but nevertheless is not to be passed over; for a certain one said. A bishop ought not to have been purged by a proconsular judgment: as if indeed he himself had procured this for himself, and the emperor had not so ordered it to be sought, to whose care, concerning which he was to render an account to God, that matter most especially pertained. For they had made him the arbiter and judge of the cause of tradition and schism, who had also sent prayers to him, to whom they afterwards appealed; and nevertheless they willed not to acquiesce in his judgment. And so if he is to be blamed whom an earthly judge absolved, when he himself had not asked this for himself; by how much more are they to be blamed, who willed an earthly king to be the judge of their cause? But if it is not of crime to appeal to the emperor, it is not of crime to be heard by the emperor: therefore neither by him, to whom the emperor shall have delegated the cause. A certain one even being suspended on the rack in the cause of Felix the bishop, that friend willed to criminate, that someone might also be vexed by the claws. Could Felix contradict, lest it be sought with so great diligence or severity, when the judge was agitating that his cause be found? For what else was it to nill it to be so sought, than to confess concerning the crime? And nevertheless that proconsul himself among the terrible voices of the heralds and the bloody hands of the executioners would never condemn an absent colleague, who had willed not to present himself to his judgment, since he had another by which he could be heard. Or if he should condemn, certainly he would also pay just and due penalties by those very secular laws.

CHAPTER V.

14. But if the proconsular Acts displease, yield to the ecclesiastical. All have been recited to you in order. Or perhaps bishop Melchiades ought not to have usurped for himself that judgment with his colleagues the transmarine bishops, which had been terminated by seventy Africans, where the primate of Tigisis presided? What of the fact that he did not even usurp it? For the emperor, having been asked, sent bishop-judges who might sit with him, and establish concerning that whole cause what should seem just. This we prove both by the prayers of the Donatists, and by the words of the emperor himself: for you remember each was read to you, and you now have the license of inspecting and describing. Read and consider all things. See with how great care of preserving or restoring peace and unity all things were discussed;

quemadmodum accusatorum persona tractata, et quorumdam eorum quibus maculis improbata sit, praesentiumque vocibus liquido constiterit, nihil eos habuisse quod in Caecilianum dicerent, sed totam causam in plebem de parte Majorini, hoc est seditiosam et ab Ecclesiae pace alienatam multitudinem transferre voluisse, ut ab ea videlicet turba Caecilianus accusaretur, quam solis tumultuosis clamoribus, nulla documentorum attestatione, nullo veritatis examine, ad suam voluntatem animos judicum detorquere posse arbitrabantur; nisi forte furiosa et poculo erroris atque corruptionis ebria multitudo vera in Caecilianum crimina diceret, ubi septuaginta episcopi, sicut de Felice Aptungitano constitit, absentes and innocentes collegas, tam insana temeritate damnarunt. Quali enim turbae illi consenserant, ut adversus innocentes non interrogatos proferrent sententias; a tali turba etiam rursus accusari Caecilianum volebant. Sed plane non tales invenerant judices, quibus illam dementiam persuaderent.

15. Potestis enim pro vestra prudentia, et illorum perversitatem illic attendere, et judicum gravitatem, quemadmodum ad extremum persuaderi non possent, ut a plebe partis Majorini, quae certam personam non habebat, argueretur Caecilianum; et requisiti ab eis essent vel accusatores vel testes vel quoquomodo causae necessarii, qui simul cum eis ex Africa venerant, et eos praesentes fuisse atque a Donato subtractos esse diceretur. Promisit idem Donatus quod eos esset exhibiturus: quod cum non semel, sed saepius promisisset, amplius ad illud judicium accedere noluit, ubi jam erat tanta confessus, ut nihil aliud deinceps non accedendo, nisi praesens damnari noluisse videretur; cum tamen ea quae damnanda essent, eo praesente atque interrogato manifestata fuerint. Accessit et aliud, ut a quibusdam adversus Caecilianum denuntiationis libellus daretur: post quod factum quemadmodum sit rursus agitata cognitio, et quae personae illum libellum dederint, quoque modo nihil in Caecilianum probari potuerit, quid dicam, cum et audieritis omnia, et quoties volueritis, legere possitis?

16. De numero autem septuaginta episcoporum, cum quasi gravissima opponeretur auctoritas, quae fuerint dicta meministis; et tamen viri gravissimi ab infinitis quaestionibus catena quadam inexplicabili sese nectentibus suum temperare arbitrium maluerunt, nequaquam curantes quam multi essent illi episcopi, aut unde collecti, quos videbant tanta temeritate caecatos, ut in absentes et non interrogatos collegas, tam praecipites auderent proferre sententias.

in what manner the person of the accusers was treated, and by what stains it was disapproved in some of them, and it clearly appeared by the voices of those present, that they had nothing which they might say against Caecilian, but willed to transfer the whole cause onto the people of the party of Majorinus, that is, a seditious multitude and one alien from the peace of the Church, that Caecilian might be accused forsooth by that crowd, which they thought could by tumultuous clamors alone, with no attestation of documents, with no examination of truth, detort the minds of the judges toward their own will; unless perhaps a furious multitude and one drunk with the cup of error and corruption should say true crimes against Caecilian, where seventy bishops, as it was established concerning Felix of Aptungi, condemned absent and innocent colleagues with such insane rashness. For to what kind of crowd had they consented, that they should bring forth sentences against the innocent who were not questioned; by such a crowd also they willed Caecilian to be accused again. But plainly they had not found such judges, to whom they might persuade that madness.

15. For you can, according to your prudence, both attend there to their perversity, and to the gravity of the judges, in what manner to the end they could not be persuaded, that Caecilian should be argued by the people of the party of Majorinus, which did not have a certain person; and there had been required from them either accusers or witnesses or those in whatever way necessary for the cause, who had come together with them from Africa, and it was said that they had been present and subtracted by Donatus. The same Donatus promised that he was about to exhibit them: which when he had promised not once, but quite often, he willed not to approach that judgment further, where he had already confessed so great things, that by not approaching thereafter he seemed to have willed nothing else than not to be condemned being present; when nevertheless those things which were to be condemned, were manifested with him being present and questioned. There was added also another thing, that by certain ones a book of denunciation was given against Caecilian: after which fact in what manner the cognition was again agitated, and what persons gave that book, and in what way nothing could be proved against Caecilian, what shall I say, since you both heard all things, and as often as you shall have willed, you can read?

16. But concerning the number of seventy bishops, when as if a most grave authority was opposed, you remember what things were said; and nevertheless the most grave men willed rather to temper their judgment from infinite questions binding themselves in a certain inexplicable chain, in no way caring how many those bishops were, or whence collected, whom they saw blinded by such great rashness, that they should dare to bring forth such headlong sentences against absent and non-questioned colleagues.

Et tamen qualis ipsius beati Melchiadis ultima est prolata sententia, quam innocens, quam integra, quam provida atque pacifica, qua neque collegas, in quibus nihil constiterat, de collegio suo ausus est removere, et Donato solo, quem totius mali principem invenerat, maxime culpato, sanitatis recuperandae optionem liberam caeteris fecit, paratus communicatorias litteras mittere etiam iis quos a Majorino ordinatos esse constaret: ita ut quibuscumque locis duo essent episcopi, quos dissensio geminasset, eum confirmari vellet qui fuisset ordinatus prior, alteri autem eorum plebs alia regenda provideretur. O virum optimum! o filium christianae pacis, et patrem christianae plebis! Conferte nunc istam paucitatem cum illa multitudine episcoporum, neque numerum numero, sed pondus ponderi comparata: hinc modestiam, inde temeritatem, hinc vigilantiam, inde caetitatem. Hic nec mansuetudo integritatem corrupit, nec integritas mansuetudini repugnavit; ibi autem et furore timor tegebatur, et timore furor incitabatur. Isti enim convenerant cognitione verorum criminum falsa respuere, illi falsorum damnatione vera celare.

CAPUT VI.

17. Illisne se tandem Caecilianus audiendum judicandumque committeret, cum haberet tales, apud quos si ei causa moveretur, innocentiam suam facillime ostenderet? Non se illis omnino committeret, nec si peregrinus Ecclesiae Carthaginensis subito episcopus esset ordinatus, et ignoret quid ad corrupendos animos vel improborum vel imperitorum posse tunc pecuniosissima mulier quaedam Lucilla, quam pro disciplina ecclesiastica corripiendo idem cum esset diaconus laeserat: etiam hoc enim accesserat malum ad illam perficiendam iniquitatem. Nam in illo concilio, ubi a confessis traditoribus absentes atque innocentes damnati sunt, pauci quidam erant, qui crimina sua infamatis aliis tegere cupiebant, ut homines a veritatis inquisitione averterentur falsis rumoribus avocati. Pauci ergo erant, qui hoc negotium maxime curabant, quamvis in eis esset major auctoritas, propter ipsius Secundi societatem, qui eis pepercerat territus. Caeteri autem Lucillae pecunia maxime adversus Caecilianum empti et instigati perhibentur.

And nevertheless what kind of final sentence of the blessed Melchiades himself was brought forth, how innocent, how entire, how provident and pacific, by which he dared not remove from his college colleagues in whom nothing had been established, and Donatus alone being most especially blamed, whom he had found the prince of the whole evil, he made a free option of recovering health for the rest, prepared to send communicatory letters even to those whom it might be established were ordained by Majorinus: so that in whatever places there were two bishops, whom dissension had doubled, he willed him to be confirmed who had been ordained first, but for the other of them another people be provided to be ruled. O most excellent man! O son of Christian peace, and father of the Christian people! Compare now that small number with that multitude of bishops, not number compared with number, but weight with weight: here modesty, there rashness; here vigilance, there blindness. Here neither did mildness corrupt integrity, nor did integrity repugn mildness; but there both fear was covered by fury, and fury was incited by fear. For these had come together to reject false things by the cognition of true crimes; those to cover true things by the condemnation of false.

CHAPTER VI.

17. Would Caecilian at length commit himself to be heard and judged by those, when he had such ones among whom, if a cause were moved for him, he would most easily show his innocence? He would not altogether commit himself to them, not even if he were suddenly ordained bishop of the Church of Carthage as a stranger, and should be ignorant what a certain most wealthy woman Lucilla could then do to corrupt the minds either of the wicked or of the unskillful, whom by reproving for ecclesiastical discipline the same when he was a deacon had wounded: for even this evil had been added for the perfecting of that iniquity. For in that council, where the absent and innocent were condemned by confessed traditors, there were a certain few, who desired to cover their own crimes by infaming others, that men might be turned away from the inquisition of truth, called away by false rumors. There were therefore a few, who most especially took care of this business, although there was greater authority in them on account of the society of Secundus himself, who had spared them being terrified. But the rest are reported to have been most especially bought and instigated by the money of Lucilla against Caecilian.

Extant Gesta apud Zenophilum consularem, ubi Nundinarius quidam diaconus a Sylvano Cirtensi episcopo, quantum ipsis Gestis intelligitur, degradatus, cum eis satisfacere per aliorum episcoporum litteras frustra conatus esset, multa patefecit iratus, et in judicium publicum protulit: inter quae id quoque commemoratum legitur, quod Lucillae pecunia corruptis episcopis, in Carthaginensi Ecclesia, in Africae capite, altare contra altare levatum est. Scio quod haec Gesta vobis non legerimus, sed tempus non fuisse meministis. Inerat etiam nonnullus dolor animi de typho superbiae veniens, quod non ipsi ordinaverant Carthagini episcopum.

18. Quibus omnibus rebus, cum eos non veros judices, sed inimicos atque corruptos Caecilianus convenisse cognosceret; quando fieri posset, ut vel ipse vellet, vel populus cui praesidebat permitteret, ut relicta ecclesia iret in domum privatam, non collegarum discutiendus examine, sed factionis cuneo et odiis muliebribus trucidandus? cum sibi praesertim videret apud Ecclesiam transmarinam privatis inimicitiis et ab utraque parte dissensionis alienam, incorruptum et integrum examen suae causae remanere. Ubi si nihil adversarii agere vellent, ipsi se ab orbis terrarum innocentissima communione praeciderent. Si autem illic eum accusare tentassent, tunc sibi adesset, tunc innocentiam suam adversus eorum machinamenta defenderet, sicut postea factum esse didicistis: cum tamen illi nimis sero quaesissent judicium transmarinum jam schismatis rei, jam levati altaris horrendo scelere maculati. Primo enim facerent si veritate niterentur; sed falsis rumoribus temporis diuturnitate firmatis, quasi vetusta fama praejudicante ad judicium venire voluerunt: aut quod magis credendum est, damnato prius, sicut libuit, Caeciliano, quasi securi sibi videbantur praefidentes numero suo, nec audentes alibi commovere causam tam malam, ubi nulla corruptione operante posset veritas inveniri.

CAPUT VII.

19. Sed posteaquam ipsis rebus experti sunt cum Caeciliano permanere communionem orbis terrarum, et ad eum a transmarinis Ecclesiis communicatorias litteras mitti, non ad illum quem ipsi scelerate ordinaverant; puduit eos semper tacere, quia posset eis objici, cur paterentur ignaram per tot gentes Ecclesiam communicare damnatis, et cur se ipsi ab innocentis orbis terrarum communione praeciderent, cum tacendo sinerent episcopo, quem Carthaginensibus ordinassent, a toto orbe non communicari.

There exist Acts before Zenophilus the consular, where a certain deacon Nundinarius, degraded by Sylvanus bishop of Cirta, as far as is understood by those same Acts, when he had tried in vain to satisfy them by the letters of other bishops, being angry opened many things, and brought them into public judgment: among which that also is read commemorated, that by the money of Lucilla bishops having been corrupted, in the Church of Carthage, in the head of Africa, altar was raised against altar. I know that we did not read these Acts to you, but you remember that there was no time. There was also in some a certain grief of mind coming from the typhoon of pride, because they themselves had not ordained the bishop at Carthage.

18. By all which things, when Caecilian knew that they had convened not as true judges, but as enemies and corrupted; when could it be that either he should will, or the people over whom he presided should permit, that the church being left he should go into a private house, to be discussed not by an examination of colleagues, but to be slaughtered by a wedge of faction and womanly hatreds? since he saw especially that there remained for him among the transmarine Church, alien from private enmities and from the dissension of each part, an uncorrupted and entire examination of his cause. Where if the adversaries should will to act nothing, they themselves would cut themselves off from the most innocent communion of the circle of lands. But if they had attempted to accuse him there, then he would be present for himself, then he would defend his innocence against their machinations, as you have learned was done afterwards: since nevertheless they sought too late a transmarine judgment already being guilty of schism, already stained by the horrendous crime of a raised altar. For they would first do it if they relied on truth; but with false rumors having been confirmed by length of time, as if with ancient fame prejudging, they willed to come to judgment: or what is more to be believed, with Caecilian having been condemned first, as it pleased them, they seemed to themselves as if secure, presiding in their own number, nor daring to move elsewhere a cause so bad, where with no corruption operating the truth could be found.

CHAPTER VII.

But after they experienced by the things themselves that the communion of the circle of lands remained with Caecilian, and that communicatory letters were sent to him from the transmarine Churches, not to him whom they had wickedly ordained; it shamed them always to be silent, because it could be objected to them, why they suffered the ignorant Church through so many nations to communicate with the condemned, and why they themselves cut themselves off from the communion of the innocent circle of lands, when by being silent they permitted the bishop, whom they had ordained for the Carthaginians, not to be communicated with by the whole world.

Elegerunt, sicut dicitur, ad duas agere causam cum Caeciliano apud Ecclesias transmarinas, parati ad utrumque: ut si eum potuissent quacumque versutia falsae criminationis evincere, satiarent plenissime cupiditatem suam; si autem non possent, in eadem quidem perversitate durarent, sed jam tamen quasi haberent quod dicerent, malos judices se esse perpessos; quae vox est omnium malorum litigatorum, cum fuerint etiam manifestissima veritate superati: quasi non eis ad hoc dici posset et justissime dici, Ecce putemus illos episcopos, qui Romae judicarunt, non bonos judices fuisse; restabat adhuc plenarium Ecclesiae universae concilium, ubi etiam cum ipsis judicibus causa posset agitari, ut si male judicasse convicti essent, eorum sententiae solverentur. Quod utrum fecerint, probent: nos enim non factum esse facile probamus, ex eo quod totus orbis non eis communicat: aut si factum est, etiam ibi sunt victi; quod ipsa eorum separatio manifestat.

20. Sed tamen quid postea fecerint, Imperatoris litteris sufficientissime ostenditur. Judices enim ecclesiasticos tantae auctoritatis episcopos, quorum judicio et Caeciliani innocentia et eorum improbitas declarata est, non apud alios collegas, sed apud Imperatorem accusare ausi sunt, quod male judicarent. Dedit ille aliud Arelatense judicium, aliorum scilicet episcoporum: non quia jam necesse erat, sed eorum perversitatibus cedens, et omnimodo cupiens tantam impudentiam cohibere. Neque enim ausus est christianus Imperator sic eorum tumultuosas et fallaces querelas suscipere, ut de judicio episcoporum qui Romae sederant ipse judicaret; sed alios, ut dixi, episcopos dedit: a quibus tamen illi ad ipsum rursum Imperatorem provocare maluerunt; qua in re illos quemadmodum detestetur, audistis. Atque utinam saltem ipsius judicio insanissimis animositatibus suis finem posuissent, atque ut eis ipse cessit, ut de illa causa post episcopos judicaret, a sanctis antistitibus postea veniam petiturus, dum tamen illi quod ulterius dicerent non haberent, si ejus sententiae non obtemperarent, ad quem ipsi provocaverunt, sic et illi aliquando cederent veritati. Jussit enim ille ut ei partes ad agendam causam Romam occurrerent. Quo cum Caecilianus nescio qua causa non occurrisset, interpellatus ab eis, praecepit ut Mediolanum sequerentur. Tunc se aliqui eorum subtrahere coeperunt, fortasse indignati quia non est eos imitatus Constantinus, ut jam statim atque velociter Caecilianum damnaret absentem. Quod ubi cognovit providus Imperator, reliquos ab officialibus custoditos fecit Mediolanum pervenire. Quo cum etiam Caecilianus venisset, ipsum quoque, sicut scripsit, exhibuit, cognitaque causa, qua diligentia, qua cautela, qua provisione, sicut ejus indicant litterae, Caecilianum innocentissimum, illos improbissimos judicavit.

They chose, as it is said, to act the cause with Caecilian at the transmarine Churches in two ways, prepared for either: that if they could overcome him by whatever craft of false crime, they might most fully satisfy their desire; but if they could not, they should indeed endure in the same perversity, but yet as if they should have what they might say, that they had suffered bad judges; which is the voice of all bad litigants, when they have been overcome even by most manifest truth: as if it could not be said to them for this and most justly said, Behold let us think those bishops, who judged at Rome, not to have been good judges; there yet remained a plenary council of the universal Church, where the cause could be agitated even with the judges themselves, so that if they had been convicted of having judged badly, their sentences might be dissolved. Whether they did this, let them prove: for we easily prove it not to have been done, from that fact that the whole world does not communicate with them: or if it was done, even there they were conquered; which their very separation manifests.

20. But nevertheless what they did afterwards is most sufficiently shown by the letters of the Emperor. For they dared to accuse the ecclesiastical judges, bishops of so great authority, by whose judgment both the innocence of Caecilian and their own impropriety was declared, not before other colleagues, but before the Emperor, that they judged badly. He gave another judgment at Arles, of other bishops forsooth: not because it was now necessary, but yielding to their perversities, and in every way desiring to restrain such great impudence. For a Christian Emperor did not dare so to receive their tumultuous and deceitful complaints, that he himself should judge concerning the judgment of the bishops who had sat at Rome; but he gave other bishops, as I said: from whom nevertheless they chose rather to appeal again to the Emperor himself; in which matter in what manner he detests them, you have heard. And would that at least by his judgment they had put an end to their most insane animosities, and as he himself yielded to them, that he might judge concerning that cause after the bishops, being about to ask pardon afterwards from the holy prelates, provided that those should not have what they might further say, if they should not obey his sentence, to whom they themselves appealed, so also they at some time should yield to the truth. For he ordered that the parties should meet him at Rome to plead the cause. Whither when Caecilian for I know not what cause had not met, being interpelled by them, he commanded that they should follow to Milan. Then some of them began to subtract themselves, perhaps being indignant because Constantine did not imitate them, so that he should already immediately and swiftly condemn the absent Caecilian. Which when the provident Emperor knew, he made the rest, guarded by officials, arrive at Milan. Whither when Caecilian also had come, he exhibited him also, as he wrote, and the cause having been known, with what diligence, with what caution, with what provision, as his letters indicate, he judged Caecilian most innocent, those most improper.

CAPUT VIII.

21. Et adhuc baptizant extra ecclesiam, et si possint rebaptizant Ecclesiam; sacrificant in dissensione et schismate, et pacis nomine populos salutant, quos a pace salutis exterminant. Conscinditur unitas Christi, blasphematur haereditas Christi, exsufflatur Baptisma Christi; et nolunt in se ista per ordinarias humanas potestates flagellis temporalibus emendari, ne in aeternas poenas pro tantis sacrilegiis destinentur. Nos eis objicimus furorem schismatis, rebaptizationis insaniam, ab haereditate Christi quae per omnes gentes diffusa est, nefariam separationem. De codicibus non tantum nostris, sed etiam eorum, recitamus ecclesias quarum nomina hodie legunt, et quibus hodie non communicant: quae cum recitantur in conventiculis eorum, lectoribus suis dicunt, Pax tecum; et cum ipsis plebibus, quibus illae litterae scriptae sunt, pacem non habent. Et ipsi nobis objiciunt vel falsa crimina mortuorum, vel etiamsi vera, tamen aliena; non intelligentes in iis quae nos eis objicimus, omnes illos teneri; in iis vero quae nobis objiciunt, paleam vel zizania messis dominicae reprehendi, ad frumenta autem crimen non pertinere: neque considerantes quia quibus mali placent in unitate, ipsi communicant malis; quibus autem displicent, et eos emendare non possunt, neque ante tempus messis audent zizania eradicare, ne simul eradicent et triticum (Matth. XIII, 29), non factis eorum, sed altari Christi communicant: ita ut non solum non ab eis maculentur, sed etiam divinis verbis laudari praedicarique mereantur; quoniam ne nomen Christi per horribilia schismata blasphemetur, pro bono unitatis tolerant, quod pro bono aequitatis oderunt.

22. Si habent aures, audiant quid Spiritus dicat Ecclesiis. Sic enim in Apocalypsi Joannis legitur: Angelo, inquit, Ecclesiae Ephesi scribe, Haec dicit qui tenet septem stellas in dextera sua, qui ambulat in medio septem candelabrorum aureorum: Scio opera tua et laborem et patientiam tuam, et quia non potes sustinere malos, et tentasti eos qui se dicunt apostolos esse, et non sunt, et invenisti eos mendaces, et patientiam habes, et sustinuisti eos propter nomen meum, et non defecisti (Apoc. II, 1-3). Quod si de angelo superiorum coelorum, et non de praepositis Ecclesiae vellet intelligi, non consequenter diceret: Sed habeo adversum te, quod charitatem tuam primam reliquisti. Memor esto itaque unde excideris, et age poenitentiam, et prima opera fac: sin autem, venio tibi, et movebo candelabrum tuum de loco suo, nisi poenitentiam egeris (Ibid., 4, 5). Hoc superioribus Angelis dici non potest, qui perpetuam retinent charitatem, unde qui defecerunt et lapsi sunt, diabolus est et angeli ejus.

CHAPTER VIII.

21. And still they baptize outside the church, and if they could they rebaptize the Church; they sacrifice in dissension and schism, and in the name of peace they salute the peoples, whom they exterminate from the peace of salvation. The unity of Christ is cut asunder, the inheritance of Christ is blasphemed, the Baptism of Christ is exsufflated; and they nill that those things be emended in themselves by temporal scourges through ordinary human powers, lest they be destined into eternal penalties for such great sacrileges. We object to them the fury of schism, the madness of rebaptization, the nefarious separation from the inheritance of Christ which is diffused through all nations. From the books not only ours, but also theirs, we recite the churches whose names they read today, and with whom they do not communicate today: which when they are recited in their conventicles, they say to their readers, Peace be with you; and they have not peace with those very peoples, to whom those letters were written. And they object to us either the false crimes of the dead, or even if true, nevertheless alien; not understanding that in those things which we object to them, all those are held; but in those which they object to us, the chaff or the cockle of the Lord's harvest is reproved, but the crime does not pertain to the wheat: nor considering that those to whom the evil are pleasing in unity, themselves communicate with the evil; but those to whom they displease, and cannot emend them, nor before the time of the harvest dare to eradicate the cockle, lest they eradicate the wheat also (Matth. XIII, 29), communicate not with their deeds, but with the altar of Christ: so that not only they are not stained by them, but even deserve to be praised and preached by divine words; since lest the name of Christ be blasphemed through horrible schisms, for the good of unity they tolerate what for the good of equity they hate.

22. If they have ears, let them hear what the Spirit says to the Churches. For thus it is read in the Apocalypse of John: *To the angel*, he says, *of the Church of Ephesus write, These things says he who holds the seven stars in his right hand, who walks in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks: I know your works and your labor and your patience, and because you cannot bear the evil, and you have tried those who say they are apostles, and are not, and you have found them liars, and you have patience, and have sustained them for my name's sake, and have not failed* (Apoc. II, 1-3). Which if he willed to be understood concerning the angel of the superior heavens, and not concerning the prelates of the Church, he would not consequently say: *But I have against you, that you have left your first charity.* *Be mindful therefore whence you have fallen, and act repentance, and do the first works: but if not, I come to you, and I will move your candlestick out of its place, unless you shall have acted repentance* (Ibid., 4, 5). This cannot be said to the superior Angels, who retain perpetual charity, whence those who failed and lapsed are the devil and his angels.

Ergo primam charitatem dicit, quia sustinuit pseudoapostolos propter nomen Christi, quam jubet ut repetat, et faciat priora opera sua. Et objiciuntur nobis crimina malorum hominum, non nostra, sed aliena; et ipsa partim incognita: quae si etiam vera et praesentia videremus, et zizaniis propter frumenta parcentes, pro unitate toleraremus, non solum nulla reprehensione, sed etiam non parva laude nos dignos diceret, quicumque Scripturas sanctas non corde surdus audiret.

23. Tolerat Aaron multitudinem idolum exigentem et fabricantem et adorantem. Tolerat Moyses adversus Deum tot millia murmurantia, et toties offendentia sanctum nomen ejus. Tolerat David Saülem persecutorem suum, sceleratis moribus coelestia deserentem, magicis artibus inferna quaerentem; occisum vindicat, christum etiam Domini propter sacramentum venerandae unctionis appellat. Tolerat Samuel nefandos filios Heli, perversosque filios suos, quos populus quia tolerare noluit, divina veritate accusatus, divina severitate correptus est. Tolerat denique ipsum populum superbum contemptorem Dei. Tolerat Isaias in quos tam multa vera crimina jaculatur. Tolerat Jeremias a quibus tanta perpetitur. Tolerat Zacharias Pharisaeos et Scribas, quales illo tempore fuisse Scriptura testatur. Scio me multos praetermisisse: legant qui volunt, legant qui possunt eloquia coelestia, invenient omnes sanctos Dei servos et amicos semper habuisse quos in suo populo tolerarent; cum quibus tamen illius temporis sacramenta communicantes, non solum non inquinabantur, sed etiam laudabiliter sustinebant, studentes, sicut ait Apostolus, servare unitatem spiritus in vinculo pacis (Eph. IV, 3). Attendant etiam post Domini adventum, ubi multo plura hujus tolerantiae per totum orbem inveniremus exempla, si omnia scribi et in auctoritatem redigi potuissent, tamen haec ipsa quae habemus advertite. Tolerat ipse Dominus Judam, diabolum, furem et venditorem suum: sinit accipere inter innocentes discipulos, quod fideles noverunt pretium nostrum. Tolerant Apostoli pseudoapostolos; et inter sua quaerentes non quae Jesu Christi, Paulus non sua quaerens sed quae Jesu Christi, cum gloriosissima tolerantia conversatur. Postremo, quod paulo ante commemoravi, divina voce laudatur sub angeli nomine praepositus Ecclesiae, quod cum odisset malos, eos tamen tentatos et inventos pro nomine Domini toleravit.

Therefore he says first charity, because it sustained the pseudo-apostles for the name of Christ, which he commands that it repeat, and do its prior works. And the crimes of evil men are objected to us, not ours, but alien; and those partly unknown: which if we even saw true and present, and sparing the cockle on account of the wheat, we tolerated for unity, not only with no reprehension, but even with no small praise would anyone say us worthy, whoever should hear the holy Scriptures not deaf in heart.

23. Aaron tolerates the multitude demanding and fashioning and adoring an idol. Moses tolerates so many thousands murmuring against God, and so often offending His holy name. David tolerates Saul his persecutor, deserting celestial things with wicked morals, seeking infernal things with magic arts; he avenges him when slain, and even calls him the anointed (*christum*) of the Lord on account of the sacrament of venerable unction. Samuel tolerates the nefarious sons of Eli, and his own perverse sons, whom because the people willed not to tolerate, accused by divine truth, they were corrected by divine severity. Finally, he tolerates the proud people itself, the contemner of God. Isaiah tolerates those against whom he hurls so many true crimes. Jeremiah tolerates those from whom he suffers so much. Zechariah tolerates the Pharisees and Scribes, such as the Scripture testifies to have been at that time. I know that I have passed over many: let those who will read, let those who can read the celestial eloquences, they will find that all the holy servants and friends of God always had those whom they tolerated among their own people; with whom nevertheless communicating the sacraments of that time, not only were they not defiled, but they even laudably sustained them, *studying*, as the Apostle says, *to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace* (Eph. IV, 3). Let them attend also after the coming of the Lord, where we should find much more numerous examples of this tolerance throughout the whole world, if all could have been written and reduced into authority; nevertheless advert to these very things which we have. The Lord Himself tolerates Judas, a devil, a thief, and His seller: He permits him to receive among the innocent disciples what the faithful know as our price. The Apostles tolerate pseudo-apostles; and among those seeking their own things, not those which are of Jesus Christ, Paul, seeking not his own but the things of Jesus Christ, converses with most glorious tolerance. Lastly, what I commemorated a little before, the prelate of the Church is praised by the divine voice under the name of an angel, because although he hated the evil, he nevertheless tolerated them, tried and found, for the name of the Lord.

24. Ad summam seipsos interrogent: Nonne tolerantur ab eis caedes et incendia Circumcellionum, qui sunt veneratores praecipitatorum ultro cadaverum, et sub incredibilibus malis unius Optati per tot annos totius Africae gemitus? Parco jam dicere singularum per Africam regionum et civitatum et fundorum tyrannicas potestates, et publica latrocinia. Melius enim vobis haec vos ipsi dicitis, sive in aurem, sive palam, sicut libitum fuerit. Quocumque enim oculos verteritis, occurret quod dico, vel potius quod taceo. Neque hinc istos quos ibi diligitis, accusamus. Non enim nobis displicent, quia tolerant malos; sed quia intolerabiliter mali sunt propter schisma, propter altare contra altare, propter separationem ab haereditate Christi toto orbe diffusa, sicut tanto ante promissa est. Violatam pacem, conscissam unitatem, iterata baptismata, exsufflata Sacramenta, quae in sceleratis quoque hominibus sancta sunt, plangimus et lugemus. Quae si parvi pendunt, intueantur exempla quibus demonstratum est quanti haec penderit Deus. Qui fecerunt idolum, usitata gladii morte perempti sunt (Exod. XXXII, 27, 28): qui vero schisma facere voluerunt, hiatu terrae principes devorati, et turba consentiens igne consumpta est (Num. XVI, 31-35). Diversitate poenarum, diversitas agnoscitur meritorum.

CAPUT IX.

25. Traduntur in persecutione sancti Codices, confitentur traditores, et Deo dimittuntur. Non interrogantur innocentes, et ab hominibus temerariis damnantur. Probatur integer certis judiciis, qui inter absentes damnatos multo vehementius caeteris criminatus est. Judicium episcoporum ad Imperatorem appellatur: judex eligitur Imperator; judicans contemnitur Imperator. Quae tunc acta sint legistis, quae nunc agantur videtis: si de illis in aliquo dubitatis, ista jam cernite. Certe non chartis veteribus, non archivis publicis, non Gestis forensibus aut ecclesiasticis agamus. Major liber noster orbis terrarum est; in eo lego completum quod in Libro Dei lego promissum: Dominus, inquit, dixit ad me, Filius meus es tu, ego hodie genui te: postula a me, et dabo tibi gentes haereditatem tuam, et possessionem tuam terminos terrae (Psal. II, 7, 8). Huic haereditati qui non communicat, quoslibet libros teneat, exhaeredatum se esse cognoscat. Hanc haereditatem quisquis expugnat, alienum se esse a familia Dei satis indicat. Certe de traditione divinorum Librorum vertitur quaestio, ubi haereditas ista promissa est.

24. In sum, let them interrogate themselves: Are not the slaughters and burnings of the Circumcellions tolerated by them, who are worshippers of corpses precipitated of their own accord, and the groans of all Africa for so many years under the incredible evils of one Optatus? I spare now to speak of the tyrannical powers and public robberies of individual regions and cities and estates through Africa. For you yourselves say these things better to yourselves, whether in the ear, or openly, as it shall have been pleasing. For wherever you shall have turned your eyes, what I say, or rather what I keep silent, will occur. Nor do we here accuse those whom you love there. For they do not displease us because they tolerate the evil; but because they are intolerably evil on account of the schism, on account of the altar against altar, on account of the separation from the inheritance of Christ diffused through the whole world, as it was promised so long before. We bewail and mourn the violated peace, the cut unity, the repeated baptisms, the exsufflated Sacraments, which are holy also in wicked men. Which if they weigh as small, let them look at the examples by which it is demonstrated how much God weighed these. Those who made the idol were destroyed by the accustomed death of the sword (Exod. XXXII, 27, 28): but those who willed to make a schism, the leaders were devoured by the opening of the earth, and the consenting crowd was consumed by fire (Num. XVI, 31-35). By the diversity of punishments, the diversity of merits is recognized.

CHAPTER IX.

25. The holy Books (*Codices*) are delivered in persecution, the deliverers confess, and are dismissed to God. The innocent are not interrogated, and are condemned by rash men. He is proved whole by certain judgments, who among the absent condemned was much more vehemently accused than the rest. The judgment of the bishops is appealed to the Emperor; the Emperor is chosen as judge; the Emperor judging is contemned. You have read what things were then done, you see what things are now being done: if you doubt concerning those in anything, discern these already. Certainly let us not act by old papers, nor by public archives, nor by forensic or ecclesiastical Acts (*Gestis*). Our larger book is the whole world (*orbis terrarum*); in it I read completed what I read promised in the Book of God: *The Lord*, he says, *said to me, You are my Son, today I have begotten you: ask of me, and I will give you the nations as your inheritance, and the corners of the earth as your possession* (Psal. II, 7, 8). He who does not communicate with this inheritance, whatever books he may hold, let him know himself to be disinherited. Whoever expels this inheritance, sufficiently indicates himself to be alien from the family of God. Certainly the question turns concerning the tradition of the divine Books, where this promised inheritance is.

Ille ergo credatur testamentum tradidisse flammis, qui contra voluntatem litigat testatoris. Quid tibi fecit, o pars Donati, quid tibi fecit Ecclesia Corinthiorum? Quod autem de ista dico, de omnibus talibus et tam longe positis intelligi volo. Quid vobis fecerunt, quae nec omnino quid feceritis, nec quos infamaveritis nosse potuerunt? an quia Lucillam Caecilianus in Africa laesit, lucem Christi orbis amisit?

26. Tandem sentiant quod fecerunt: merito certo annorum intervallo in oculos eorum revolutum est opus ipsorum. Quaerite per quam feminam Maximianus, qui dicitur esse Donati propinquus, sese a Primiani communione praeciderit, et quemadmodum congregata episcoporum factione, Primianum damnarit absentem, et adversus eum episcopus ordinatus sit; quemadmodum Majorinus per Lucillam congregata episcoporum factione Caecilianum damnavit absentem, et contra eum episcopus ordinatus est. An forte quod a caeteris Afris suae communionis episcopis contra factionem Maximiani Primianus purgatus est, valere vultis; et quod a transmarinis unitatis episcopis adversus factionem Majorini Caecilianus purgatus est, valere non vultis? Rogo, fratres mei, quid magnum peto? quid difficile a vobis intelligi cupio? Multum quidem interest, et incomparabiliter distat vel auctoritate vel numero Africana Ecclesia, si cum caeteris orbis partibus conferatur: et longe minor est, etiamsi unitas hic esset, longe omnino minor est comparata caeteris christianis omnibus gentibus, quam pars Maximiani comparata parti Primiani; peto tamen, et justum esse arbitror, ut tantum valeat concilium Secundi Tigisitani, quod Lucilla conflavit adversus absentem Caecilianum et apostolicam sedem, totumque orbem Caeciliano communicantem, quantum valet concilium Maximianensium, quod similiter femina nescio quae conflavit adversus absentem Primianum, et caeteram per Africam multitudinem Primiano communicantem. Quid apertius cernitur? quid aequius postulatur?

27. Videtis haec omnia, et nostis, et gemitis; et tamen videt et Deus quod vos in tam pestifera et sacrilega praecisione nulla res cogit remanere, si pro adipiscendo spirituali regno carnalem superetis affectum, et amicitias hominum quae in judicio Dei nihil proderunt, pro devitandis sempiternis poenis non timeatis offendere. Ecce ite, consulite; quid contra haec nostra possint respondere cognoscite: si proferunt chartas, proferimus chartas; si falsas nostras esse dicunt, hoc nos de suis dicere non indignentur. Nemo delet de coelo constitutionem Dei, nemo delet de terra Ecclesiam Dei: ille totum orbem promisit, ista totum orbem replevit; et malos habet et bonos, sed nec in terris amittit nisi malos, nec in coelum admittit nisi bonos. Erit autem vobis hic sermo, quem de munere Dei novit ipse, quanta et pacis et vestra dilectione deprompsimus, correctio si velitis, testis vero etsi nolitis.

Let him therefore be believed to have delivered the testament to the flames, who litigates against the will of the testator. What did the Church of the Corinthians do to you, O party of Donatus? But what I say concerning that one, I willed to be understood concerning all such and so far placed. What did they do to you, who could neither altogether know what you did, nor whom you defamed? Or because Caecilian injured Lucilla in Africa, did the world lose the light of Christ?

26. At last let them feel what they have done: deservedly in a certain interval of years their own work has been revolved before their eyes. Seek through what woman Maximianus, who is said to be a relative of Donatus, cut himself off from the communion of Primianus, and in what manner, a faction of bishops being gathered, he condemned Primianus absent, and was ordained bishop against him; in what manner Majorinus, through Lucilla, a faction of bishops being gathered, condemned Caecilian absent, and was ordained bishop against him. Or perhaps do you will that what Primianus was purged of by the rest of the African bishops of his communion against the faction of Maximianus should be valid; and what Caecilian was purged of by the transmarine bishops of unity against the faction of Majorinus you do not will to be valid? I ask, my brothers, what great thing do I seek? What difficult thing do I desire to be understood by you? Much indeed it interests, and incomparably the African Church distances either in authority or in number, if it be conferred with the rest of the parts of the world: and it is far smaller, even if unity were here, it is far altogether smaller compared to all other Christian nations, than the party of Maximianus compared to the party of Primianus; yet I ask, and I judge it to be just, that the council of Secundus of Tigisitum, which Lucilla inflated against the absent Caecilian and the apostolic see, and the whole world communicating with Caecilian, should be worth as much as the council of the Maximianists, which similarly I know not what woman inflated against the absent Primianus, and the rest of the multitude through Africa communicating with Primianus. What is discerned more clearly? What is asked more equitably?

27. You see all these things, and you know them, and you groan; and yet God also sees that no thing forces you to remain in so pestiferous and sacrilegious a precision, if for the sake of obtaining the spiritual kingdom you overcome carnal affection, and fear not to offend the friendships of men which will profit nothing in the judgment of God, for the sake of avoiding everlasting punishments. Behold go, consult; know what they can respond against these our things: if they proffer papers, we proffer papers; if they say ours are false, let them not be indignant that we say this of theirs. No one deletes from heaven the constitution of God, no one deletes from earth the Church of God: He promised the whole world, she filled the whole world; and she has both evil and good, but neither on earth does she lose except the evil, nor into heaven does she admit except the good. Moreover this speech will be to you, which He Himself knows from the gift of God, with how much love both of peace and of you we have brought forth, a correction if you will, but a witness even if you nill.

EPISTOLA XLIV. Augustinus refert quae coepta sint agi de concordia cum Fortunio Donatistarum episcopo, cupiens ut sine tumultu, quod placide coeptum est, perficiatur conventu frequentiore.

Dominis dilectissimis et praedicabilibus fratribus ELEUSIO, GLORIO et FELICIBUS, AUGUSTINUS.

CAPUT PRIMUM.

1. Fortunium quem Tubursicum habetis episcopum, per eamdem civitatem, quanquam festinantissime, cum ad Cirtensem Ecclesiam pergeremus, experti sumus ita omnino ut de illo soletis benignissime polliceri. Eam ipsam quippe vestram de illo nobis sermocinationem cum ei renuntiaremus, volentes eum videre, non abnuit. Venimus itaque ad eum; quia aetati ejus id a nobis deferendum videbatur, potius quam exigendum ut ipse ad nos veniret prior. Perreximus ergo comitantibus non paucis, quos forte aggregatos nobis illud tempus invenerat. Cum autem apud eum consedissemus, rumore disperso non parva praeterea turba confluxit; sed nobis in tota illa multitudine perpauci apparebant, qui utiliter ac salubriter agi causam illam, et tantam reique tantae quaestionem prudenter et pie discuti cuperent. Caeteri vero magis ad spectaculum quasi altercationis nostrae prope theatrica consuetudine, quam ad instructionem salutis christiana devotione convenerant. Quapropter nec silentium nobis praebere, nec intente nobiscum atque modeste saltem et ordinate colloqui potuerunt, exceptis, ut dixi, paucis, quorum religiosa et simplex apparebat intentio. Itaque libere pro sui cujusque animi motu immoderate loquentium omnia strepitu turbabantur, nec evincere sive nos, sive ipse rogando, interdum etiam objurgando potuimus, ut nobis modestum silentium praeberetur.

2. Res tamen utcumque agi coepta est, et aliquot horas in alterno sermone protraximus, quantum vocibus interquiescentibus varie tumultuantium sinebamur. Sed in ipso disputationis exordio, cum videremus ea quae dicebantur, subinde labi de memoria vel nostra, vel eorum quorum salutem maxime curabamus; et ut esset nobis cautior modestiorque tractatio, simul ut et vos atque alii fratres qui absentes erant, quid inter nos actum esset, legendo cognosceretis, postulavimus ut a notariis verba nostra exciperentur. Diu ab illo vel ei consentientibus reluctatum est; postea tamen ipse concessit.

LETTER XLIV. Augustine reports what things have begun to be acted concerning concord with Fortunius the bishop of the Donatists, desiring that what was placidly begun be perfected without tumult by a more frequent assembly.

To the most beloved lords and commendable brothers ELEUSIUS, GLORIUS, and the FELICES, AUGUSTINE.

CHAPTER FIRST.

1. We found Fortunius, whom you have as bishop at Tubursicum, through that same city, although very hastily, when we were proceeding to the Church of Cirta, altogether as you are accustomed to promise most benignly concerning him. Indeed, when we reported to him that very discourse of yours concerning him to us, wishing to see him, he did not refuse. And so we came to him; because it seemed that this should be deferred by us to his age, rather than exacting that he should come to us first. We proceeded, therefore, with not a few accompanying us, whom that time had by chance gathered to us. But when we had sat down with him, the rumor having been dispersed, no small crowd besides flowed together; but in all that multitude very few appeared to us who desired that cause to be acted usefully and healthfully, and so great a question of so great a matter to be discussed prudently and piously. But the rest had convened rather for the spectacle, as it were, of our altercation by almost theatrical custom, than for the instruction of salvation by Christian devotion. Wherefore they could neither afford us silence, nor converse with us intently and modestly at least and in an orderly manner, except, as I said, the few whose religious and simple intention appeared. And so everything was disturbed by the noise of those speaking immoderately according to each one's own movement of mind, nor could we, or he himself by asking, sometimes even by rebuking, prevail so that modest silence might be afforded to us.

2. Nevertheless the matter began to be acted somehow, and we protracted several hours in alternate discourse, as much as we were permitted by the intermitting voices of those variously rioting. But in the very beginning of the disputation, when we saw those things which were said subindly to slip from the memory either of ourselves or of those whose salvation we most cared for; and so that there might be to us a more cautious and modest treatment, as well as so that you and other brothers who were absent might know by reading what had been acted between us, we demanded that our words be taken down by notaries. For a long time it was resisted by him or those consenting with him; afterwards, however, he himself conceded.

Sed notarii qui aderant, atque id strenue facere poterant, nescio qua causa excipere noluerunt. Egimus saltem ut fratres qui nobiscum erant, quanquam in hac re tardius possent, exciperent, pollicentes nos ibi easdem tabulas relicturos. Consensum est. Coeperunt verba nostra excipi, et aliqua ab invicem ad tabulas dicta sunt. Postea inordinatas perstrepentium interpellationes, et propterea nostram quoque turbulentiorem disputationem notarii non valentes sustinere, cesserunt; nobis sane non desistentibus, et ut cuique facultas dabatur, multa dicentibus. Ex quibus omnibus verbis nostris, quantum recordari potui, causae totius actionem, Dilectionem vestram fraudare nolui. Potestis enim ei litteras meas legere, ut vel approbet vera me scripsisse; vel ipse vobis, si quid melius recolit, incunctanter insinuet.

CAPUT II.

3. Primo enim vitam nostram, quam vobis benevolentius fortasse quam verius narrantibus, se comperisse dicebat, praedicare dignatus est: adjungens se dixisse vobis, nos omnia, quae de nobis insinuaveratis, bene facere potuisse, si in Ecclesia faceremus. Deinde quaerere coepimus quaenam illa esset Ecclesia, ubi vivere sic oporteret; utrum illa quae, sicut sancta tanto ante Scriptura praedixerat, se terrarum orbe diffunderet, an illa quam pars exigua vel Afrorum vel Africae contineret. Hic primo asserere conatus est, ubique terrarum esse communionem suam. Quaerebam utrum epistolas communicatorias, quos formatas dicimus, posset quo vellem dare, et affirmabam, quod manifestum erat omnibus, hoc modo facillime illam terminari posse quaestionem. Parabam autem, ut si consentiret, ad illas ecclesias a nobis tales litterae mitterentur, quas in apostolicis auctoritatibus pariter legeremus illo jam tempore fuisse fundatas.

4. Sed quia res aperte falsa erat, permixtis verbis cito inde discessum est; inter quae verba evangelicam illam Domini admonitionem commemoravit, qua dixit: Cavete a pseudoprophetis; multi ad vos venient in vestitu ovium, intus autem sunt lupi rapaces: ex fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos (Matth. VII, 15, 16). Quae verba Domini cum diceremus eadem de illis a nobis posse recitari, ventum inde est ad exaggerationem persecutionis, quam saepe suam partem pertulisse dicebat; hinc volens ostendere suos esse christianos, quia persecutionem paterentur. Inter quae verba cum ego pararem ex Evangelio respondere, inde capitulum commemoravit prior, ubi Dominus ait: Beati qui persecutionem patiuntur propter justitiam, quoniam ipsorum est regnum coelorum (Id. V, 10). Quo loco ego gratulatus, subjeci statim id ergo esse quaerendum, utrum illi persecutionem propter justitiam passi fuerint.

But the notaries who were present, and could do that strenuously, I know not for what cause willed not to take them down. We acted at least so that the brothers who were with us, although they might be slower in this matter, should take them down, promising that we would leave the same tablets there. It was consented. Our words began to be taken down, and some things were spoken to the tablets from each other. Afterwards the notaries, not being able to sustain the inordinate interpellations of those making a noise, and for that reason our also more turbulent disputation, yielded; we indeed not desisting, and saying many things as the faculty was given to each. From all which words of ours, as much as I could record, I willed not to defraud your Love of the action of the whole cause. For you can read my letters to him, so that either he may approve that I have written true things; or he himself may unhesitatingly insinuate to you if he recollects anything better.

CHAPTER II.

3. For first he deigned to praise our life, which he said he had discovered from you telling it perhaps more benevolently than truly: adding that he had said to you, that we could have done all things well, which you had insinuated concerning us, if we did them in the Church. Then we began to seek what that Church might be, where it should be necessary so to live; whether that which, as the holy Scripture had predicted so long before, should diffuse itself through the whole world, or that which a small part either of Africans or of Africa should contain. Here at first he attempted to assert, that his communion was everywhere in the lands. I sought whether he could give the communicatory letters, which we call *formatas*, whither I willed, and I affirmed, what was manifest to all, that in this manner that question could most easily be terminated. But I was preparing, so that if he consented, such letters should be sent by us to those churches, which we equally read in the apostolic authorities were already founded at that time.

4. But because the thing was openly false, with mixed words it was quickly departed thence; among which words he commemorated that evangelical admonition of the Lord, by which He said: *Beware of false prophets; many will come to you in the clothing of sheep, but inside they are ravenous wolves: from their fruits you shall know them* (Matth. VII, 15, 16). Which words of the Lord when we said the same could be recited by us concerning them, it came thence to the exaggeration of the persecution, which he said his part had often endured; wishing hence to show that his people were the Christians, because they suffered persecution. Among which words when I was preparing to respond from the Gospel, he commemorated the chapter first, where the Lord says: *Blessed are they who suffer persecution for justice's sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven* (Id. V, 10). In which place I, having congratulated, immediately added that this therefore was to be sought, whether those had suffered persecution for justice's sake.

In qua quaestione discuti cupiebam, quod quidem omnibus clarum erat, utrum eos in unitate Ecclesiae constitutos, an schismate jam divisos Macariana tempora invenerint; ut qui videre vellent utrum propter justitiam persecutionem passi fuerint, id potius attenderent, utrum se recte a totius orbis unitate praeciderint. Quod si injuste fecisse invenirentur, manifestum esset eos propter injustitiam potius quam propter justitiam passos persecutionem; et ideo numero beatorum adjungi non posse, de quibus dictum est: Beati qui persecutionem patiuntur propter justitiam. Ibi commemorata est famosior quam certior Codicum illa traditio. Sed respondebatur a partibus nostris, principes illorum potius fuisse traditores: quod si de hac re nostrorum litteris nollent credere, nec nos cogi oportere ut litteris credamus ipsorum.

CAPUT III.

5. Sed tamen sequestrata ista dubia quaestione, quaerebam quomodo se isti juste separassent ab innocentia caeterorum Christianorum, qui per orbem terrarum successionis ordinem custodientes, in antiquissimis Ecclesiis constituti, penitus ignorarent qui fuerint in Africa traditores; qui certe non possent communicare, nisi eis quos sedere in sedibus episcopalibus audiebant. Respondit, tamdiu transmarinarum partium Ecclesias mansisse innocentes, donec consensissent in eorum sanguinem, quos Macarianam persecutionem pertulisse dicebat. Ubi ego possem quidem dicere, nec invidia Macariani temporis innocentiam transmarinarum Ecclesiarum contaminari potuisse; quandoquidem nullo modo probaretur illis auctoribus fecisse etiam quae fecerat. Sed de compendio quaerere malui, si Macarii saevitia, ex quo in eam consensisse dicebantur transmarinae Ecclesiae, suam innocentiam perdiderunt, utrum saltem probaretur usque ad illa tempora Donatistas cum orientalibus Ecclesiis caeterisque orbis partibus in unitate mansisse.

6. Tunc protulit quoddam volumen, ubi volebat ostendere Sardicense concilium ad episcopos Afros, qui erant communionis Donati, dedisse litteras. Quod cum legeretur, audivimus Donati nomen inter caeteros episcopos, quibus illi scripserant. Itaque flagitare coepimus ut diceretur, utrum ipse esset Donatus de cujus parte isti cognominantur: fieri enim potuisse, ut alicui Donato alterius haeresis episcopo scripserint, cum maxime in illis nominibus nec Africae mentio facta fuerit.

In which question I desired it to be discussed, which indeed was clear to all, whether the Macarian times found them constituted in the unity of the Church, or already divided by schism; so that those who willed to see whether they suffered persecution for justice's sake, should rather attend to this, whether they rightly cut themselves off from the unity of the whole world. Which if they were found to have done unjustly, it would be manifest that they suffered persecution rather for injustice than for justice; and therefore could not be added to the number of the blessed, concerning whom it was said: *Blessed are they who suffer persecution for justice's sake.* There that tradition of the Books, more famous than certain, was commemorated. But it was responded by our parts, that their leaders were rather the traditors: which if they willed not to believe our letters concerning this matter, neither ought we to be forced to believe their letters.

CHAPTER III.

5. But nevertheless, having sequestered that doubtful question, I sought how those had justly separated themselves from the innocence of the rest of the Christians, who, keeping the order of succession throughout the world, constituted in the most ancient Churches, were utterly ignorant of who were the traditors in Africa; who certainly could not communicate, except with those whom they heard to sit in the episcopal seats. He responded, that the Churches of the transmarine parts remained innocent for so long, until they had consented into the blood of those whom he said had endured the Macarian persecution. Where I could indeed say, that neither by the envy of the Macarian time could the innocence of the transmarine Churches be contaminated; since in no way was it proved that they had done even what he had done with those authors. But I preferred to seek from a compendium, if by the cruelty of Macarius, from which the transmarine Churches were said to have consented into it, they lost their innocence, whether at least it was proved that up to those times the Donatists remained in unity with the Oriental Churches and the rest of the parts of the world.

Then he brought forth a certain volume, where he willed to show that the Council of Sardica had given letters to the African bishops who were of the communion of Donatus. Which when it was read, we heard the name of Donatus among the rest of the bishops to whom those had written. And so we began to flagitate that it be said, whether he himself was the Donatus from whose part those are named: for it could have happened, that they wrote to some Donatus, a bishop of another heresy, especially since in those names no mention of Africa was made.

Quomodo ergo posset probare Donatum partis Donati episcopum nomine illo accipiendum esse, quando ne id quidem probare posset, utrum ad Africanarum specialiter Ecclesiarum episcopos illae litterae missae fuerint. Quanquam enim Donati nomen Afrum esse soleat, non tamen repugnaret a vero, ut vel partium illarum aliquis vocaretur nomine Afro, vel aliquis Afer in illis partibus constitueretur episcopus. Neque enim in eis vel diem vel consulem invenimus, ut saltem consideratis temporibus certi aliquid eluceret. Sane quoniam nescio quando audieramus Arianos, cum a communione catholica discrepassent, Donatistas in Africa sibi sociare tentasse: ad aurem mihi hoc ipsum frater Alypius suggessit. Tunc accepto ipso volumine, ejusdem concilii statuta considerans, legi Athanasium episcopum Alexandrinum catholicum, cujus maxime adversus Arianos acerrimarum disputationum conflictus eminuit, et Julium Ecclesiae Romanae episcopum, nihilominus catholicum, illo concilio Sardicensi fuisse improbatos. Unde apud nos constitit Arianorum fuisse concilium, quibus isti episcopi catholici vehementissime resistebant. Itaque ad diligentiorem etiam temporum discussionem voluimus ipsum volumen accipere atque auferre nobiscum. Qui noluit dare, dicens, ibi nos habere illud, quando aliquid in eo considerare vellemus. Rogavi etiam ut manu mea notari permitteret, fateor, timens ne mihi forte causa exigente, cum petendum esset, pro illo aliud proferretur; neque hoc voluit.

CAPUT IV.

7. Deinde mihi coepit instare, ut ad interrogationem suam breviter responderem, quaerens a me quem justum putarem, eum qui persequeretur, an eum qui persecutionem pateretur. Cui respondebam, non recte ita interrogari: fieri enim posse ut ambo iniqui sint, fieri etiam posse ut iniquiorem justior persequatur. Non ergo esse consequens, ut ideo sit quisque justior, quia persecutionem patitur, quamvis id plerumque contingat. Deinde cum viderem in hoc eum multum immorari, ut justitiam suae partis ex eo certam vellet intelligi, quia persecutionem passa fuerit; quaesivi ab eo, utrum justum et christianum putaret episcopum Mediolanensis Ecclesiae Ambrosium. Cogebatur utique negare quod ille vir christianus esset et justus; quia si fateretur, statim objiceremus quod eum rebaptizandum esse censeret. Cum ergo ea loqui cogeretur, quibus ille non esset habendus christianus et justus, commemoravi quantam persecutionem pertulerit, circumdata etiam militibus armatis ecclesia.

How therefore could he prove that Donatus a bishop of the party of Donatus was to be taken by that name, when he could not even prove that, whether those letters were sent specially to the bishops of the African Churches. For although the name of Donatus is accustomed to be African, nevertheless it would not be repugnant from the truth, that either someone of those parts was called by an African name, or some African was constituted a bishop in those parts. For neither in them did we find either a day or a consul, so that at least the times having been considered something certain might shine forth. Surely since I know not when we had heard that the Arians, when they had disagreed from the catholic communion, had attempted to associate the Donatists in Africa to themselves: brother Alypius suggested this very thing to my ear. Then the volume itself having been accepted, considering the statutes of the same council, I read that Athanasius the catholic bishop of Alexandria, whose conflict of most sharp disputations especially against the Arians was eminent, and Julius the bishop of the Roman Church, no less catholic, were disapproved by that Council of Sardica. Whence it stood among us that it had been a council of Arians, whom those catholic bishops most vehemently resisted. And so for a more diligent discussion even of the times we willed to accept the volume itself and take it away with us. Who willed not to give it, saying, that we had it there, when we willed to consider anything in it. I asked also that it be permitted to be noted by my hand, I confess, fearing lest by chance the cause exacting, when it was to be asked, another for that one should be brought forth for me; nor did he will this.

CHAPTER IV.

7. Then he began to press me, so that I should respond briefly to his interrogation, seeking from me whom I should judge just, him who persecuted, or him who suffered persecution. To whom I responded, that it was not rightly thus interrogated: for it could happen that both are unjust, it could even happen that the more just persecutes the more unjust. Therefore it is not consequent, that anyone is more just because he suffers persecution, although that for the most part happens. Then when I saw him to stay much in this, so that he willed the justice of his part to be understood as certain from this, because it had suffered persecution; I sought from him, whether he judged the bishop of the Milanese Church, Ambrose, just and Christian. He was forced at any rate to deny that that man was Christian and just; because if he confessed it, we would immediately object that he thought he ought to be rebaptized. When therefore he was forced to speak those things, by which he should not be held Christian and just, I commemorated how great a persecution he endured, the church even being surrounded by armed soldiers.

Quaesivi etiam utrum Maximianum, qui ab eis apud Carthaginem schisma fecerat, et justum et christianum putaret. Non poterat nisi negare. Commemoravi ergo etiam illum talem persecutionem pertulisse, ut ecclesia ejus usque ad fundamenta diueretur. His igitur exemplis ei, si possem, persuadere moliebar ut jam desineret dicere persecutionis perpessionem, christianae justitiae certissimum esse documentum.

8. Narravit etiam in ipsa schismatis novitate majores suos, cum cogitarent culpam Caeciliani, ne schisma fieret, quoquo modo velle sopire, dedisse quemdam interventorem populo suae communionis apud Carthaginem constituto, antequam Majorinus adversus Caecilianum ordinaretur. Hunc ergo interventorem in suo conventiculo a nostris dicebat occisum. Quod fateor, nunquam antea prorsus audieram, cum tam multa ab eis objecta crimina refellerentur et redarguerentur a nostris, atque in eos plura et majora jacerentur. Sed tamen posteaquam hoc narravit, rursus a me instanter coepit quaerere quem justum putarem, eumne qui occidit, an eum qui occisus esset; quasi jam mihi probavisset, ita ut narraverat, esse commissum. Dicebam ergo, prius utrum verum esset esse quaerendum; non enim temere credi oportere quaecumque dicuntur: et tamen fieri potuisse, ut vel ambo aeque mali essent, vel etiam pejorem quisquam malus occideret. Revera enim fieri potest, ut sceleratior sit rebaptizator totius hominis, quam solius corporis interemptor.

9. Unde etiam illud quod a me postea quaesivit, jam quaerendum non erat. Ait enim etiam malum non debuisse occidi a christianis et justis; quasi nos eos qui haec in Catholica faciunt, justos vocemus: quae tamen nobis ab istis dici facilius quam probari solent, cum tam multas violentissimas caedes et strages plerique ipsorum et episcopi et presbyteri et quilibet clerici congregatis turbis hominum furiosissimorum, non catholicis tantum, sed nonnunquam etiam suis, ubi possunt, inferre non cessent. Quae cum ita sint, dissimulans tamen ab sceleratissimis factis suorum, quae ipse plus novit, urgebat ut dicerem, quis justorum vel malum aliquem occiderit. Quod etiamsi ad causam jam non pertinebat; fatebamur enim haec ubicumque sub nomine christiano fierent, non fieri a bonis; sed tamen ut admoneretur quid esset quaerendum respondimus, quaerentes utrum Elias justus ei videretur fuisse: quod negare non potuit. Deinde subjecimus quam multos pseudoprophetas sua manu peremerit (III Reg. XVIII, 40). Hic revera vidit quod videndum erat, talia tum licuisse justis.

I sought also whether he judged Maximianus, who had made a schism from them at Carthage, both just and Christian. He could not but deny it. I commemorated therefore also that he had endured such a persecution, that his church was demolished even to the foundations. By these examples therefore I attempted to persuade him, if I could, that he should already desist from saying that the suffering of persecution is a most certain document of Christian justice.

8. He narrated also that in the very novelty of the schism his ancestors, when they thought of the fault of Caecilian, lest a schism should happen, willed by whatever way to lull it, gave a certain mediator (*interventorem*) to the people of their communion constituted at Carthage, before Majorinus was ordained against Caecilian. This mediator therefore he said was killed in his conventicle by our people. Which I confess, I had never before heard at all, although so many crimes objected by them were refuted and redargued by our people, and more and greater were thrown against them. But nevertheless after he narrated this, again he began to seek pressingly from me whom I should judge just, him who killed, or him who had been killed; as if he had already proved to me, as he had narrated, that it was committed. I said therefore, first it was to be sought whether it were true; for those things which are said ought not to be rashly believed: and yet it could have happened, that either both were equally evil, or even some evil man killed one more evil. For in truth it can happen, that the rebaptizer of the whole man is more wicked, than the slayer of the body alone.

9. Whence also that which he afterwards sought from me, was already not to be sought. For he said also that an evil man ought not to have been killed by Christians and the just; as if we should call those who do these things in the Catholic Church, just: which things however are accustomed to be said by those to us more easily than proved, when so many most violent slaughters and massacres many of them, both bishops and presbyters and whatever clerics, with gathered crowds of most furious men, cease not to bring in, not only to catholics, but sometimes even to their own, where they can. Since these things are so, nevertheless dissimulating from the most wicked deeds of his people, which he himself knows more, he urged so that I should say, who of the just killed even any evil man. Which although it did not already pertain to the cause; for we confessed that these things wherever they were done under the Christian name, were not done by the good; but nevertheless so that he might be admonished what should be sought we responded, seeking whether Elias seemed to him to have been just: which he could not deny. Then we added how many pseudoprophets he slew with his own hand (III Reg. XVIII, 40). Here in truth he saw what was to be seen, that such things then were permitted to the just.

Haec enim prophetico spiritu auctoritate Dei faciebant, qui proculdubio Novit cui etiam prosit occidi. Exigebat ergo ut docerem jam novi Testamenti temporibus, quis justorum aliquem occiderit, etiam sceleratum et impium.

CAPUT V.

10. Tunc reditum est ad superiorem tractatum, quo volebamus ostendere neque nos illis debere objicere suorum scelera, neque illos nobis si qua invenirentur talia facta nostrorum. De Novo enim Testamento ostendi quidem non posse, quod justus quisquam interfecerit aliquem; sed tamen illud probari posse ipso exemplo Domini, sceleratos ab innocentibus fuisse toleratos. Traditorem enim suum, qui jam pretium ejus acceperat, usque ad ultimum pacis osculum inter innocentes secum esse perpessus est: quibus non tacuit esse inter illos tanti sceleris hominem; et tamen primum Sacramentum corporis et sanguinis sui, nondum illo excluso, communiter omnibus dedit (Matth. XVI, 20-28). Quo exemplo cum prope omnes moverentur, tentavit dicere, ante passionem Domini communionem illam cum scelerato non obfuisse Apostolis, quia nondum habebant baptismum Christi, sed baptismum Joannis. Quod posteaquam dixit, coepi ab eo quaerere quemadmodum ergo scriptum esset quod Jesus baptizaverit plures quam Joannes, cum ipse non baptizaret, sed discipuli ejus, hoc est per suos discipulos baptizaret (Joan. IV, 1, 2). Quomodo ergo dabant quod non acceperant? quod ipsi maxime solent dicere. An forte Christus baptismo Joannis baptizabat? Deinde in hac sententia multa quaesiturus eram, quomodo ab ipso Joanne tunc quaesitum sit de baptismo Domini, et responderit quod ille haberet sponsam, et ille esset sponsus (Id. III, 29). Numquid ergo fas erat ut baptismo Joannis baptizaret sponsus, id est baptismo amici vel servi? Deinde quomodo poterant Eucharistiam accipere nondum baptizati? aut quomodo Petro volenti ut totum se lavaret, responderit: Qui lotus est semel, non eum oportet iterum lavari, sed est mundus totus? (Id. XIII, 10.) Perfecta enim mundatio non in Joannis, sed in Domini baptismo est, si eo se dignum qui accipit praebeat; si autem indignum, Sacramenta in eo non ad salutem, sed ad perniciem, permanebunt tamen. Cum ergo ista quaesiturus essem, etiam ipse vidit de baptismo discipulorum Domini non sibi fuisse quaerendum.

For they do these things by a prophetic spirit with the authority of God, who without doubt knows for whom it is even profitable to be killed. He demanded therefore that I should teach already in the times of the New Testament, who of the just killed anyone, even a wicked and impious man.

CHAPTER V.

10. Then it was returned to the superior treatise, by which we willed to show that neither ought we to object the crimes of their people to them, nor they to us if any such deeds of our people should be found. For from the New Testament it can indeed not be shown, that any just man killed anyone; but nevertheless that can be proved by the very example of the Lord, that the wicked were tolerated by the innocent. For He sustained His own traditor, who had already received His price, with Him among the innocent even to the last kiss of peace: to whom He was not silent that there was a man of so great a crime among them; and nevertheless He gave the first Sacrament of His body and blood commonly to all, he being not yet excluded (Matth. XVI, 20-28). By which example when almost all were moved, he attempted to say, that before the passion of the Lord that communion with the wicked man did not hinder the Apostles, because they did not yet have the baptism of Christ, but the baptism of John. Which after he said, I began to seek from him in what manner therefore it was written that Jesus baptized more than John, although He Himself did not baptize, but His disciples, that is, He baptized through His disciples (Joan. IV, 1, 2). How therefore were they giving what they had not received? which they themselves are most accustomed to say. Or perhaps did Christ baptize with the baptism of John? Then in this sentence I was going to seek many things, in what manner it was then sought from John himself concerning the baptism of the Lord, and he responded that he had the bride, and he was the bridegroom (Id. III, 29). Was it therefore lawful that the bridegroom should baptize with the baptism of John, that is, with the baptism of a friend or servant? Then how could they receive the Eucharist not yet baptized? or in what manner to Peter, wishing that he should wash himself whole, did He respond: *He who has been washed once, it is not necessary for him to be washed again, but he is clean whole?* (Id. XIII, 10.) For perfect cleansing is not in the baptism of John, but in the baptism of the Lord, if he who receives it shows himself worthy of it; but if unworthy, the Sacraments will nevertheless remain in him not unto salvation, but unto destruction. When therefore I was about to seek these things, even he himself saw that it was not to be sought by him concerning the baptism of the disciples of the Lord.

11. Inde itum est in aliud, multis ut poterant utrinque sermocinantibus: inter quae dictum est quod adhuc eos nostri persecuturi essent; nobisque dicebat videre se velle quales nos essemus in illa persecutione praebituros, utrum consensuri essemus tali saevitiae, an nullum commodaturi consensum. Nos dicebamus Deum videre corda nostra, quae ipsi non possent: et illos temere sibi adhuc ista metuere, quae si contigerint, a malis contingere, quibus deteriores ipsi habent; nec tamen ideo nos a catholica communione segregare debere, si quid forte nobis invitis, vel etiam, si valuerimus, contradicentibus factum fuerit, cum tolerantiam pacificam didicerimus, dicente Apostolo: Sufferentes invicem in dilectione, studentes servare unitatem spiritus in vinculo pacis (Eph. IV, 2, 3). Quam pacem atque tolerantiam illos non tenuisse dicebamus, qui schisma fecerunt, ut nunc inter suos, qui mitiores eorum sunt, graviora tolerent, ne scindatur quod scissum est; cum leviora nollent pro ipsa unitate tolerare. Dicebamus etiam nondum fuisse temporibus veterum pacem unitatis, et tolerantiam tanta commendatione praedicatam, sicut exemplo Domini et Novi Testamenti charitate; et tamen Prophetas illos et sanctos viros dicere solere in populum scelera eorum, cum tamen se ab illius populi unitate et a communione pariter accipiendorum Sacramentorum quae tunc fuerunt, divellere non tentassent.

12. Inde nescio quomodo ventum est ad commemorationem beatae memoriae Genethlii Carthaginensis ante Aurelium episcopi, quod nescio quam constitutionem datam contra illos compresserit, et effectum habere non siverit. Laudabant illum omnes, et benignissime praeferebant. Inter quas laudes a nobis subjectum est, quod etiam ipse tamen Genethlius, si in eorum manus incidisset rebaptizandus censeretur. Et haec jam stantes loquebamur, quia discedendi tempus urgeret. Ibi plane ille senex dixit, jam formam esse factam, ut quisquis ad eos fidelium a nobis venerit, baptizetur, quod eum invitum et cum dolore animi dicere, quantum poterat, apparebat. Sane cum etiam ipse multa mala suorum apertissime gemeret, atque ostenderet, quod totius civitatis ejus testimonio probabatur, quam esset remotus a talibus factis, et quae ipsis suis dicere soleat modesta conquestione proferret, nosque commemoraremus illud Ezechielis prophetae, ubi aperte scriptum est, nec filii culpam patri, nec patris culpam filio ejus imputandam, ubi dictum est: Sicut enim anima patris mea est, ita et anima filii mea est; anima enim quaecumque peccaverit, sola morietur (Ezech.

11. Thence it went into another thing, many discoursing on both sides as they could: among which it was said that our people were still about to persecute them; and he said to us that he willed to see what kind we should show ourselves in that persecution, whether we were about to consent to such cruelty, or about to afford no consent. We said that God sees our hearts, which they themselves could not: and that they rashly feared these things for themselves still, which if they happened, they happened from the evil, than whom they have worse; yet nevertheless we ought not for that reason to segregate ourselves from the catholic communion, if anything should by chance have been done with us unwilling, or even, if we were able, contradicting, since we have learned a peaceful tolerance, the Apostle saying: *Sufferring one another in love, studying to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace* (Eph. IV, 2, 3). Which peace and tolerance we said those had not held, who made the schism, so that now among their own, who are milder of them, they tolerate more heavy things, lest what is cut be cut asunder; while they willed not to tolerate lighter things for the sake of unity itself. We said also that in the times of the ancients there had not yet been the peace of unity, and tolerance preached with so great commendation, as by the example of the Lord and the charity of the New Testament; and yet those Prophets and holy men were accustomed to speak the crimes of them against the people, while nevertheless they had not attempted to pluck themselves away from the unity of that people and from the communion of the Sacraments which then were to be received together.

12. Thence I know not in what manner it came to the commemoration of Genethlius of blessed memory, bishop of Carthage before Aurelius, because he suppressed I know not what constitution given against them, and did not permit it to have effect. All praised him, and preferred him most benignly. Among which praises it was added by us, that nevertheless Genethlius himself, if he had fallen into their hands, would be judged to be rebaptized. And we were already speaking these things standing, because the time of departing was pressing. There clearly that old man said, that the rule (*formam*) was already made, that whoever of the faithful from us should come to them, is baptized; which he appeared to say unwillingly and with grief of mind, as much as he could. Surely since even he himself most openly groaned at many evils of his people, and showed, what was proved by the testimony of his whole city, how remote he was from such deeds, and brought forth what things he was accustomed to say to those very people of his with modest complaint, and we commemorated that of the prophet Ezekiel, where it is openly written, that neither the fault of the son is to be imputed to the father, nor the fault of the father to his son, where it was said: *For as the soul of the father is mine, so also the soul of the son is mine; for whatever soul shall have sinned, it alone shall die* (Ezech.

XVIII, 20, 4), placuit omnibus in talibus disputationibus violenta facta malorum hominum nobis ab invicem objici non debere. Remanebat ergo schismatis quaestio. Itaque hortati eum sumus ut etiam atque etiam placido atque pacato animo annitatur nobiscum, ut diligenti examinatione tanta inquisitio terminum sumat. Ubi ille benigne cum diceret nos solum ista quaerere, nolle autem nostros haec quaeri; ea facta pollicitatione discessimus, ut exhiberemus ei plures collegas nostros, certe vel decem, qui tanta benevolentia et lenitate et tam pio studio id quaeri vellent, quantum in nobis eum jam animadvertisse atque approbare sentiebamus. Hoc etiam de suorum numero et ipse pollicitus est.

CAPUT VI.

13. Unde vos hortor et obtestor per Domini sanguinem, ut eum promissi sui commoneatis, et gnaviter instetis, ut res coepta peragatur, quam prope ad finem pervenisse jam cernitis. Quantum enim arbitror, difficillime potestis invenire in episcopis vestris tam utilem animum et voluntatem, quam in isto sene perspeximus. Postero enim die ipse ad nos venit, et haec iterum quaerere coeperamus. Sed quia ordinandi episcopi necessitas nos inde jamjamque rapiebat, diutius cum illo esse nequivimus. Jam enim miseramus ad Majorem Coelicolarum quem audieramus novi apud eos baptismi institutorem extitisse, et multos illo sacrilegio seduxisse, ut cum illo, quantum ipsius temporis patiebantur angustiae, aliquid loqueremur. Quem posteaquam venturum comperit, videns nos aliud suscepisse negotium, cum et ipsum nescio quae necessitas profectionis urgeret, benigne a nobis placideque discessit.

14. Videtur autem mihi, ut turbulentas turbas et impedimentum potius quam adjumentum afferentes omnino devitemus, et vere ex animo amico atque tranquillo susceptum tam magnum negotium Domino opitulante peragamus, ad aliquam villam nos convenire debere non magnam, ubi nullius nostrum esset ecclesia: quam tamen villam communiter possident homines et nostrae communionis et ipsius, sicuti est villa Titiana. Sive ergo in Tubursicensi, sive in Thagastensi, talis locus, vel ille quem commemoravi, vel aliquis alius inventus fuerit, faciamus Codices canonicos praesto esse. Et si qua proferri potuerint ex utraque parte documenta: ut postpositis caeteris, nulla, si Domino placuerit, interpellante molestia, quotquot diebus potuerimus ad hoc vacantes, et unusquisque nostrum apud suum hospitem Domino deprecantes, adjuvante ipso cui pax christiana gratissima est, rem tantam et bono animo coeptam ad inquisitionis terminum perducamus. Rescribite sane quid de hac re vel vobis vel illi videatur.

XVIII, 20, 4), it pleased all that in such disputations the violent deeds of evil men ought not to be objected by us to each other. Therefore the question of the schism remained. And so we exhorted him that again and again with a placid and pacified mind he should strive with us, so that by a diligent examination so great an inquisition should take a termination. Where he benignly saying that we alone sought those things, but our people willed not these things to be sought; that promise having been made we departed, that we should exhibit to him more colleagues of ours, certainly even ten, who with so much benevolence and lenity and with so pious a zeal should will that to be sought, as much as we felt him to have already adverted and approved in us. He also promised this concerning the number of his own.

CHAPTER VI.

13. Whence I exhort and obtest you by the blood of the Lord, that you commonish him of his promise, and strenuously press, so that the matter begun may be completed, which you already discern to have arrived almost to the end. For as much as I judge, you can most difficultly find in your bishops such a useful mind and will, as we perceived in that old man. For on the next day he himself came to us, and we had begun to seek these things again. But because the necessity of ordaining a bishop was already snatched us away thence, we could not be with him longer. For we had already sent to the Elder (*Majorem*) of the Coelicolae whom we had heard had existed as the institutor of a new baptism among them, and had seduced many by that sacrilege, so that we might speak something with him, as much as the narrows of that time permitted. Whom after he discovered was about to come, seeing us to have undertaken another business, when also I know not what necessity of setting out pressed him, he benignly and placidly departed from us.

14. Moreover it seems to me, so that we may altogether avoid the turbulent crowds and those bringing in impediment rather than adjument, and truly from a friendly and tranquil mind perform so great a business undertaken with the Lord helping, that we ought to convene at some villa not large, where there is a church of neither of us: which villa nevertheless men of both our communion and his own commonly possess, as is the villa Titiana. Whether therefore in the Tubursicensian, or in the Thagastensian, such a place, either that which I commemorated, or some other, should have been found, let us make the canonical Books (*Codices*) to be at hand. And if any documents can be brought forth from each part: so that other things being postponed, with no molestation interpellating, if it shall have pleased the Lord, however many days we can vacating to this, and each one of us deprecating the Lord at his host, with Him helping to whom Christian peace is most grateful, let us lead so great a matter and begun with good mind to the termination of the inquisition. Rescribe indeed what seems concerning this matter either to you or to him.

Epistola XLV.

Augustinus Paulino, rogans ut demum rescribat post biennii silentium, mittatque sibi opus contra Paganos, quod ab ipso elaborari dudum audivit.

Dominis germanissimis, dilectissimis et in Christo laudabilibus PAULINO et THERASIAE, ALYPIUS et AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

1. Nequaquam nos nescio qua vestra cessatio, qua ecce per totum biennium, ex quo nobis dulcissimi fratres Romanus et Agilis ad vos remeaverunt, nullas a vobis litteras sumpsimus, pigros ad scribendum fecit. Nam cum in aliis rebus quanto quisque amplius diligitur, tanto dignior imitatione videatur, in hac re contra est. Quo enim vos amamus ardentius, eo minus ferimus quod nobis non scribitis; nec vos in eo volumus imitari. Ecce igitur salutamus vos, si non respondentes epistolis vestris, quae nullae ad nos veniunt, saltem expostulantes, et non dolore mediocri, quamvis fortasse etiam Charitas vestra similiter conqueratur, siquidem missas a vobis nostis quae ad nos non pervenerunt, vicissimque a nobis quae emissae erant non sunt vobis datae. Quod si ita est, querelas nostras convertamus in preces ad Dominum, ne tanta solatia deneget nobis.

2. Scribere te audieramus adversum Paganos; quod si absolutum est, quaesumus ne differas mittere per latorem hujus epistolae. Charus nobis est, cujus aestimationi in regionibus nostris possumus non temere bonum testimonium perhibere. Rogat per nos Sanctimonium vestrum, ut eum commendare dignemini cum quibus ei negotium est, et apud quos ne bona causa ejus opprimatur, timet. Quid in re agatur commodius ipse narrabit: quid etiam ad singula, quae forte animum moverint inter . . . gratissimum habemus, et apud Dominum Deum nostrum sincerissimae vestrae benignitati gratias agimus, si per vestram operam de christiani fratris securitate gaudeamus.

Epistola XLVI.

Publicola Augustino proponit multas quaestiones.

Dilecto et venerable patri AUGUSTINO episcopo, PUBLICOLA.

Scriptum est: «Interroga patrem tuum, et indicabit tibi; seniores tuos, et dicent tibi» (Deut. XXXII, 7). Unde et mihi exquirendam legem de ore sacerdotis judicavi in causa tali: quae qualis sit, per litteras expono; simul etiam ut et ego instruar in diversis causis. Singulas autem quaestiones et diverse, per capitula designari feci, ad quas singillatim dignare respondere.

Letter XLV.

Augustine to Paulinus, asking that he finally rescribe after a silence of two years, and send him the work against the Pagans, which he heard was being elaborated by him long ago.

To the most near lords, most beloved and in Christ commendable PAULINUS and THERASIA, ALYPIUS and AUGUSTINE [send] greeting in the Lord.

1. In no way did I know not what cessation of yours, by which behold through a whole biennium, from which the most sweet brothers Romanus and Agilis returned to you from us, we have taken no letters from you, make us slow to writing. For since in other things by how much anyone is more amply loved, by so much he seems more worthy of imitation, in this matter it is the contrary. For by how much we love you more ardently, by so much the less we bear that you do not write to us; nor do we will to imitate you in that. Behold therefore we salute you, if not responding to your letters, which none come to us, at least expostulating, and not with mediocre grief, although perhaps your Charity also similarly complains, if indeed you know letters sent by you which have not arrived to us, and in turn from us those which had been emitted were not given to you. Which if it is so, let us convert our complaints into prayers to the Lord, lest He deny us such great solaces.

2. We had heard that you were writing against the Pagans; which if it is completed, we ask that you not differ to send it by the bearer of this letter. He is dear to us, to whose estimation in our regions we can not rashly furnish a good testimony. He asks through us your Holiness, that you deign to commend him to those with whom his business is, and among whom lest his good cause be oppressed, he fears. What is acted in the matter he himself will narrate more commodiously: what also to each thing, which by chance shall have moved the mind among ... we have most grateful, and at the Lord our God we give thanks to your most sincere benignity, if through your work we should rejoice concerning the security of a Christian brother.

Letter XLVI.

Publicola proposes many questions to Augustine.

To the beloved and venerable father AUGUSTINE the bishop, PUBLICOLA.

It is written: "Ask thy father, and he will show thee; thy elders, and they will tell thee" (Deut. 32:7). Whence also I judged that the law ought to be sought by me from the mouth of the priest in such a cause: which of what sort it may be, I expose by letters; at the same time also so that I also may be instructed in diverse causes. Moreover, I have caused individual and diverse questions to be designated by chapters, to which deign to respond individually.

In Arzugibus, ut audivi, decurioni qui limiti praeest vel tribuno solent jurare barbari, jurantes per daemones suos, qui ad deducendas bastagas pacti fuerint, vel aliqui ad servandas fruges ipsas, singuli possessores vel conductores solent ad custodiendas fruges suscipere, quasi jam fideles, epistolam decurione mittente, vel singuli transeuntes quibus necesse est per eos transire. Mihi autem disceptatio in corde nata est, si ille possessor qui susceperit barbarum, cujus fides per daemonum jurationem firma visa est, non coinquinatur vel ipse, vel illa quae custodit, vel ille qui deducitur a deductore barbaro. Sed hoc debes scire quia qui jurat barbarus a possessore pro servandis frugibus accipiat aurum, vel a viatore deductor; sed tamen cum hac veluti mercede quae solet dari a possessore, vel a viatore, juramentum etiam illud in medio est mortale datum decurioni vel tribuno: quod perturbat me ne polluat illum qui suscipit barbari juramentum, vel illa quae custodit barbarus. Quacumque enim conditione, etiam auro dato et obsidibus datis, ut audivi, tamen juramentum iniquum medium intercessit. Dignare autem mihi definitive rescribere, et non suspense. Quod si ipse scribas dubitanter, ego in majores dubitationes incidere possum, quam antequam interrogassem.

Hoc etiam audivi, quia ipsi homines conductores qui praesunt rei meae, juramentum per daemones suos jurantibus barbaris accipiunt pro servandis frugibus. Si ergo cum illi jurant per daemones suos ut custodiant fruges, non polluunt ipsas fruges, ut si inde manducaverit christianus sciens vel de pretio ipsarum rerum fuerit, coinquinetur, significare dignare.

Item ab alio audivi quod conductori non juratur a barbaro, et alter dixit quia juratur conductori. Si etiam falsum mihi dixit ille, qui dixit jurari conductori, si jam pro hoc quod solum audivi, non debeo uti de ipsis frugibus, vel de pretio ipsarum propter auditum solum, quia dictum est: «Si autem quis dixerit: Hoc immolatitium est idolis, nolite manducare, propter illum qui indicavit?» (I Cor. X, 28.) Si tamen etiam haec causa similis est causae de immolatitio. Quod si ita est, quid debeo de ipsis frugibus, vel de pretio ipsarum facere?

Si debeo requirere de utroque, qui mihi dixit quia non juratur conductori, aut qui dixit quia juratur conductori; et dictum uniuscujusque probare per testes, qui verum dixit de illis duobus, et tandiu non contingere de ipsis frugibus, vel de pretio, quandiu mihi probatum fuerit si verum dixit ille qui dixit quia non juratur conductori?

In the Arzuges, as I have heard, the barbarians are accustomed to swear to the decurion who presides over the frontier or to the tribune, swearing by their demons, who shall have been pacted for leading the *bastagae* (transports), or some for guarding the fruits themselves, individual possessors or conductors are accustomed to receive them for guarding the fruits, as if already faithful, the decurion sending a letter, or individual passers-by for whom it is necessary to pass through them. Moreover, a disceptation has been born in my heart, if that possessor who shall have received the barbarian, whose faith seemed firm through the swearing of demons, is not polluted either himself, or those things which he guards, or he who is led by the barbarian deductor. But you ought to know this because the barbarian who swears receives gold from the possessor for guarding the fruits, or from the traveler as a deductor; but nevertheless with this as it were reward which is accustomed to be given by the possessor, or by the traveler, that mortal oath is also in the midst given to the decurion or tribune: which perturbs me lest it pollute him who receives the barbarian's oath, or those things which the barbarian guards. For by whatever condition, even with gold given and hostages given, as I have heard, nevertheless an iniquitous oath intervened in the midst. Moreover, deign to rescribe to me definitively, and not suspensefully. Because if you yourself write doubtingly, I can fall into greater doubts than before I had interrogated.

This also I have heard, because those men conductors who preside over my property, receive an oath through their demons from swearing barbarians for guarding the fruits. If therefore when they swear by their demons so that they may guard the fruits, they do not pollute the fruits themselves, so that if a Christian should eat thence knowingly or it should have been from the price of those same things, he would be polluted, deign to signify.

Likewise from another I heard that it is not sworn to the conductor by the barbarian, and another said that it is sworn to the conductor. If even he told me a falsehood, who said it was sworn to the conductor, if already for this which alone I heard, I ought not to use of the fruits themselves, or of the price of them on account of the hearing alone, because it is said: "But if anyone shall have said: This is immolated to idols, do not eat, on account of him who indicated?" (1 Cor. 10:28.) If nevertheless also this cause is similar to the cause concerning what is immolated. Because if it is so, what ought I to do concerning the fruits themselves, or the price of them?

If I ought to require concerning both, him who told me that it is not sworn to the conductor, or him who said that it is sworn to the conductor; and to prove the saying of each through witnesses, who told the truth of those two, and for so long not to touch of the fruits themselves, or of the price, until it shall have been proved to me if he who said that it is not sworn to the conductor told the truth?

Si barbarus qui per juramentum suum jurat malum, fecerit illum christianum conductorem, vel tribunum qui limiti praeest, jurare sibi pro fide illi servanda pro custodiendis frugibus, per ipsum juramentum mortale per quod ipse jurat, si solus ille christianus coinquinatus sit? Si non et illa quorum causa jurat? Aut si paganus qui limiti praeest, juraverit barbaro pro fide illi servanda per mortale juramentum, si non coinquinat pro quibus jurat? Si quem misero ad Arzuges, si licet ei juramentum accipere a barbaro illud mortale; et si non coinquinatur, si susceperit tale juramentum christianus?

Si de area trituratoria tritici vel cujuscumque leguminis, aut torculari, de quo daemoni oblatum est, si licet inde manducare christianum scientem?

De luco si licet ad aliquem usum suum christianum scientem ligna tollere?

Si quis vadens ad macellum emat carnem quae non sit immolatilia, et cogitationes duas habuerit in corde, quod immolata sit, et non sit immolata, et illam tenuerit cogitationem qua non immolatam cogitabit, si manducaverit an peccat?

Si quis bonam rem, de qua dubitat an bona aut mala sit, si faciat putans bonam, cum tamen putasset et malam, si peccatum adscribatur ei?

Si quis dixerit quod immolatitium est mentiens, et postea dixerit iterum quia mentitus est, et ad fidem vere mentitus est, si licet christianum inde manducare, aut vendere, et de pretio uti ex eo quod audivit?

Si christianus aliquis ambulans, passus necessitatem, victus fame unius diei, vel bidui, vel multorum dierum, ut jam durare non possit, ita occurrerit, ut in ipsa necessitate famis, in qua sibi videt jam mortem proximare, invenerit cibum in idolio positum, ubi nullus sit hominum, et non possit invenire alium cibum, debet mori aut exinde cibari?

Si christianus videat se a barbaro vel Romano velle interfici, debet eos ipse christianus interficere, ne ab illis interficiatur: vel si licet sine interfectione eos repellere vel impugnare, quia dictum est: «Non resistere malo?» (Matth. V, 39.)

Si murum possessioni debet christianus facere propter hostem, et si ille christianus qui fecerit murum, causa non existit homicidii, cum inde aliqui coeperint pugnare, et interficere hostes?

If the barbarian who through his oath swears evil, shall have made that Christian conductor, or the tribune who presides over the frontier, to swear to him for the faith to be served to him for guarding the fruits, through that same mortal oath by which he himself swears, if only that Christian be polluted? If not also those things for whose cause he swears? Or if a pagan who presides over the frontier, shall have sworn to the barbarian for the faith to be served to him through a mortal oath, if he does not pollute [those] for whom he swears? If [someone] whom I shall have sent to the Arzuges, if it is licit for him to receive that mortal oath from the barbarian; and if he is not polluted, if a Christian shall have received such an oath?

If from the threshing floor (*area*) of wheat or of any legume, or the wine-press (*torculari*), from which [something] has been offered to a demon, if it is licit for a Christian to eat thence knowingly?

Concerning a grove (*luco*) if it is licit for any use of his for a Christian knowing to take wood?

If anyone going to the market (*macellum*) should buy meat which is not immolated, and shall have had two thoughts in his heart, that it was immolated, and was not immolated, and shall have held that thought by which he will think it not immolated, if he eats does he sin?

If anyone [does] a good thing, concerning which he doubts whether it be good or evil, if he does it thinking it good, when nevertheless he had thought it also evil, if sin be ascribed to him?

If anyone shall have had said that it is immolated lying, and afterwards shall have said again that he lied, and to the faith he truly lied, if it is licit for a Christian to eat thence, or to sell, and to use of the price from that which he heard?

If any Christian walking, having suffered necessity, overcome by the hunger of one day, or of two days, or of many days, so that he can no longer endure, should so occur, that in that very necessity of hunger, in which he already sees death to approach him, he should find food placed in an idol-shrine (*idolio*), where there is no man, and he cannot find other food, ought he to die or to be fed from thence?

If a Christian sees himself to be willed to be killed by a barbarian or a Roman, ought that Christian himself to kill them, lest he be killed by them: or if it is licit without killing to repel or impugn them, because it is said: "Do not resist evil?" (Matt. 5:39.)

If a Christian ought to make a wall for a property on account of the enemy, and if that Christian who shall have made the wall, is not the cause of homicide, when some shall have begun to fight from thence, and to kill enemies?

Si licet de fonte bibere, vel de puteo ubi de sacrificio aliquid missum est? Si de puteo qui in templo est, et desertum factum est debet christianus bibere? Si in templo quo colitur idolum, puteus ibi sit vel fons, et nihil ibi factum sit in eodem puteo vel fonte, si debet haurire aquam inde christianus, et bibere?

Si christianus debet in balneis lavare, vel in thermis, in quibus sacrificatur simulacris? Si christianus debet in balneis, quibus in die festo suo Pagani loti sunt, lavare, sive cum ipsis, sive sine ipsis?

Si in solio ubi descenderunt Pagani ab idolis venientes in die festo suo, et aliquid illic in solio sacrilegii sui fecerint, et scierit christianus, si debet in eodem solio descendere?

Si christianus invitatus ab aliquo appositam habuerit carnem in escam, de qua dictum fuerit illi quia immolatitia est, et non manducaverit eam; postea autem ab aliquo translatum ipsam carnem aliquo casu invenerit venalem, et emerit eam, aut appositam habuerit ab aliquo alio invitatus, et non cognoverit eam, et manducaverit, si peccat?

Si de horto vel de possessione idolorum vel sacerdotum eorum debet christianus sciens olus emere, vel aliquem fructum, et inde edere? Sane de juramento, vel de idolis, ut laborem non patiaris in requirendo, quae Domino donante invenerimus, ante oculos tuos volui proponere: si quid autem aliud apertius aut melius in Scripturis inveneris, dignare mihi significare. Unde quae invenimus, haec sunt ubi Laban dixit ad Jacob, «Deus Abraham et Deus Nachor» (Gen. XXXI, 53); quem autem Deum, non significavit Scriptura. Et iterum, «Abimelech quando venit ad Isaac ubi juravit, vel qui cum illo erant» (Id. XXVI, 31); sed quale juramentum, non significavit Scriptura. Iterum de idolis, ubi ad Gedeon dictum est a Domino in libro Judicum, ut de vitulo quem occiderat holocaustum faceret (Jud. VI, 26). Et in Jesu Nave de Jericho, ut omne aurum, argentum, et aeramentum inferretur in thesauris Domini, et sanctum vocatum est de civitate, quae anathema est (Jos. VI, 19). Et quid est illud quod in Deuteronomio positum est: «Non inferes abominationem in domum tuam, et anathema eris, sicut hoc ipsum est?» (Deut. VII, 26). Dominus te servet: saluto te; ora pro me.

EPISTOLA XLVII.

Augustinus Publicolae dissolvit aliquot ex propositis quaestionibus.

Honorabili et dilectissimo filio PUBLICOLAE, AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

If it is licit to drink from a fountain, or from a well where something from a sacrifice has been sent? If from a well which is in a temple, and a desert has been made, ought a Christian to drink? If in a temple in which an idol is worshipped, a well be there or a fountain, and nothing has been done there in the same well or fountain, if a Christian ought to draw water thence, and to drink?

If a Christian ought to wash in baths, or in thermae, in which it is sacrificed to images? If a Christian ought to wash in baths, in which on their feast day the Pagans have washed, whether with them, or without them?

If in a basin (*solio*) where Pagans coming from idols have descended on their feast day, and shall have done anything of their sacrilege there in the basin, and a Christian shall have known, if he ought to descend into the same basin?

If a Christian invited by someone shall have had meat placed for food, concerning which it shall have been said to him that it is immolated, and he shall not have eaten it; but afterwards having been translated by someone he shall by some chance have found the same meat for sale, and shall have bought it, or shall have had it placed by some other invited, and shall not have known it, and shall have eaten, does he sin?

If from a garden or from a possession of idols or of their priests a Christian knowing ought to buy vegetables (*olus*), or any fruit, and to eat thence? Certainly concerning the oath, or concerning idols, so that you may not suffer labor in requiring those things which we have found with the Lord giving, I willed to propose [them] before your eyes: if moreover you shall have found anything else more open or better in the Scriptures, deign to signify to me. Whence those things which we have found, these are where Laban said to Jacob, "The God of Abraham and the God of Nahor" (Gen. 31:53); which God moreover, the Scripture did not signify. And again, "Abimelech when he came to Isaac where he swore, or those who were with him" (Gen. 26:31); but what sort of oath, the Scripture did not signify. Again concerning idols, where it was said to Gideon by the Lord in the book of Judges, that from the calf which he had killed he should make a holocaust (Judg. 6:26). And in Joshua concerning Jericho, that all gold, silver, and brass should be brought into the treasures of the Lord, and it was called holy from the city, which is anathema (Josh. 6:19). And what is that which is placed in Deuteronomy: "Thou shalt not bring an abomination into thy house, and thou shalt be anathema, as this itself is?" (Deut. 7:26). The Lord keep thee: I salute thee; pray for me.

LETTER XLVII.

Augustine resolves for Publicola some of the questions he had proposed.

To his honorable and most beloved son PUBLICOLA, AUGUSTINE, greeting in the Lord.

1. Aestus animi tui posteaquam didici litteris tuis, etiam mei continuo facti sunt, non quo me omnia talia permoverent, qualibus indicasti te esse permotum: sed quomodo tibi auferrentur hi aestus, fateor, aestuavi; maxime quia petis ut definitive tibi rescriberem, ne in majores dubitationes incideres, quam antequam interrogasses. Hoc enim video non esse in mea potestate. Nam quomodolibet scripsero quae mihi videntur esse certissima, si tibi non persuasero, proculdubio eris incertior. Non autem sicut mihi adjacet suadere, eo modo adjacet etiam persuadere cuilibet. Verumtamen ne tuae dilectioni negarem operulam meam, post aliquantam deliberationem rescribendum putavi.

2. Movet te certe utrum ejus fide utendum sit, qui ut eam servet per daemonia juraverit. Ubi te volo prius considerare, utrum si quispiam per deos falsos juraverit se fidem servaturum, et eam non servaverit, non tibi videatur bis peccasse. Si enim tali juratione promissam custodiret fidem, ideo tantum peccasse judicaretur, quia per tales deos juravit; illud autem nemo recte reprehenderet, quia fidem servavit. Nunc vero, quia et juravit per quos non debuit, et contra pollicitam fidem fecit quod non debuit, bis utique peccavit; ac per hoc qui utitur fide illius quem constat jurasse per deos falsos, et utitur non ad malum, sed ad licitum et bonum, non peccato ejus se sociat quo per daemonia juravit, sed bono pacto ejus quo fidem servavit. Neque hic eam fidem dico servari, qua fideles vocantur qui baptizantur in Christo. Illa enim longe alia est longeque discreta a fide humanorum placitorum atque pactorum. Verumtamen sine ulla dubitatione minus malum est per deum falsum jurare veraciter, quam per Deum verum fallaciter. Quanto enim per quod juratur magis est sanctum, tanto magis est poenale perjurium. Alia ergo quaestio est, utrum non peccet qui per falsos deos sibi jurari fecit, quia ille qui ei jurat, deos falsos colit. Cui quaestioni possunt illa testimonia suffragari, quae ipse commemorasti de Laban et Abimelech, si tamen Abimelech per deos suos juravit, sicut Laban per Deum Nachor .

1. After I learned from your letter of the agitations of your mind, they at once became mine as well—not that I was moved by all the same things by which you indicated you were moved, but as to how these agitations might be removed from you, I confess, I was in agitation; especially because you ask that I write back to you definitively, lest you fall into greater doubts than before you had asked. For I see that this is not in my power. For however I may write those things which seem to me most certain, if I do not persuade you, you will doubtless be more uncertain. But it does not lie within anyone's reach to persuade in the same way that it lies within mine to advise. Nevertheless, lest I should deny your charity my small service, after some deliberation I thought I ought to write back.

2. It certainly troubles you whether one ought to make use of the good faith of him who has sworn by demons in order to keep it. Here I want you first to consider whether, if someone should swear by false gods that he will keep faith, and does not keep it, it does not seem to you that he has sinned twice. For if by such an oath he kept the faith he had promised, he would be judged to have sinned only for this reason, that he swore by such gods; but no one would rightly reprove him for this, that he kept faith. But now, since he both swore by those by whom he ought not to have sworn, and acted against the faith he had promised, doing what he ought not, he has indeed sinned twice; and therefore he who makes use of the good faith of one who is known to have sworn by false gods, and uses it not for evil, but for what is licit and good, does not associate himself with that sin of his by which he swore by demons, but with the good pact of his by which he kept faith. Nor do I here speak of that faith being kept, by which those who are baptized in Christ are called faithful. For that is far different and far distinct from the faith of human agreements and pacts. Nevertheless, without any doubt, it is a lesser evil to swear truly by a false god than falsely by the true God. For the more holy that is by which one swears, the more punishable is perjury. There is, then, another question: whether he does not sin who caused someone to swear to him by false gods, because the one who swears to him worships false gods. To this question those testimonies which you yourself mentioned concerning Laban and Abimelech can lend support, if indeed Abimelech swore by his own gods, as Laban did by the God of Nahor.

Haec, ut dixi, alia quaestio est, quae me merito fortassis moveret, nisi illa exempla occurrissent de Isaac et Jacob, et si qua alia possunt inveniri. Si tamen illud non adhuc movet quod in Novo Testamento dictum est, ne omnino juremus (Matth. V, 34, 36). Quod quidem mihi propterea dictum videtur, non quia verum jurare peccatum est, sed quia pejerare immane peccatum est; a quo nos longe esse voluit, qui omnimodo ne juremus admonuit. Sed tibi aliud videri scio; unde nunc disputandum non est, ut illud potius agamus unde me consulendum putasti. Proinde sicut non juras, ita nec alium, si hoc placet, jurare compellas: quamvis dictum sit ne juremus; nusquam autem in Scripturis sanctis legi meminerim, ne ab alio jurationem accipiamus. Alia vero quaestio est, utrum ea pace debeamus uti, quae inter alios invicem jurantes facta est. Quod si nolumus, ubi vivamus in terris, nescio utrum invenire possimus. Neque enim tantummodo limiti, sed universis provinciis pax conciliatur juratione barbarica. Unde et illud sequetur, ut non fruges tantum quae ab eis custodiuntur, qui per deos falsos juraverunt, sed ubique inquinata sint omnia quae ipsa pace muniuntur, quam juratio illa confirmat. Quod si absurdissimum est dicere, nec illa te moveant quae movebant.

3. Item si de area vel torculari tollatur aliquid ad sacrificia daemoniorum sciente christiano, peccat si fieri permittit, ubi prohibendi potestas est. Quod si factum comperit, aut prohibendi potestatem non habuit, utitur mundis reliquis fructibus unde illa sublata sunt; sicut fontibus utimur, de quibus hauriri aquam ad usum sacrificiorum certissime scimus. Eadem est etiam ratio lavacrorum. Neque enim spiritum deducere de aere dubitamus, in quem scimus ire fumum ex aris omnibus et incensis daemoniorum. Unde apparet illud esse prohibitum, ne in honorem alienorum deorum aliqua re utamur, aut uti existimemur, sic eam accipiendo, ut quamvis animo contemnamus, eos tamen qui nostrum animum ignorant, ad haec honoranda aedificemus. Et cum templa, idola, luci, et si quid hujusmodi, data potestate evertuntur, quamvis manifestum est cum id agimus, non ea nos honorare, sed potius detestari, ideo tamen in usus nostros privatos duntaxat et proprios non debemus inde aliquid usurpare, ut appareat nos pietate ista destruere, non avaritia.

This, as I said, is another question, which might perhaps rightly move me, were it not that those examples of Isaac and Jacob occur to me, together with whatever others can be found. If indeed that does not still move you which is said in the New Testament, that we should not swear at all (Matt. 5:34, 36). This indeed seems to me to have been said for this reason: not because to swear truly is a sin, but because to perjure oneself is an immense sin; from which he wished us to be far removed, he who admonished that we should in every way not swear. But I know that it seems otherwise to you; hence this is not to be disputed now, so that we may rather deal with that matter on account of which you thought I should be consulted. Accordingly, just as you do not swear, so likewise, if it so pleases you, do not compel another to swear either: although it has been said that we should not swear; but nowhere in the sacred Scriptures do I recall having read that we should not accept an oath from another. But another question is whether we ought to make use of that peace which was made among others swearing to one another. But if we are unwilling to do this, I do not know whether we could find a place to live on earth. For peace is secured not only for the frontier, but for all the provinces, by barbarian oath-swearing. Whence it will also follow that not only the crops which are guarded by those who have sworn by false gods, but everywhere all things which are protected by that very peace which such oath-swearing confirms, are defiled. But if it is most absurd to say this, then let not those things which used to trouble you trouble you now either.

3. Likewise, if something is taken from the threshing floor or the winepress for the sacrifices of demons while a Christian knows of it, he sins if he permits it to happen, where he has the power to prohibit it. But if he learns of it after it has been done, or did not have the power to prohibit it, he may use the remaining clean fruits from which those were taken; just as we use fountains, from which we know most certainly that water is drawn for use in sacrifices. The same reasoning also applies to baths. For we do not hesitate to draw breath from the air, into which we know smoke goes from all the altars and incense-offerings of demons. Whence it appears that what is prohibited is this: that we should not use anything in honor of foreign gods, or be thought to use it, by accepting it in such a way that, although we despise them in our mind, we nevertheless build up those who are ignorant of our mind toward honoring these things. And when temples, idols, sacred groves, and anything of this kind are overthrown by a power granted for it, although it is manifest that when we do this we do not honor them but rather detest them, nevertheless for that very reason we ought not to appropriate anything from them for our own private and particular uses, so that it may appear that we destroy these things out of piety, not out of avarice.

Cum vero in usus communes, non proprios ac privatos, vel in honorem Dei veri convertuntur, hoc de illis fit quod de ipsis hominibus, cum ex sacrilegis et impiis in veram religionem mutantur. Hoc Deus intelligitur docuisse illis testimoniis quae ipse posuisti, cum de luco alienorum deorum jussit ligna ad holocaustum adhiberi; et de Jericho, ut omne aurum, argentum, et aeramentum inferretur in thesauros Domini. Quapropter etiam illud quod in Deuteronomio scriptum est: Non concupisces argentum vel aurum illorum, nec accipies inde tibi, ne excedas propter illud: quoniam abominatio est Domino Deo tuo: et non conferes exsecramentum in domum tuam, et eris anathema, sicut et illud est, et offensione offendes, et coinquinatione inquinaberis abominatione illa, quia anathema est (Deut. VII, 25, 26); satis apparet aut ipsos privatos usus in talibus esse prohibitos, aut ne sic inde aliquid inferatur in domum ut honoretur: tunc est enim abominatio et exsecratio; non cum talium sacrilegus honor apertissima destructione subvertitur.

4. De escis autem idolorum nihil amplius nos debere observare, quam quod praecepit Apostolus, certus esto. Et ideo de hac re verba ejus recole, quae si obscura essent, pro modulo nostro exponeremus. Non autem peccat, qui cibum postea nesciens manducaverit, quem prius tanquam idolothytum respuit. Olus vel quilibet fructus in quolibet agro natus, ejus est qui creavit; quia Domini est terra, et plenitudo ejus; et omnis creatura Dei bona est (Psal. XXIII, 1; I Cor. X, 25, 26, et I Tim. IV, 4). Sed si illud quod in agris nascitur, consecratur idolo, vel sacrificatur, tunc inter idolothyta deputandum est. Cavendum est enim, ne si putaverimus non vescendum olere quod nascitur in horto templi idoli, consequens sit ut existimemus non debuisse Apostolum apud Athenas cibum sumere, quia civitas erat Minervae ejusque numini consecrata. Hoc et de puteo responderim vel fonte qui in templo est. Plus autem movet revera, si aliquid sacrificiorum in fontem vel puteum projiciatur. Sed eadem ratio est aeris, qui omnem eum fumum recipit, de quo supra diximus: aut si hoc ideo putatur distare, quia illud sacrificium de quo fumus aeri confunditur, non fit ipsi aeri, sed idolo alicui vel daemonio, aliquando autem sic mittuntur sacrificia in aquas, ut ipsis aquis sacrificetur; non ideo utique solis hujus luce non utimur, quia ei sacrilegi ubi possunt sacrificare non cessant. Sacrificatur etiam ventis, quibus tamen utimur ad tantas nostras commoditates, cum eorumdem sacrificiorum fumum ipsi quodammodo haurire et vorare videantur.

But when they are converted to common uses, not to particular and private ones, or to the honor of the true God, the same thing happens with them as happens with men themselves, when from being sacrilegious and impious they are changed to the true religion. God is understood to have taught this by those testimonies which you yourself adduced, when he commanded that wood from the grove of foreign gods be used for the holocaust; and concerning Jericho, that all the gold, silver, and bronze be brought into the treasuries of the Lord. Wherefore also that which is written in Deuteronomy: "You shall not covet their silver or gold, nor shall you take any of it for yourself, lest you go astray on account of it, because it is an abomination to the Lord your God; and you shall not bring the execrable thing into your house, and you shall be an anathema, just as it also is; and with offense you shall be offended, and with defilement you shall be defiled by that abomination, because it is an anathema" (Deut. VII, 25, 26); it sufficiently appears either that private uses of such things are themselves prohibited, or that nothing should thus be brought into the house from them in order to be honored — for then it is an abomination and an execration; not when the sacrilegious honor of such things is overthrown by a most manifest destruction.

4. Be assured that we ought to observe nothing more concerning food sacrificed to idols than what the Apostle has commanded. And therefore recall his words on this matter, which, if they were obscure, we would expound according to our small ability. Now he does not sin who afterward unknowingly eats food which he had before rejected as having been sacrificed to idols. A vegetable or any fruit born in any field belongs to him who created it; for the earth is the Lord's, and the fullness thereof; and every creature of God is good (Ps. XXIII, 1; 1 Cor. X, 25, 26, and 1 Tim. IV, 4). But if that which grows in the fields is consecrated to an idol, or sacrificed, then it must be reckoned among things sacrificed to idols. For we must be careful lest, if we think that we ought not to eat a vegetable growing in the garden of an idol's temple, it should follow that we suppose the Apostle ought not to have taken food at Athens, because that city was consecrated to Minerva and to her divinity. I would give the same answer concerning a well or a spring that is within a temple. But it truly raises a greater difficulty if something from the sacrifices is thrown into the spring or well. But the same reasoning applies to the air, which receives all that smoke of which we spoke above: or if this is thought to differ in that the sacrifice whose smoke mingles with the air is not offered to the air itself, but to some idol or demon, whereas sacrifices are sometimes cast into the waters in such a way that sacrifice is offered to the waters themselves — nevertheless we do not for that reason refrain from using the light of this sun, because sacrilegious men do not cease to sacrifice to it wherever they can. Sacrifice is also offered to the winds, which nevertheless we use for so many of our conveniences, although they seem in a certain way themselves to draw in and devour the smoke of those same sacrifices.

Si quis dubitat de aliqua carne, utrum immolatitia sit, et non est immolatitia, si eam cognitionem tenuerit quod immolatitia non sit, et ea vescatur, non utique peccat; quia nec est, nec jam putatur immolatitia, etsi antea putabatur. Neque enim non licet corrigere cogitationes a falsitate in veritatem. Si quis autem bonum putaverit esse quod malum est, et fecerit, hoc putando utique peccat. Et ea sunt omnia peccata ignorantiae, quando quisque bene fieri putat, quod male fit.

5. De occidendis hominibus ne ab eis quisque occidatur, non mihi placet consilium ; nisi forte sit miles, aut publica functione teneatur, ut non pro se hoc faciat, sed pro aliis, vel pro civitate, ubi etiam ipse est, accepta legitima potestate, si ejus congruit personae. Qui vero repelluntur aliquo terrore ne male faciant, etiam ipsis aliquid fortasse praestatur. Hinc autem dictum est, non resistamus malo (Matth. V, 39), ne nos vindicta delectet, quae alieno malo animum pascit; non ut correctionem hominum negligamus. Unde nec reus est mortis alienae, qui suae possessioni murum circumduxerit, si aliquis ex ipsius ruinis percussus intereat . Neque enim reus est christianus, si bos ejus aliquem feriendo, vel equus calcem jaciendo aliquem occidat; aut ideo non debent christiani boves habere cornua, aut equus ungulas, aut dentes canis; aut vero quoniam apostolus Paulus satis egit ut in tribuni notitiam perferretur, insidias sibi a quibusdam perditis praeparari, et ob hoc deductores accepit armatos (Act. XXIII, 17-24), si in illa arma scelerati homines incidissent, Paulus in effusione sanguinis eorum suum crimen agnosceret. Absit ut ea quae propter bonum ac licitum facimus, aut habemus, si quid per haec praeter nostram voluntatem cuiquam mali acciderit, nobis imputetur. Alioquin nec ferramenta domestica et agrestia sunt habenda, ne quis eis vel se vel alterum interimat; nec arbor aut restis, ne quis se inde suspendat; nec fenestra facienda est, ne per hanc se quisque praecipitet. Quid plura commemorem, cum ea commemoranda finire non possim? Quid enim est in usu hominum bono ac licito, unde non possit etiam pernicies irrogari?

6. Restat, ni fallor, ut dicamus aliquid de illo viatore christiano, quem commemorasti victum famis necessitate, si nihil uspiam invenerit nisi cibum in idolio positum, ubi nullus alius est hominum, utrum ei satius sit fame emori, quam illud in alimentum sumere: in qua quaestione, quoniam non est consequens, ut cibus ille idolothytum sit; potuit enim vel ab eis qui ibi ab itinere divertentes corpus refecerant, oblivione seu voluntate dimitti, vel illic ob aliam causam quamlibet poni; breviter respondeo.

If someone doubts concerning some meat whether it was sacrificed, and it was not sacrificed, if he holds the knowledge that it was not sacrificed and eats it, he certainly does not sin; for it neither is, nor is it now thought to be, sacrificial meat, even though it was thought so before. For it is not unlawful to correct one's thoughts, moving from falsehood to truth. But if someone thinks that something is good which is evil, and does it, he certainly sins by so thinking. And all these are sins of ignorance, when someone thinks that what is done wickedly is done well.

5. As for killing men so that one may not be killed by them, this counsel does not please me; unless perhaps he is a soldier, or is bound by public office, so that he does this not for himself, but for others, or for the state in which he himself also lives, having received legitimate authority, if this befits his person. But to those who are restrained by some fear from doing evil, something is perhaps granted even to them. But hence it was said, let us not resist evil (Matt. V, 39), that revenge, which feeds the soul on another's harm, might not delight us; not that we should neglect the correction of men. Hence he is not guilty of another's death who has built a wall around his own property, if someone, struck by its ruins, should perish. For neither is a Christian guilty if his ox, by striking someone, or his horse, by kicking, kills someone; nor should Christians for that reason not have oxen with horns, or a horse with hooves, or a dog with teeth; nor indeed, since the apostle Paul took care that it be brought to the tribune's notice that an ambush was being prepared against him by certain wicked men, and for this reason received armed escorts (Acts XXIII, 17-24), would Paul, if wicked men had fallen upon those weapons, acknowledge his own guilt in the shedding of their blood. Far be it that, if through those things which we do or have for a good and lawful purpose, some evil should befall anyone apart from our will, it should be imputed to us. Otherwise, neither should household and farming iron tools be kept, lest someone kill with them either himself or another; nor a tree or a rope, lest someone hang himself from it; nor should a window be made, lest someone throw himself down through it. Why should I recount more, since I could not finish recounting them? For what is there in the good and lawful use of men from which ruin could not also be inflicted?

6. It remains, unless I am deceived, that we say something concerning that Christian traveler, whom you commemorated overcome by the necessity of hunger, if he shall have found nothing anywhere except food placed in an idol-shrine (*idolio*), where there is no other of men, whether it be better for him to die of hunger, than to take that into aliment: in which question, since it is not consequent, that that food be idolothytum; for it could either by those who turning aside from a journey there had refreshed the body, be dismissed by oblivion or will, or be placed there for any other cause whatever; I respond briefly.

Aut certum est esse idolothytum, aut certum est non esse, aut ignoratur: si ergo certum est esse, melius christiana virtute respuitur; si autem vel non esse scitur, vel ignoratur, sine ullo conscientiae scrupulo in usum necessitatis assumitur.

EPISTOLA XLVIII . Augustinus Eudoxio abbati monachorum insulae Capra-riae, exhortans ut otio ad pietatem, non ad ignaviam utantur, et sicubi Ecclesia requirat illorum operam, ne detrectent.

Domino dilecto et exoptatissimo fratri et compresbytero EUDOXIO et qui tecum sunt fratribus, AUGUSTINUS, et qui mecum sunt fratres, in Domino salutem.

1. Quando quietem vestram cogitamus, quam habetis in Christo, etiam nos, quamvis in laboribus variis asperisque versemur, in vestra charitate requiescimus. Unum enim corpus sub uno capite sumus, ut et vos in nobis negotiosi, et nos in vobis otiosi simus, quia si patitur unum membrum, compatiuntur omnia membra; et si glorificatur unum membrum, congaudent omnia membra (I Cor. XII, 26). Admonemus ergo et petimus et obsecramus per Christi altissimam humilitatem et misericordissimam celsitudinem, ut nostri memores sitis in sanctis orationibus vestris, quas vos vigilantiores et magis sobrias habere credimus: nostras enim saepe sauciat et debilitat caligo et tumultus saecularium actionum; quas etsi nostras non habemus, eorum tamen qui nos angariant mille passus, et jubemur ire cum eis alia duo (Matth. V, 41), tantae nobis ingeruntur ut vix respirare possimus: credentes tamen quod ille in cujus conspectu intrat gemitus compeditorum (Psal. LXXVIII, 11), perseverantes nos in eo ministerio, in quo dignatus est collocare cum promissa mercede, adjuvantibus orationibus vestris ab omni angustia liberabit.

2. Vos autem, fratres, exhortamur in Domino ut propositum vestrum custodiatis, et usque in finem perseveretis: ac si quam operam vestram mater Ecclesia desideraverit, nec elatione avida suscipiatis, nec blandiente desidia respuatis; sed miti corde obtem-peretis Deo, cum mansuetudine portantes eum qui vos regit, qui dirigit mites in judicio, qui docet mansuetos vias suas (Psal. XXIV, 9). Nec vestrum otium necessita-tibus Ecclesiae praeponatis, cui parturienti si nulli boni ministrare vellent, quomodo nasceremini, non inveniretis.

Either it is certain to be idolothytum, or it is certain not to be, or it is ignored: if therefore it is certain to be, it is better rejected by Christian virtue; if moreover it is either known not to be, or is ignored, it is assumed into the use of necessity without any scruple of conscience.

EPISTOLA XLVIII. Augustine to Eudoxius abbot of the monks of the island of Capraria, exhorting that they use leisure for piety, not for sloth, and if anywhere the Church should require their labor, they should not detrect.

To the beloved lord and most desired brother and fellow-presbyter EUDOXIUS and the brothers who are with you, AUGUSTINE, and the brothers who are with me, [send] greeting in the Lord.

1. When we think upon your quiet, which you have in Christ, we also, although we are versed in various and sharp labors, rest in your Charity. For we are one body under one head, so that both you may be busy in us, and we may be at leisure in you, because "if one member suffers, all members suffer with it; and if one member is glorified, all members rejoice together" (1 Cor. 12:26). We admonish therefore and ask and obsecrate by the most high humility and most merciful celsitude of Christ, that you be mindful of us in your holy prayers, which we believe you to have more vigilant and more sober: for our [prayers] the darkness and tumult of secular actions often wound and debilitate; which although we do not have as ours, nevertheless of those who angariate us a thousand paces, and we are commanded to go with them another two (Matt. 5:41), such great [things] are ingested to us that we can scarcely breathe: believing nevertheless that He in whose sight the groaning of the fettered enters (Ps. 78:11), with us persevering in that ministry, in which He deigned to collocate with a promised reward, will liberate from all anguish, with your prayers helping.

You moreover, brothers, we exhort in the Lord that you guard your purpose, and persevere even unto the end: and if Mother Church should have desired any labor of yours, neither should you suspect it with avid elation, nor should you refuse it with blandishing desidia; but with mild heart obey God, carrying with mansuetude Him who rules you, who directs the mild in judgment, who teaches the mansuete His ways (Ps. 24:9). Nor should you prepose your leisure to the necessities of the Church, to whom if none good willed to minister when she was in labor, you would not find how you might be born.

Sicut autem inter ignem et aquam tenenda est via, ut nec exuratur homo nec demergatur; sic inter apicem superbiae et voraginem desidiae iter nostrum temperare debemus, sicut scriptum est: Non declinantes, neque ad dexteram, neque ad sinistram (Deut. XVII, 11). Sunt enim qui dum nimis timent ne quasi in dexteram rapti extollantur, in sinistram lapsi demerguntur. Et sunt rursus qui dum nimis se auferunt a sinistra, ne torpida vacationis mollitie sorbeantur, ex altera parte jactantiae fastu corrupti atque consumpti, in favillam fumumque vanescunt. Sic ergo, dilectissimi, diligite otium, ut vos ab omni terrena delectatione refrenetis, et memineritis nullum locum esse, ubi non possit laqueos tendere qui timet ne revolemus ad Deum; et inimicum omnium bonorum, cujus captivi fuimus judicemus, nullamque nobis esse perfectam requiem cogitemus, donec transeat iniquitas (Psal. LVI, 2), et in judicium justitia convertatur (Psal. XCIII, 15).

3. Item cum aliquid strenue atque alacriter agitis et impigre operamini, sive in orationibus, sive in jejuniis, sive in eleemosynis; vel tribuentes aliquid indigentibus, vel donantes injurias, sicut et Deus in Christo donavit nobis (Ephes. IV, 32); sive domantes perniciosas consuetudines, castigantesque corpus, et servituti subjicientes (I Cor. IX, 27); sive sufferentes tribulationem, et ante omnia vos ipsos invicem in dilectione; quid enim sufferat qui fratrem non suffert? sive prospicientes astutiam atque insidias tentatoris, et scuto fidei jacula ejus ignita repellentes et exstinguentes (Ephes. VI, 16); sive cantantes et psallentes in cordibus vestris Domino (Ephes. V, 19), vel vocibus a corde non dissonis, omnia in gloriam Dei facite (I Cor. X, 31), qui operatur omnia in omnibus (Id. XII, 6); atque ita fervete spiritu (Rom. XII, 11), ut in Domino laudetur anima vestra (Psal. XXXIII, 3). Ipsa est enim actio recti itineris, quae oculos semper habet ad Dominum, quoniam ipse evellet de laqueo pedes (Psal. XXIV, 15). Talis actio nec frangitur negotio, nec frigida est otio, nec turbulenta, nec marcida est; nec audax, nec fugax; nec praeceps, nec jacens. Haec agite, et Deus pacis erit vobiscum (II Cor. XIII, 11).

4. Nec importunum me existimet Charitas vestra, quia vobis vel per epistolam loqui volui. Non enim hoc vos monui, quod vos non arbitror facere; sed credidi me non parum commendari Deo a vobis, si ea quae munere illius facitis, cum allocutionis nostrae memoria faciatis. Nam et ante jam fama, et nunc fratres qui venerunt a vobis, Eustasius et Andreas, bonum Christi odorem de vestra sancta conversatione ad nos attulerunt. Quorum Eustasius in eam requiem praecessit, quae nullis fluctibus sicut insula tunditur, nec Caprariam desiderat, quia nec cilicio jam quaerit indui.

Moreover just as between fire and water the way is to be held, so that neither a man be burned nor be drowned; so between the apex of pride and the vortex of desidia we ought to temper our journey, just as it is written: "Not declining, neither to the right, nor to the left" (Deut. 17:11). For there are some who while they fear too much lest they be extolled as if snatched into the right, being slipped into the left they are drowned. And there are again those who while they too much withdraw themselves from the left, lest they be absorbed by the torpid softness of vacation, being corrupted and consumed on the other part by the pomp of boasting, vanish into embers and smoke. So therefore, most beloved, love leisure, so that you may refrain yourselves from all earthly delectation, and you may remember that there is no place, where he cannot stretch snares who fears lest we should fly back to God; and let us judge the enemy of all good things, whose captives we were, and let us think no perfect rest to be for us, until iniquity should pass away (Ps. 56:2), and justice be converted into judgment (Ps. 93:15).

3. Likewise, when you do something strenuously and eagerly and labor diligently, whether in prayers, or in fastings, or in almsgiving; either giving something to the needy, or forgiving injuries, just as God also forgave us in Christ (Eph. 4:32); or taming pernicious habits, and chastising the body, and subjecting it to servitude (1 Cor. 9:27); or bearing with tribulation, and above all bearing with one another in love — for what would he bear who does not bear with his brother? — or watching for the cunning and snares of the tempter, and repelling and quenching his fiery darts with the shield of faith (Eph. 6:16); or singing and making melody in your hearts to the Lord (Eph. 5:19), or with voices not discordant from the heart, do all things to the glory of God (1 Cor. 10:31), who works all in all (id. 12:6); and thus be fervent in spirit (Rom. 12:11), so that your soul may be praised in the Lord (Ps. 33:3). For this is the very action of the right way, which always has its eyes turned to the Lord, since he himself will pluck my feet out of the snare (Ps. 24:15). Such an action is neither broken by business, nor cold in leisure, neither turbulent nor languid; neither rash nor evasive; neither headlong nor prostrate. Do these things, and the God of peace will be with you (2 Cor. 13:11).

4. Let not your Charity think me importunate, because I have wished to speak to you at least by letter. For I have not admonished you of this because I think you do not do it; but I believed that I would be commended not a little to God by you, if you should do the things which you do by his gift, along with remembrance of our address. For already before by report, and now the brothers who came from you, Eustasius and Andreas, have brought to us the good odor of Christ from your holy manner of life. Of whom Eustasius has gone before into that rest which, like an island, is beaten by no waves, and does not long for Capraria, because he no longer seeks to be clothed with a hairshirt.

EPISTOLA XLIX.

Augustinus Honorato Donatianae partis, ut per litteras placide reddat rationem quomodo nomen Ecclesiae, quae utique in toto orbe futura praedicta est in Scripturis, ad ipsos solos reciderit.

HONORATO episcopo partis Donati, AUGUSTINUS episcopus Ecclesiae catholicae.

1. Consilium tuum nobis multum placuit, quod per fratrem Herotem charissimum nobis, et in Christo laudabilem virum mandare dignatus es, ut litteris inter nos agamus, ubi nullus turbarum tumultus perturbare possit disputationem nostram, quae cum tota lenitate et pace animi suscipienda et agenda est, sicut dicit Apostolus: Servum autem Domini litigare non oportet, sed mitem esse ad omnes, docibilem, patientem, in modestia corripientem diversa sentientes (II Tim. II. 24, 25). Itaque breviter insinuamus, quid a te responderi desideremus.

2. Quoniam Ecclesiam Dei, quae catholica dicitur, sicut de illa prophetatum est, per orbem terrarum diffusam videmus, arbitramur nos non debere dubitare de tam evidentissima completione sanctae prophetiae, quam Dominus etiam in Evangelio confirmavit et Apostoli, per quos eadem Ecclesia dilatata est, sicut de illa praedictum erat. Nam et in capite sacrosancti Psalterii scriptum est de Filio Dei: Dominus dixit ad me: Filius meus es tu, ego hodie genui te. Postula a me, et dabo tibi gentes haereditatem tuam, et possessionem tuam terminos terrae (Psal. II, 7, 8). Et ipse Dominus Jesus Christus dicit Evangelium suum in omnibus gentibus futurum (Matth. XXIV, 14). Et apostolus Paulus, antequam sermo Dei in Africam pervenisset, in ipso capite Epistolae quam scripsit ad Romanos: Per quem accepimus, inquit, gratiam et apostolatum, ad obediendum fidei, in omnibus gentibus pro nomine ejus (Rom. I, 5). Deinde ipse a Jerusalem in circumitu per totam Asiam usque in Illyricum Evangelium praedicavit, Ecclesias constituit atque fundavit; non ipse, sed gratia Dei cum eo (I Cor. XV, 10), sicut ipse testatur. Quid autem evidentius apparere potest, quam cum in ejus Epistolis nomina etiam regionum vel civitatum invenimus? Ad Romanos, ad Corinthios, ad Galatas, ad Ephesios, ad Philippenses, ad Thessalonicenses, ad Colossenses scribit. Joannes etiam scribit ad septem Ecclesias, quas commemorat in illis partibus constitutas, in quibus etiam universam Ecclesiam septenario numero intelligimus commendari, Ephesum, Smyrnam, Sardos, Philadelphiam, Laodiciam, Pergamum, Thiatyram (Apoc. I, 11). Quibus omnibus Ecclesiis nos hodie communicare manifestum est, sicut manifestum est vos istis Ecclesiis non communicare

LETTER XLIX.

Augustine to Honoratus of the Donatist party, that he peacefully give an account by letter of how the name of the Church, which was indeed foretold in the Scriptures as destined for the whole world, has fallen back to them alone.

To HONORATUS, bishop of the party of Donatus, AUGUSTINE, bishop of the Catholic Church.

1. Your counsel pleased us greatly, which you deigned to convey through brother Herotes, most dear to us, and a man praiseworthy in Christ, that we should deal with one another by letters, where no tumult of crowds could disturb our disputation, which must be undertaken and carried on with entire gentleness and peace of mind, as the Apostle says: But the servant of the Lord must not wrangle, but be mild toward all, apt to teach, patient, correcting with modesty those who think differently (2 Tim. 2:24, 25). Therefore we briefly intimate what we desire to be answered by you.

2. Since we see the Church of God, which is called Catholic, just as it was prophesied concerning her, diffused through the whole world, we judge that we ought not to doubt concerning such most evident completion of holy prophecy, which the Lord also confirmed in the Gospel and the Apostles, through whom the same Church was dilated, just as it had been predicted concerning her. For both in the head of the sacrosanct Psalter it is written concerning the Son of God: "The Lord said to me: Thou art my Son, I today have begotten thee. Ask of me, and I will give to thee the nations [as] thy inheritance, and thy possession the ends of the earth" (Ps. 2:7, 8). And the Lord Jesus Christ Himself says His Gospel would be future in all nations (Matt. 24:14). And the apostle Paul, before the word of God had arrived into Africa, in the very head of the Epistle which he wrote to the Romans: "Through whom we have received," he says, "grace and apostleship, to the obedience of faith, in all nations for His name" (Rom. 1:5). Then he himself from Jerusalem in circuit through all Asia even into Illyricum preached the Gospel, constituted and founded Churches; not he himself, but the grace of God with him (1 Cor. 15:10), just as he himself testifies. Moreover what can appear more evidently, than when in his Epistles we find even the names of regions or cities? To the Romans, to the Corinthians, to the Galatians, to the Ephesians, to the Philippians, to the Thessalonians, to the Colossians he writes. John also writes to the seven Churches, which he commemorates constituted in those parts, in which also we understand the universal Church to be commended by the septenary number, Ephesus, Smyrna, Sardis, Philadelphia, Laodicea, Pergamum, Thyatira (Rev. 1:11). With all which Churches it is manifest us today to communicate, just as it is manifest you not to communicate with those Churches.

Immanitatis vestrae famosissimum scelus, et inopinata crudelitas terram concutit, et percutit coelum, ut in plateis ac delubris vestris eluceat sanguis, et resonet homicidium. Apud vos Romanae sepultae sunt leges, judiciorum rectorum calcatus est terror. Imperatorum certe nulla veneratio nec timor. Apud vos LX numero fratrum innocens effusus est sanguis, et si quis plures occidit, functus est laudibus, et in vestram curiam tenuit principatum. Age, nunc principalem veniamus ad causam. Si Herculem vestrum dixeritis, porro reddemus: adsunt metalla, saxa nec desunt; accedunt marmorum genera, suppetit artificum copia. Caeterum deus vester cum diligentia sculpitur, tornatur et ornatur. Addimus et rubricam quae pingit ruborem, quo possint vota vestra sacra sonare. Nam si vestrum Herculem dixeritis, collatis singulis nummis ab artifice vestro vobis emimus deum. Reddite igitur animas, quas manus vestra contorsit, et sicuti a nobis vester Hercules redhibetur, sic etiam a vobis tantorum animae reddantur.

Epistola LI.

Augustinus Crispinum Calamensem Donatianae partis episcopum urget propositis breviter aliquod argumentis, ad ea si potest respondeat per litteras.

1. Quia humilitatem nostram vestri reprehendunt, ideo sic epistolam praenotavi; quod in tuam contumeliam fecisse videar, si non ita mihi abs te ut rescribatur exspecto. De Carthaginensi promissione tua vel nostra instantia, quid multa commemorem? Quomodolibet ea gesserimus, transierint, ne quod restat impediant. Nunc excusatio, nisi fallor, nulla est adjuvante Domino; ambo in Numidia sumus, et nobis loco terrarum invicem propinquamus. Rumor ad me detulit, adhuc te velle mecum disputando experiri de quaestione, quae nostram dirimit communionem. Vide quam breviter omnes auferantur ambages, ad hanc epistolam responde, si placet, et fortasse sufficiet, non solum nobis, sed et eis qui nos audire desiderant; aut si non sufficiet, scripta atque rescripta, donec sufficiant, repetantur. Quid enim nobis commodius poterit exhibere urbium, quas incolimus, tanta vicinitas? Ego enim statui nihil de hac re agere vobiscum, nisi per litteras, vel ne cui nostrum de memoria, quod dicitur elabatur, vel ne fraudentur talium studiosi, qui forte interesse non possunt.

The most famous crime of your monstrosity and unexpected cruelty shakes the earth and strikes the heaven, so that in your streets and shrines blood shines and homicide resounds. Among you the Roman laws are buried, the terror of upright judgments is trampled. Certainly there is no veneration nor fear of the Emperors. Among you the innocent blood of sixty brothers in number was poured out, and if anyone killed more, he was discharged with praises and held the principate in your curia. Come now, let us come to the principal cause. If you mention your Hercules, we shall return him henceforth: metals are present, nor are stones lacking; kinds of marbles are added, a plenty of craftsmen is supplied. Moreover your god is sculpted, turned, and adorned with diligence. We add also the red ochre (rubrica) which paints the redness, by which your sacred vows might be able to sound. For if you mention your Hercules, by each coin having been collected from your craftsman, we buy a god for you. Restore therefore the souls which your hand twisted, and just as your Hercules is returned by us, so also let the souls of so many be restored by you.

Letter LI.

Augustine urges Crispinus of Calama, bishop of the Donatist party, with some arguments briefly proposed, that he respond to them by letter if he can.

1. Because your people find fault with our humility, I have thus pre-notated the letter; because I would seem to have done it for your insult, if I do not expect it to be rewritten to me by you in such a way. Concerning your promise at Carthage or our insistence, why should I commemorate many things? In whatever way we carried those out, let them have passed away, lest they impede what remains. Now there is no excuse, unless I am deceived, the Lord helping; we are both in Numidia, and we approach each other in the position of lands. Rumor has brought to me that you still wish to try with me by disputing concerning the question which divides our communion. See how briefly all ambiguities are removed: respond to this letter, if it pleases, and perhaps it will suffice, not only for us, but also for those who desire to hear us; or if it will not suffice, let writings and re-writings be repeated until they suffice. For what more commodious thing will the so great vicinity of the cities which we inhabit be able to exhibit to us? For I have determined to do nothing concerning this matter with you, except by letters, either lest [anything] of what is said should slip from the memory of any of us, or lest the studious of such things, who perhaps are not able to be present, be defrauded.

Soletis de praeteritis rebus gestis, quae vultis, falsa jactare, forte non mentiendi studio, sed errore. Proinde, si placet, de praesentibus illa metiamur. Procul dubio te non fugit prioris populi temporibus et idololatriae sacrilegium fuisse commissum, et a rege contemptore librum propheticum incensum (Jerem. XXXVI, 23); quo utroque crimine schismatis malum non puniretur atrocius, nisi gravius penderetur. Profecto enim recordaris quemadmodum schismatis auctores vivos dehiscens terra sorbuerit, et eos qui consenserant, coelo irruens ignis absumpserit (Num. XVI, 31 35). Sic nec fabricatum et adoratum idolum, nec sacer Liber exustus meruit vindicari.

2. Cur ergo, qui soletis nobis objicere, non solum in nostris non probata, sed potius in vestris probata crimina eorum qui formidine persecutionis impulsi dominicos libros concremandos ignibus tradiderunt, vos eos quos pro scelere schismatis, plenarii concilii vestri veridico, sicut ibi scriptum est, ore damnastis, in eodem ipso episcopatu recepistis in quo damnastis; Felicianum dico Mustitanum, et Praetextatum Assuritanum? Neque enim, sicut ignorantibus dicitis, ex eo numero fuerunt isti, quibus vestrum concilium diem prorogaverat et praefixerat, intra quem nisi ad vestram communionem remeavissent, eadem sententia tenerentur; sed de illo numero isti fuerunt, quos eo die sine dilatione damnastis, quo illis dilationem dedistis. Probabo, si negaveris: concilium vestrum loquitur; proconsularia Gesta habemus in manibus, quibus id non semel allegastis. Aliam ergo defensionem para, si potes, ne dum negas quod convincam, moras faciamus. Felicianum igitur et Praetextatus si innocentes erant, quare sic damnati sunt? Si scelerati, quare sic recepti sunt? Si probaveris innocentes, cur non credamus a multo paucioribus majoribus vestris falso crimine traditionis innocentes potuisse damnari, si a trecentis decem successoribus eorum, ubi etiam pro magno scriptum est, plenarii concilii ore veridico, in falso crimine schismatis innocentes damnari potuerunt? Si autem probaveris recte fuisse damnatos, quae restat defensio cur in eodem episcopatu recepti sint, nisi ut exaggerans utilitatem salubritatemque pacis, ostendas etiam ista pro unitatis vinculo toleranda? Quod utinam non oris, sed cordis viribus ageres! profecto perspiceres quam nullis calumniis per orbem terrarum esset violanda pax Christi, si licet in Africa etiam in sacrilego schismate damnatos, in eodem ipso episcopatu recipi pro pace Donati.

You are accustomed to boast false things concerning past deeds which you wish, perhaps not by the study of lying, but by error. Accordingly, if it pleases, let us measure those from present things. Without doubt it does not escape you that in the times of the prior people both the sacrilege of idolatry was committed, and the prophetic book was burned by a contemptuous king (Jer. 36:23); by both which crimes the evil of schism would not be punished more atrociously, unless it were weighed more heavily. For surely you remember how the earth opening up swallowed the authors of schism alive, and fire rushing from heaven consumed those who had consented (Num. 16:31-35). Thus neither the fabricated and adored idol, nor the sacred Book burned deserved to be avenged [so severely].

2. Why therefore do you, who are accustomed to object against us, not only crimes not proved in ours, but rather proved in yours, of those who, impelled by the dread of persecution, delivered the Lord's books to be consumed by fires—[why do] you [receive back] those whom for the crime of schism, you condemned by the truthful mouth of your plenary council, as it is written there, in that very same episcopate in which you condemned them? I mean Felicianus of Musti, and Praetextatus of Assuras. For neither, as you say to the ignorant, were those from that number for whom your council had prorogued and prefixed a day, within which unless they had returned to your communion, they would be held by the same sentence; but from that number were those whom you condemned on that day without delay, on which [day] you gave delay to those [others]. I will prove it, if you deny: your council speaks; we have the proconsular Acts (Gesta) in hands, in which you have alleged it not once. Prepare therefore another defense, if you can, lest while you deny what I shall convict, we make delays. If therefore Felicianus and Praetextatus were innocent, why were they thus condemned? If wicked, why were they thus received? If you shall prove them innocent, why should we not believe that by much fewer of your ancestors, the innocent could have been condemned on a false crime of delivery (traditio), if by three hundred and ten of their successors, where even it is written as a great thing, "by the truthful mouth of the plenary council," the innocent could be condemned on a false crime of schism? If however you shall prove that they were rightly condemned, what defense remains why they were received in the same episcopate, unless that, exaggerating the utility and healthfulness of peace, you show even those things are to be tolerated for the bond of unity? Which would that you did not with the strengths of the mouth, but of the heart! surely you would perceive how the peace of Christ ought to be violated by no calumnies through the whole world, if it is allowed in Africa even for those condemned in a sacrilegious schism, to be received in that very same episcopate for the peace of Donatus.

3. Item soletis nobis objicere quod vos per potestates terrenas persequamur. Qua in re non disputo, vel quid vos pro immanitate tanti sacrilegii mereamini, vel quantum nos christiana temperet mansuetudo; illud dico: si hoc crimen est, cur eosdem Maximianistas per judices ab eis imperatoribus missos, quos per Evangelium genuit nostra communio, graviter insectati, de basilicis quas tenebant, in quibus eos invenit ipsa conscissio, et controversiarum strepitu et jussionum potentatu et auxiliorum impetu perturbastis? In qua conflictatione quae passi sint per loca singula, recentia rerum vestigia contestantur; quae jussa sint chartae indicant, quae facta sint terrae clamant, in quibus etiam Optati illius tribuni vestri sancta memoria praedicatur.

4. Item dicere soletis quod nos Christi baptismum non habeamus, et praeter vestram communionem nusquam sit. Possem hinc uberius aliquanto disserere. Sed contra vos jam nihil opus est, qui cum Feliciano et Praetextato etiam Maximianistarum baptismum recepistis. Quotquot enim baptizaverunt quando Maximiano communicabant, cum etiam ipsos nominatim, id est Felicianum et Praetextatum de basilicis eorum, sicut gesta testantur, diuturno conflictu judiciorum expellere conaremini; quotquot ergo eo tempore baptizaverunt, nunc secum et vobiscum habent, non solum per aegritudinum pericula, sed etiam per solemnitates Paschales in tot ecclesiis ad suas civitates pertinentibus, et in ipsis tam magnis civitatibus foris in scelere schismatis baptizatos, quorum nulli Baptisma repetitum est. Atque utinam probare possetis, eos quos foris in scelere schismatis Felicianus et Praetextatus tanquam inaniter baptizaverant, ab eis receptis intus quasi utiliter denuo baptizatos. Si enim rursus baptizandi erant isti, rursus ordinandi erant illi. Amiserant enim episcopatum recedentes a vobis, si extra communionem vestram baptizare non poterant. Nam si discedentes episcopatum non amiserant, baptizare utique poterant. Si autem amiserant, ergo ut eis quod amiserant redderetur, redeuntes ordinari debebant. Sed noli timere: sicut certum est cum eodem illos episcopatu cum quo exierant remeasse, ita certum est omnes quos in Maximiani schismate baptizarunt, sine ulla Baptismi repetitione secum vestrae communioni reconciliasse.

3. Likewise you are accustomed to object against us that we persecute you through earthly powers. In which matter I do not dispute, either what you might deserve for the monstrosity of so great a sacrilege, or how much Christian mildness might temper us; I say that: if this is a crime, why did you heavily pursue the same Maximianists through judges sent by those Emperors whom our communion begot through the Gospel, [and] from the basilicas which they were holding, in which the division itself found them, disturb them both by the noise of controversies and the power of commands and the force of aids? In which conflict what things they suffered through individual places, recent vestiges of things bear witness; what things were ordered the papers indicate, what things were done the lands cry out, in which even the holy memory of that Optatus your tribune is preached.

4. Likewise you are accustomed to say that we do not have the baptism of Christ, and that outside of your communion it is nowhere. I could discourse on this somewhat more copiously. But against you there is now no need, you who with Felicianus and Praetextatus received even the baptism of the Maximianists. For as many as they baptized when they were communicating with Maximianus, when you were trying even to expel them by name, that is Felicianus and Praetextatus, from their basilicas, as the acts witness, by a long-lasting conflict of judgments; as many therefore as baptized at that time, they now have with themselves and with you, not only through the perils of sicknesses, but also through the Paschal solemnities in so many churches pertaining to their cities, and in those so great cities, [those] baptized outside in the crime of schism, for none of whom was Baptism repeated. And would that you could prove, that those whom outside in the crime of schism Felicianus and Praetextatus had baptized as if in vain, were again baptized by them received inside as if usefully. For if these were to be baptized again, those were to be ordained again. For they had lost the episcopate by receding from you, if they were not able to baptize outside of your communion. For if by departing they had not lost the episcopate, they were certainly able to baptize. If however they had lost it, therefore that what they had lost might be restored to them, they ought to have been ordained on returning. But do not fear: just as it is certain that those returned with the same episcopate with which they had gone out, so it is certain that all whom they baptized in the schism of Maximianus, they reconciled with themselves to your communion without any repetition of Baptism.

5. Quibus igitur sufficimus lacrymis plangere recipi baptismum Maximianistarum, et exsufflari Baptismum orbis terrarum? Sive auditos sive inauditos, sive juste sive injuste damnastis Felicianum, damnastis Praetextatum; dic mihi: quem Corinthiorum episcopum audivit, aut damnavit aliquis vestrum? quem Galatarum, quem Ephesiorum, quem Colossensium, Philippensium, Thessalonicensium, caeterarumque omnium civitatum, de quibus dictum est: Adorabunt in conspectu ejus universae patriae gentium? (Psal. XXI, 28.) Ergo istorum baptismus acceptatur, et illorum exsufflatur; qui nec istorum est nec illorum, sed illius de quo dictum est: Hic est qui baptizat (Joan. I, 33). Sed non hinc ago; ad illa quae praesto sunt, adverte, ea quae oculos etiam caecos feriunt, intuere: damnati habent baptismum; et inauditi non habent! Nominatim in scelere schismatis expressi et ejecti habent; et ignoti, longe peregrini, nunquam accusati, nunquam judicati non habent! Qui de praecisa parte Africae rursus praecisi sunt, habent; et unde ipsum Evangelium in Africam venit non habent! Quid pluribus onero? ad ista responde. Attende sacrilegium schismatis vestro concilio Maximianistis exaggeratum; attende persecutiones per judiciarias potestates, quas eis irrogastis; attende baptismum eorum, quem cum eis quos damnastis recepistis; et responde, si potes, utrum habeatis aliquid unde injiciatis nebulas imperitis, cur ab orbe terrarum longe majore scelere schismatis separemini, quam quod in Maximianistis vos damnasse gloriamini. Pax Christi vincat in corde tuo. ΕΥΤΥΧΩΣ.

Epistola LII.

Augustinus Severino consanguineo suo donatistae, ut deserat schisma scelestum et impudens.

Domino multum desiderabili et valde charissimo fratri SEVERINO, AUGUSTINUS.

1. Litteras Fraternitatis tuae etsi valde sero, etsi praeter quod speraveram, tamen laetus accepi, maximeque ampliori gaudio perfusus sum, cum cognovissem hominem vestrum hac ipsa sola causa venisse Hipponem, ut ad me litteras tuae Fraternitatis afferret.

5. With what tears therefore are we sufficient to bewail that the baptism of the Maximianists is received, and the Baptism of the whole world is exsufflated? Whether heard or unheard, whether justly or unjustly, you condemned Felicianus, you condemned Praetextatus; tell me: what bishop of the Corinthians did any of you hear, or condemn? what [bishop] of the Galatians, what of the Ephesians, what of the Colossians, of the Philippians, of the Thessalonians, and of all the other cities, concerning which it is said: "All the countries of the nations shall adore in His sight"? (Ps. 22:28.) Therefore the baptism of these is accepted, and that of those is exsufflated; which is neither of these nor of those, but of Him concerning whom it is said: "This is He who baptizes" (John 1:33). But I do not act from this; to those things which are at hand, attend, behold those things which strike even blind eyes: the condemned have baptism; and the unheard have not! [Those] expressly by name in the crime of schism and ejected have [it]; and the unknown, far-off strangers, never accused, never judged have [it] not! Those who were again cut off from a cut-off part of Africa have [it]; and [those] from where the Gospel itself came into Africa have [it] not! Why do I burden [you] with more things? respond to these. Attend to the sacrilege of schism exaggerated against the Maximianists by your council; attend to the persecutions through judicial powers, which you inflicted on them; attend to their baptism, which you received with those whom you condemned; and respond, if you can, whether you have anything by which you may cast mists on the unskilful, why you are separated from the whole world by a far greater crime of schism, than what you glory to have condemned in the Maximianists. May the peace of Christ conquer in your heart. FAREWELL (EUTYCHOS).

Letter LII.

Augustine to Severinus his kinsman, a Donatist, that he desert the wicked and impudent schism.

To the much desirable Lord and very dear brother SEVERINUS, AUGUSTINE [sends greeting].

1. I have received the letters of your Brotherhood, although very late, [and] although beyond what I had hoped, yet joyful, and especially was I poured over with a more ample joy, when I had known your man had come to Hippo for this very cause alone, that he might bring the letters of your Brotherhood to me.

Cogitavi enim non sine causa hoc exortum esse in animo tuo ut recoleres consanguinitatem nostram; nisi quia fortasse perspicis, sicut novi non leve pondus prudentiae tuae, quam sit dolendum, ut qui secundum carnem fratres sumus, in Christi corpore non una societate vivamus, praesertim quia facile tibi est attendere et videri civitatem super montem constitutam, de qua Dominus ait in Evangelio quod abscondi non possit (Matth 5, 14). Ipsa est enim Ecclesia catholica: unde καθολικὴ graece appellatur, quod per totum orbem terrarum diffunditur. Hanc ignorare nulli licet; ideo secundum verbum Domini nostri Jesu Christi, abscondi non potest.

2. Pars autem Donati in solis Afris calumniatur orbi terrarum, et non considerat ea sterilitate, qua fructus pacis et charitatis noluit afferre, ab illa radice Orientalium Ecclesiarum se esse praecisam, unde Evangelium in Africam venit: unde terra si eis afferatur, adorant; fidelis autem si inde veniat, exsufflant etiam et rebaptizant. Hoc enim etiam praedixit Filius Dei, qui veritas est, se esse vitem, suos autem filios esse sarmenta, et Patrem suum agricolam: Sarmentum, inquit, quod in me non dat fructum, Pater meus tollet illud; sarmentum autem quod in me dat fructum, purgat illud, ut majorem fructum afferat (Joan. XV, 1, 2). Non ergo mirum est, si de illa vite quae crevit et omnes terras implevit, praecisi sunt illi qui fructum charitatis afferre noluerunt.

3. Qui si vera crimina objecissent collegis suis, majores eorum quando schisma fecerunt, ipsi obtinuissent causam suam apud Ecclesiam transmarinam, unde ad istas partes christianae fidei manavit auctoritas, ut illi essent foris quibus eadem crimina objiciebant. Nunc autem cum illi inveniantur intus communicare Ecclesiis apostolicis, quarum nomina in Libris sanctis habent et recitant, isti autem foris positi et ab illa communione separati sint, quis non intelligat eos habuisse causam bonam, qui eam apud medios judices obtinere potuerunt? Aut si causam bonam habebant, et eam transmarinis Ecclesiis probare non potuerunt, quid illos laesit orbis terrarum, ubi episcopi collegas suos, qui apud eos objectis criminibus convicti non erant, temere damnare non possent? Itaque innocentes rebaptizantur, et Christus in innocentibus exsufflatur. Si autem iidem Donatistae Afrorum collegarum suorum vera crimina noverant, et neglexerunt ea demonstrare et probare transmarinis Ecclesiis, ipsi se ab unitate Christi sceleratissimo schismate praeciderunt, non habent quod excusent, et vos nostis; maxime quia tam multi scelerati apud eos emerserunt, et toleraverunt illos per tot annos, ne partem Donati conscinderent, et non dubitaverunt illo tempore falsas suspiciones suas objicientes, pacem Christi unitatemque disrumpere, et vos videtis.

For I thought not without cause this had arisen in your mind that you should recall our consanguinity; unless because perhaps you perceive, as I know the not light weight of your prudence, how much it is to be lamented, that we who are brothers according to the flesh, do not live in one society in the body of Christ, especially because it is easy for you to attend to and see the city constituted upon a mountain, concerning which the Lord says in the Gospel that it cannot be hidden (Matt. 5:14). For it is the Catholic Church: whence it is called katholike in Greek, because it is diffused through the whole world. It is allowed to no one to be ignorant of this; therefore according to the word of our Lord Jesus Christ, it cannot be hidden.

But the party of Donatus among Africans alone calumniates the whole world, and does not consider by that sterility, by which it was unwilling to bring the fruit of peace and charity, [that] it has been cut off from that root of the Oriental Churches, whence the Gospel came into Africa: whence if earth is brought to them, they adore [it]; but if a faithful man comes from there, they even exsufflate and rebaptize [him]. For this also the Son of God predicted, who is the truth, [that] He is the vine, but His children are the branches, and His Father the husbandman: "The branch," He says, "which in me does not give fruit, my Father will take it away; but the branch which in me gives fruit, He purges it, that it may bring greater fruit" (John 15:1, 2). Therefore it is no wonder, if from that vine which grew and filled all lands, those have been cut off who were unwilling to bring the fruit of charity.

3. If they had objected true crimes against their colleagues, their ancestors when they made the schism, they themselves would have obtained their cause before the transmarine Church, whence the authority of the Christian faith flowed into these parts, so that those were outside against whom they were objecting those same crimes. But now since those are found inside to communicate with the apostolic Churches, whose names they have and recite in the holy Books, but these are placed outside and separated from that communion, who may not understand that those had a good cause, who were able to obtain it before impartial judges? Or if they had a good cause, and were not able to prove it to the transmarine Churches, what did the whole world harm them, where bishops could not rashly condemn their colleagues, who were not convicted of the objected crimes before them? Thus the innocent are rebaptized, and Christ is exsufflated in the innocent. If however the same Donatists knew true crimes of their African colleagues, and neglected to demonstrate and prove them to the transmarine Churches, they themselves cut themselves off from the unity of Christ by a most wicked schism, they have nothing which they may excuse, and you know [it]; especially because so many wicked men emerged among them, and they tolerated those through so many years, lest they should rend the party of Donatus, and they did not hesitate at that time, objecting their false suspicions, to disrupt the peace and unity of Christ, and you see [it].

4. Sed nescio quae carnalis consuetudo, frater Severine, ibi vos tenet; et olim doleo, olim gemo, maxime prudentiam tuam cogitans, et olim te videre desidero, ut de hac re tecum loquerer. Quid enim prodest vel salus vel consanguinitas temporalis, si aeternam Christi haereditatem salutemque perpetuam in nostra cognatione contemnimus? Haec me interim scripsisse suffecerit, quae duris cordibus valde pauca sunt et prope nulla; animo autem tuo quem bene novi, valde multa sunt et valde magna. Non enim mea sunt, qui nihil sum, nisi quod exspecto misericordiam Dei; sed ipsius Dei omnipotentis, quem quisquis in hoc seculo comtempserit patrem, inveniet in futuro judicem.

EPISTOLA LIII. Confutatur epistola presbyteri cujusdam donatistae qui Generosum catholicum Constantinensem seducere moliebatur, simulans ab angelo se monitum ut ipsum ad Donatistarum partes adduceret.

Dilectissimo et honorabili fratri GENEROSO, FORTUNATUS, ALYPIUS et AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

CAPUT PRIMUM.

1. Quoniam nobis notam esse voluisti epistolam quam ad te Donatistarum presbyter dedit, quanquam eam tu quoque catholico animo deriseris: tamen ut ei potius si non desperate desipit, consulas, haec ad eum rescripta petimus perferas. Ille enim ordinem Christianitatis civitatis vestrae tibi ut insinuaret, jussisse sibi angelum scripsit, cum tu teneas Christianitatem, non civitatis tuae tantum, nec tantum Africae vel Afrorum, sed totius orbis terrae, quae annuntiata est et annuntiatur omnibus gentibus. Unde illis parum est, quod praecisos esse non pudet, nec sibi subveniunt, ut cum possunt, redeant ad radicem, nisi etiam secum alios praecidere, et sicut ligna arida in ignem destinare conentur. Quapropter si tibi ipsi angelus astitisset, quem sibi ille propter te astitisse, quantum arbitramur, astuta vanitate confingit, et haec ipsa tibi dixisset, quae iste mandato illius tibi se insinuare dicit, oporteret te apostolicae sententiae memorem fieri, qui ait: Licet si nos, aut angelus de coelo vobis evangelizaverit, praeter id quod evangelizavimus vobis, anathema sit (Gal. I, 8). Evangelizatum est enim tibi per vocem ipsius Domini Jesu Christi, quod omnibus gentibus annuntiabitur Evangelium ejus, et tunc finis erit (Matth. XXIV, 14). Evangelizatum tibi est per propheticas et apostolicas Litteras, quod Abrahae dictae sunt promissiones et semini ejus quod est Christus (Gal. III, 16), cum ei diceret Deus: In semine tuo benedicentur omnes gentes (Gen. XII, 3).

4. But I know not what carnal custom, brother Severinus, holds you there; and long have I grieved, long have I groaned, especially thinking of your prudence, and long have I desired to see you, that I might speak with you concerning this matter. For what does either health or temporal consanguinity profit, if we despise the eternal inheritance and perpetual salvation of Christ in our relationship? It shall have sufficed me to have written these things in the meantime, which to hard hearts are very few and almost nothing; but to your mind which I know well, they are very many and very great. For they are not mine, who am nothing, except what I expect from the mercy of God; but of the same almighty God, whom whosoever in this world shall have despised [as] a father, will find in the future [as] a judge.

LETTER LIII. The letter of a certain Donatist presbyter is confuted, who was striving to seduce Generosus, a Catholic of Constantine, pretending that he was admonished by an angel to bring him to the party of the Donatists.

To the most beloved and honorable brother GENEROSUS, FORTUNATUS, ALYPIUS and AUGUSTINE [send] greeting in the Lord.

CHAPTER ONE.

1. Since you wished the letter which the Donatist presbyter gave to you to be known to us, although you also laughed at it with a Catholic mind: yet that you may rather consult for him if he is not desperately foolish, we ask that you deliver these rewritings to him. For he wrote that an angel had ordered him to insinuate to you the order of Christianity of your city, whereas you hold Christianity, not of your city only, nor only of Africa or of Africans, but of the whole world, which has been announced and is announced to all nations. Whence it is little for them, that they are not ashamed to be cut off, nor do they help themselves, that when they can, they may return to the root, unless they also try to cut off others with themselves, and just as dry wood destine [them] for the fire. Wherefore if an angel had stood by you yourself, whom he feigns with astute vanity to have stood by him for your sake, as we judge, and had said to you these very same things, which he says he is insinuating to you by his command, it would behoove you to be mindful of the apostolic sentence, who says: "Even if we, or an angel from heaven should evangelize to you, beyond that which we have evangelized to you, let him be anathema" (Gal. 1:8). For it has been evangelized to you through the voice of the Lord Jesus Christ Himself, that His Gospel shall be announced to all nations, and then the end shall be (Matt. 24:14). It has been evangelized to you through the prophetic and apostolic Letters, that the promises were said to Abraham and to his seed which is Christ (Gal. 3:16), when God said to him: "In thy seed shall all nations be blessed" (Gen. 12:3).

Has ergo promissiones tenenti, si tibi angelus de coelo diceret, Dimitte Christianitatem orbis terrae, et tene partis Donati, cujus ordo tibi exponitur in epistola episcopi tuae civitatis, anathema esse deberet; quia te a toto praecidere, et in partem contrudere conaretur, et alienare a promissis Dei.

2. Si enim ordo episcoporum sibi succedentium considerandus est, quanto certius et vere salubriter ab ipso Petro numeramus, cui totius Ecclesiae figuram gerenti Dominus ait: Super hanc petram aedificabo Ecclesiam meam, et portae inferorum non vincent eam (Matth. XVI, 18). Petro enim successit Linus; Lino, Clemens; Clementi, Anacletus; Anacleto, Evaristus; Evaristo, Alexander; Alexandro, Sixtus; Sixto, Telesphorus; Telesphoro, Iginus; Igino, Anicetus; Aniceto, Pius; Pio, Soter, Soteri, Eleutherius; Eleutherio, Victor; Victori, Zephirinus; Zephirino, Calixtus: Calixto, Urbanus; Urbano, Pontianus; Pontiano, Antherus; Anthero, Fabianus; Fabiano, Cornelius; Cornelio, Lucius; Lucio, Stephanus; Stephano, Xystus; Xysto, Dionysius; Dionysio, Felix; Felici, Eutychianus; Eutychiano, Gaius; Gaio, Marcellinus; Marcellino, Marcellus; Marcello, Eusebius; Eusebio, Miltiades; Miltiadi, Sylvester; Sylvestro, Marcus; Marco, Julius; Julio, Liberius; Liberio, Damasus; Damaso, Siricius; Siricio, Anastasius. In hoc ordine successionis nullus donatista episcopus invenitur. Sed ex transverso ex Africa ordinatum miserunt, qui paucis praesidens Afris in urbe Roma Montensium vel Cutzupitarum vocabulum propagavit.

3. In illum autem ordinem episcoporum qui ducitur ab ipso Petro usque ad Anastasium, qui nunc eamdem cathedram sedet, etiamsi quisquam traditor per illa tempora subrepsisset, nihil praejudicaret Ecclesiae et innocentibus christianis, quibus Dominus providens, ait de praepositis malis: Quae dicunt, facite; quae autem faciant, facere nolite: dicunt enim, et non faciunt (Matth. XXIII, 3). Ut certa sit spes fidelis, quae non in homine, sed in Domino collocata, nunquam tempestate sacrilegi schismatis dissipetur; sicut isti dissipati sunt, qui legunt in codicibus sanctis Ecclesias quibus Apostoli scripserunt, et nullum in eis habent episcopum. Quid autem perversius et insanius, quam lectoribus easdem Epistolas legentibus dicere, Pax tecum, et ab earum Ecclesiarum pace separari, quibus ipsae Epistolae scriptae sunt?

CAPUT II.

Therefore to [one] holding these promises, if an angel from heaven should say to you, "Leave the Christianity of the whole world, and hold the party of Donatus, whose order is set forth to you in the letter of the bishop of your city," he ought to be anathema; because he would be trying to cut you off from the whole, and thrust you into a part, and alienate [you] from the promises of God.

2. For if the order of bishops succeeding one another is to be considered, how much more certainly and truly healthfully do we number from Peter himself, to whom bearing the figure of the whole Church the Lord says: "Upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not conquer it" (Matt. 16:18). For Linus succeeded Peter; Clement succeeded Linus; Anacletus succeeded Clement; Evaristus succeeded Anacletus; Alexander succeeded Evaristus; Sixtus succeeded Alexander; Telesphorus succeeded Sixtus; Hyginus succeeded Telesphorus; Anicetus succeeded Hyginus; Pius succeeded Anicetus; Soter succeeded Pius; Eleutherius succeeded Soter; Victor succeeded Eleutherius; Zephyrinus succeeded Victor; Callistus succeeded Zephyrinus; Urban succeeded Callistus; Pontian succeeded Urban; Anterus succeeded Pontian; Fabian succeeded Anterus; Cornelius succeeded Fabian; Lucius succeeded Cornelius; Stephen succeeded Lucius; Sixtus succeeded Stephen; Dionysius succeeded Sixtus; Felix succeeded Dionysius; Eutychian succeeded Felix; Gaius succeeded Eutychian; Marcellinus succeeded Gaius; Marcellus succeeded Marcellinus; Eusebius succeeded Marcellus; Miltiades succeeded Eusebius; Sylvester succeeded Miltiades; Marcus succeeded Sylvester; Julius succeeded Marcus; Liberius succeeded Julius; Damasus succeeded Liberius; Siricius succeeded Damasus; Anastasius succeeded Siricius. In this order of succession no Donatist bishop is found. But from the side they sent [one] ordained from Africa, who presiding over a few Africans in the city of Rome propagated the name of Montenses or Cutzupitae.

3. But in that order of bishops which is led from Peter himself even to Anastasius, who now sits on the same chair, even if any traditor had crept in through those times, it would prejudice nothing to the Church and to innocent Christians, for whom the Lord providing, says of evil superiors: "What they say, do; but what they do, do not do: for they say, and do not do" (Matt. 23:3). That the hope of the faithful might be certain, which, placed not in man but in the Lord, may never be dissipated by the tempest of sacrilegious schism; just as those have been dissipated, who read in the holy books the Churches to which the Apostles wrote, and have no bishop in them. But what is more perverse and insane, than to say to the readers reading those same Epistles, "Peace be with thee," and to be separated from the peace of those Churches to which those same Epistles were written?

CHAPTER II.

4. Tamen ne sibi etiam de Constantinensi, hoc est civitatis vestrae episcoporum ordine blandiantur, recita illi Gesta apud Munatium Felicem Flaminem perpetuum curatorem tunc ejusdem civitatis vestrae, Diocletiano octavum, et Maximiano septimum consulibus, undecimo calendas junias, quibus liquido constitit ita Paulum episcopum tradidisse, ut Sylvanus tunc ejus subdiaconus fuerit, et cum illo tradiderit proferens instrumenta dominica, etiam quae diligenter fuerant occultata, capitulatam argenteam, et lucernam argenteam, ita ut ei diceret Victor quidam: Mortuus fueras, si non illas invenisses. Hunc iste Sylvanum, manifestissimum traditorem, pro magno commemorat in epistola quam tibi scribit, a Secundo Tigisitano primae sedis episcopo episcopum tunc ordinatum. Quiescat ergo superba eorum lingua, et cognoscat crimina sua, ne delirans loquatur aliena. Recita illi etiam, si voluerit, Gesta ecclesiastica ejusdem Secundi Tigisitani in domo Urbani Donati habita, ubi confessos traditores judici Deo dimisit, Donatum Masculitanum, Marinum ab Aquis Tibilitanis, Donatum Calamensem, cum quibus confessis traditoribus memoratum traditorem Silvanum eis ordinavit episcopum. Recita illi Gesta apud Zenophilum consularem, ubi Nundinarius quidam diaconus iratus Silvano, quod ab eo fuerit excommunicatus, haec omnia judiciis prodidit, quae certis documentis et responsionibus testium, et recitatione Gestorum et multarum epistolarum, luce clarius constiterunt.

CAPUT II.

4. Tamen ne sibi etiam de Constantinensi, hoc est civitatis vestrae episcoporum ordine blandintur, recita illi Gesta apud Munatium Felicem Flaminem perpetuum curatorem tunc ejusdem civitatis vestrae, Diocletiano octavum, et Maximiano septimum consulibus, undecimo calendas junias, quibus liquido constitit ita Paulum episcopum tradidisse, ut Sylvanus tunc ejus subdiaconus fuerit, et cum illo tradiderit proferens instrumenta dominica, etiam quae diligenter fuerant occultata, capitulatam argenteam, et lucernam argenteam, ita ut ei diceret Victor quidam: Mortuus fueras, si non illas invenisses. Hunc iste Sylvanum, manifestissimum traditorem, pro magno commemorat in epistola quam tibi scribit, a Secundo Tigisitano primae sedis episcopo episcopum tunc ordinatum. Quiescat ergo superba eorum lingua, et cognoscat crimina sua, ne delirans loquatur aliena. Recita illi etiam, si voluerit, Gesta ecclesiastica ejusdem Secundi Tigisitani in domo Urbani Donati habita, ubi confessos traditores judici Deo dimisit, Donatum Masculitanum, Marinum ab Aquis Tibilitanis, Donatum Calamensem, cum quibus confessis traditoribus memoratum traditorem Silvanum eis ordinavit episcopum.

4. Yet lest they also flatter themselves concerning the Constantinensian [order], that is, the order of bishops of your city, recite to him the Acts (Gesta) before Munatius Felix, perpetual flamen, curator then of that same city of yours, in the eighth consulship of Diocletian and the seventh of Maximian, on the eleventh day before the Calends of June, by which it clearly appeared that Paul the bishop so delivered [the books], that Silvanus was then his subdeacon, and delivered [them] with him, bringing forth the Lord's instruments, even those which had been diligently hidden, a silver chalice (capitulata), and a silver lamp, so that a certain Victor said to him: "You would have been dead, if you had not found those." This Silvanus, a most manifest traditor, that man commemorates as a great thing in the letter which he writes to you, as having been then ordained bishop by Secundus of Tigisis, bishop of the first see. Let their proud tongue be quiet therefore, and let it know its own crimes, lest raving it speak those of others. Recite to him also, if he will, the ecclesiastical Acts of that same Secundus of Tigisis held in the house of Urbanus Donatus, where he dismissed confessed traditors to God the judge, Donatus of Masculua, Marinus from Aquae Tibilitanae, Donatus of Calama, with which confessed traditors he ordained the mentioned traditor Silvanus as bishop for them. Recite to him the Acts before the consular Zenophilus, where a certain Nundinarius, a deacon angry with Silvanus because he had been excommunicated by him, betrayed all these things to the judgments, which by certain documents and responses of witnesses, and by the recitation of the Acts and of many letters, stood out clearer than light.

CHAPTER II.

4. Yet lest they also flatter themselves concerning the Constantinensian [order], that is, the order of bishops of your city, recite to him the Acts (Gesta) before Munatius Felix, perpetual flamen, curator then of that same city of yours, in the eighth consulship of Diocletian and the seventh of Maximian, on the eleventh day before the Calends of June, by which it clearly appeared that Paul the bishop so delivered [the books], that Silvanus was then his subdeacon, and delivered [them] with him, bringing forth the Lord's instruments, even those which had been diligently hidden, a silver chalice (capitulata), and a silver lamp, so that a certain Victor said to him: "You would have been dead, if you had not found those." This Silvanus, a most manifest traditor, that man commemorates as a great thing in the letter which he writes to you, as having been then ordained bishop by Secundus of Tigisis, bishop of the first see. Let their proud tongue be quiet therefore, and let it know its own crimes, lest raving it speak those of others. Recite to him also, if he will, the ecclesiastical Acts of that same Secundus of Tigisis held in the house of Urbanus Donatus, where he dismissed confessed traditors to God the judge, Donatus of Masculua, Marinus from Aquae Tibilitanae, Donatus of Calama, with which confessed traditors he ordained the mentioned traditor Silvanus as bishop for them.

Recita illi Gesta apud Zenophilum consularem, ubi Nundinarius quidam diaconus iratus Silvano, quod ab eo fuerit excommunicatus, haec omnia judiciis prodidit, quae certis documentis et responsionibus testium, et recitatione Gestorum et multarum epistolarum, luce clarius constiterunt.

5. Multa sunt alia quae illi recites, si non contentiose agere, sed prudenter audire voluerit: preces Donatistarum ad Constantinum, ut propter ipsam causam inter Afros episcopos dirimendam judices ex Gallia episcopos mitteret. Litteras etiam ejusdem imperatoris, ubi episcopos misit ad urbem Romam. Gesta quoque in urbe Roma, ubi ab episcopis quos ille miserat, causa cognita atque discussa est. Itemque alias litteras, ubi declarat memoratus imperator eos apud se de collegarum suorum judicio, id est episcoporum quos ad urbem Romam miserat, fuisse conquestos; ubi etiam alios episcopos voluit apud Arelatum judicare; ubi isti et ab ipsorum judicio ad eumdem Imperatorem appellaverunt; ubi postremo causam inter partes ipse cognovit; ubi eos vehementissime detestatur innocentia Caeciliani fuisse superatos. Quae si voluerit, audiet, et tacebit, et desinet insidiari veritati.

CAPUT III.

6. Quanquam nos non tam de istis documentis praesumamus, quam de Scripturis sanctis, ubi haereditas Christi usque ad terminos terrae promissa est in omnibus gentibus: unde isti nefario schismate separati, jactant crimina in paleam messis dominicae; quae necesse est usque ad finem permixta toleretur, donec ultimo judicio tota area ventiletur. Unde manifestum est ista crimina seu vera seu falsa non pertinere ad frumenta dominica, quae per totum agrum, id est istum mundum usque in finem seculi oportet crescere, sicut non falsus angelus in hujus errore, sed Dominus in Evangelio loquitur (Matth. XIII, 30). Ideoque in christianos innocentes, qui per totum orbem malis christianis tanquam paleae suae vel zizaniis permixti sunt, multa falsa crimina et vana jactantibus his miseris Donatistis merito Deus reddidit, ut Maximianistas apud Carthaginem schismaticos suos Primiani damnatores, extra Primianum baptizatores, post Primianum rebaptizatores universali concilio suo damnarent: ut ex eorum numero post non parvum tempus quosdam in honoribus episcopatus sui, Felicianum Mustitanum et Praetextatum Assuritanum cogente Optato Gildoniano susciperent, cum omnibus quos damnati extra baptizaverant.

Recite to him the Acts before the consular Zenophilus, where a certain Nundinarius, a deacon angry with Silvanus because he had been excommunicated by him, betrayed all these things to the judgments, which by certain documents and responses of witnesses, and by the recitation of the Acts and of many letters, stood out clearer than light.

5. There are many other things which you may recite to him, if he will wish not to act contentiously, but to hear prudently: the prayers of the Donatists to Constantine, that on account of that same cause between the African bishops to be decided, he should send judges, bishops from Gaul. Also the letters of the same emperor, where he sent bishops to the city of Rome. Also the Acts in the city of Rome, where by the bishops whom he had sent, the cause was known and discussed. And likewise other letters, where the mentioned emperor declares those to have complained before him concerning the judgment of their colleagues, that is, of the bishops whom he had sent to the city of Rome; where also he wished other bishops to judge at Arles; where those even appealed from the judgment of those themselves to the same Emperor; where finally he himself knew the cause between the parties; where he most vehemently detests them to have been overcome by the innocence of Caecilianus. Which things if he will wish, he will hear, and will be silent, and will cease to lay snares for the truth.

CHAPTER III.

Although we do not presume so much from those documents as from the holy Scriptures, where the inheritance of Christ even to the ends of the earth is promised in all nations: whence these separated by a nefarious schism, boast crimes against the chaff of the Lord's harvest; which must of necessity be tolerated mixed together even to the end, until in the last judgment the whole threshing-floor be winnowed. Whence it is manifest that those crimes, whether true or false, do not pertain to the Lord's wheat, which through the whole field, that is this world, must needs grow even into the end of the age, as not a false angel in the error of this man, but the Lord in the Gospel speaks (Matt. 13:30). And therefore upon innocent Christians, who through the whole world are mixed with evil Christians as if with their own chaff or cockle (zizania), while these wretched Donatists boast many false and vain crimes, God has deservedly rendered, that they should condemn by their universal council the Maximianists at Carthage, their own schismatics, the condemners of Primian, the baptizers outside of Primian, the rebaptizers after Primian: so that from their number after no small time they should receive some in the honors of their own episcopate, Felicianus of Musti and Praetextatus of Assuras, Optatus the Gildonian compelling [them], with all those whom [the same] condemned had baptized outside.

Quod si ab eis, quos ore proprio tanquam sceleratos et sacrilegos damnaverunt, et quos illis primis schismaticis, quos vivos terra obruit (Num. XVI, 31-33), comparaverunt, non maculantur, cum eis rursus in honore suo receptis communicant; evigilent aliquando, cogitent quanta caecitate et quanta insania dicant orbem terrarum ignotis Afrorum criminibus esse maculatum, et haec haereditatem Christi, quae promissa exhibita est in omnibus gentibus, peccatis Afrorum per contagionem communicationis fuisse deletam, quando se nolunt deletos et maculatos videri, dum eis communicant, quorum crimina cognita judicarunt.

7. Quapropter cum Paulus apostolus iterum dicat quia ipse satanas transfigurat se in angelum lucis, unde non esse mirum si ministri ejus transfigurant se sicut ministros justitiae (II Cor. XI, 13-15); si vere iste aliquem angelum vidit erroris nuntium, et de unitate catholica Christianos separare cupientem, ipse passus est angelum satanae transfigurantem se velut angelum lucis. Si autem mentitur, et nihil tale vidit, ipse est minister satanae, transfigurans se velut ministrum justitiae. Et tamen ista omnia considerans, si nimium perversus et pertinax esse noluerit, poterit ab omni vel aliena vel sua seductione liberari. Nos enim per occasionem tuam sine aliquo odio convenimus, hoc circa eum servantes quod Apostolus dicit: Servum autem Domini litigare non oportet, sed mitem esse ad omnes, docibilem, patientem, in modestia corripientem diversa sentientes; ne forte det illis Deus poenitentiam ad cognoscendam veritatem, et resipiscant de diaboli laqueis, captivati ab ipso in ipsius voluntatem (II Tim. II, 24-26). Si ergo aliquid aspere diximus, non ad amaritudinem dissensionis, sed ad correctionem dilectionis valere cognoscat. Incolumis vivas in Christo, dilectissime et honorabilis frater.

DE DUABUS EPISTOLIS PROXIME SEQUENTIBUS. (LIB. II RETRACT. CAP. XX.)

CAPUT III.

Which if they are not maculated by those whom they condemned by their own mouth as wicked and sacrilegious, and whom they compared to those first schismatics whom the earth swallowed alive (Num. 16:31-33), when they communicate with those received back in their own honor; let them wake up sometimes, [and] think with how great blindness and how great insanity they say the whole world to be maculated by unknown crimes of Africans, and [that] this inheritance of Christ, which promised has been exhibited in all nations, has been deleted by the sins of Africans through the contagion of communication, when they do not wish themselves to be seen deleted and maculated, while they communicate with those whose known crimes they judged.

7. Wherefore since Paul the apostle again says that Satan himself transfigures himself into an angel of light, whence it is not to be wondered if his ministers transfigure themselves as ministers of justice (2 Cor. 11:13-15); if truly that man saw some angel [as] a messenger of error, and desiring to separate Christians from Catholic unity, he himself has suffered an angel of Satan transfiguring himself as if an angel of light. If however he lies, and saw no such thing, he himself is a minister of Satan, transfiguring himself as if a minister of justice. And yet considering all these things, if he will wish not to be too perverse and pertinacious, he will be able to be liberated from all either alien or his own seduction. For we have come together on your occasion without any hatred, observing this concerning him which the Apostle says: "But the servant of the Lord ought not to litigate, but to be mild toward all, teachable, patient, in modesty correcting those sensing differently; lest perhaps God give to them repentance to the knowledge of the truth, and they may recover themselves from the snares of the devil, held captive by him unto his own will" (2 Tim. 2:24-26). If therefore we have said anything harshly, let him know it to avail not to the bitterness of dissension, but to the correction of love. May you live safe in Christ, most beloved and honorable brother.

CONCERNING THE TWO LETTERS IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING. (BOOK II OF THE RETRACTATIONS, CHAPTER XX.)

CHAPTER III.

4. Dixerit aliquis non quotidie accipiendam Eucharistiam: quaesieris quare. Quoniam, inquit, eligendi sunt dies quibus purius homo continentiusque vivit, quo ad tantum Sacramentum dignus accedat: Qui enim manducaverit indigne, judicium sibi manducat et bibit (I Cor. XI, 29). Alius contra: Imo, inquit, si tanta est plaga peccati atque impetus morbi, ut medicamenta talia differenda sint, auctoritate antistitis debet quisque ab altario removeri ad agendam poenitentiam, et eadem auctoritate reconciliari. Hoc est enim indigne accipere, si eo tempore accipiat quo debet agere poenitentiam; non ut arbitrio suo, cum libet, vel auferat se communioni vel reddat. Caeterum peccata si tanta non sunt, ut excommunicandus quisque judicetur, non se debet a quotidiana medicina Dominici corporis separare. Rectius inter eos fortasse quispiam dirimit litem, qui monet ut praecipue in Christi pace permaneant: faciat autem unusquisque quod secundum fidem suam pie credit esse faciendum. Neuter enim eorum exhonorat corpus et sanguinem Domini, sed saluberrimum Sacramentum certatim honorare contendunt. Neque enim litigaverunt inter se, aut quisquam eorum se alteri praeposuit, Zachaeus et ille Centurio, cum alter eorum gaudens in domum suam susceperit Dominum (Luc. XIX, 6), alter dixerit, Non sum dignus ut intres sub tectum meum (Matth. VIII, 8): ambo Salvatorem honorificantes diverso et quasi contrario modo; ambo peccatis miseri, ambo misericordiam consecuti. Valet etiam ad hanc similitudinem quod in primo populo unicuique manna secundum propriam voluntatem in ore sapiebat, sic uniuscujusque in corde christiani Sacramentum illud, quo subjugatus est mundus. Nam et ille honorando non audet quotidie sumere, et ille honorando non audet ullo die praetermittere. Contemptum solum non vult cibus iste, sicut nec manna fastidium. Inde enim et Apostolus indigne dicit acceptum ab eis, qui hoc non discernebant a caeteris cibis veneratione singulariter debita: continuo quippe cum dixisset, Judicium sibi manducat et bibit, addidit ut diceret, non dijudicans corpus Domini (I Cor. XI, 29); quod satis toto ipso loco in Epistola ad Corinthios prima, si diligenter attendatur, apparet.

CAPUT IV.

4. Someone might say that the Eucharist should not be received daily: you would ask why. Because, he says, those days are to be chosen in which a man lives more purely and continently, so that he may approach so great a Sacrament worthily: "For he who shall have eaten unworthily, eats and drinks judgment to himself" (1 Cor. 11:29). Another, on the contrary, says: Nay, rather, if so great is the plague of sin and the onset of disease that such medicines are to be deferred, each one ought by the authority of the bishop (antistitis) to be removed from the altar to perform penance, and by the same authority to be reconciled. For this is to receive unworthily, if he receives at that time when he ought to be performing penance; not so that by his own judgment, when he pleases, he either withdraws himself from communion or restores himself. Otherwise, if the sins are not so great that each one is judged to be excommunicated, he ought not to separate himself from the daily medicine of the Lord's body. Perhaps someone more rightly settles the strife between them who advises that they should especially remain in the peace of Christ: let each one do what according to his faith he piously believes ought to be done. For neither of them dishonors the body and blood of the Lord, but they contend to honor the most salutary Sacrament in emulation of each other. For Zacchaeus and that Centurion did not litigate between themselves, nor did anyone of them prefer himself to the other, when one of them rejoicing received the Lord into his house (Luke 19:6), [and] the other said, "I am not worthy that you should enter under my roof" (Matt. 8:8): both honoring the Savior in a different and as if contrary manner; both wretched in their sins, both having obtained mercy. It also avails to this similitude that in the first people the manna tasted in the mouth of each one according to his own will, so [it is with] that Sacrament in the heart of each Christian, by which the world has been subjugated. For both that one by honoring does not dare to take [it] daily, and that one by honoring does not dare to omit [it] on any day. This food only does not want contempt, just as the manna [does not want] fastidiousness (fastidium). For hence also the Apostle says it was received unworthily by those who did not discern this from other foods with the veneration singularly due [to it]: for immediately when he had said, "He eats and drinks judgment to himself," he added so as to say, "not discerning the body of the Lord" (1 Cor. 11:29); which appears sufficiently in that whole place in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, if it be diligently attended to.

CHAPTER IV.

5. Sit aliquis peregrinus in eo forte loco, ubi perseverantes in observatione Quadragesimae, nec quinta sabbati lavant, relaxantve jejunium: Non, inquit, hodie jejunabo. Quaeritur causa: Quia non fit, inquit, in patria mea. Quid aliud ille, nisi consuetudinem suam consuetudini alterius praeponere conatur? Non enim mihi de Libro Dei hoc recitaturus est, aut universae quacumque dilatatur Ecclesiae plena voce certabit, aut ostendet istum contra fidem facere, se autem secundum fidem, moresque hinc optimos aut illum violare, aut se custodire convincet. Violant sane quietem et pacem suam de superflua quaestione rixando. Mallem tamen in rebus hujusmodi, ut et ille in hujus, et hic in illius patria, ab eo quod caeteri faciunt non abhorreret. Si vero etiam in aliena patria cum peregrinaretur, ubi major et frequentior et ferventior est populus Dei, vidit, verbi gratia, bis offerri quinta sabbati hebdomadae ultimae Quadragesimae, et mane et ad vesperam, veniensque in patriam suam, ubi in fine diei mos est offerri, male atque illicite fieri contendat, quoniam alibi aliter ipse viderit, puerilis est iste sensus, cavendus in nobis, tolerandus in aliis, corrigendus in nostris.

CAPUT V.

6. Prima ergo inquisitio tua, quam in commonitorio posuisti, ex quo trium istorum generum sit, attende. Quaeris enim his verbis: Quid per quintam feriam ultimae hebdomadis Quadragesimae fieri debeat? an offerendum sit mane, et rursus post coenam, propter illud quod dictum est, «Similiter postquam coenatum est?» (Luc. XXII, 20.) an jejunandum, et post coenam tantummodo offerendum? an etiam jejunandum, et post oblationem, sicut facere solemus, coenandum? Ad haec itaque ita respondeo, ut quid horum sit faciendum, si divinae Scripturae praescribit auctoritas, non sit dubitandum quin ita facere debeamus ut legimus, ut jam non quomodo faciendum, sed quomodo Sacramentum intelligendum sit, disputemus. Similiter etiam si quid horum tota per orbem frequentat Ecclesia nam et hinc quin ita faciendum sit, disputare insolentissimae insaniae est. Sed neque hoc, neque illud inest in eo quod tu quaeris. Restat igitur ut de illo tertio genere sit, quod per loca regionesque variatur. Faciat ergo quisque quod in ea Ecclesia in quam venit, invenerit.

5. Suppose someone is a stranger in that place, perhaps, where those persevering in the observation of Lent do not wash on the fifth day of the week (Thursday), nor relax their fast: "I will not fast today," he says. The cause is sought: "Because it is not so done," he says, "in my own country." What else does he [do], except attempt to prefer his own custom to the custom of another? For he is not about to recite this to me from the Book of God, nor will he contend with full voice for the whole Church wherever it is dilated, nor will he show that that man acts against the faith, [while] he himself [acts] according to the faith; and he will [not] convince [anyone] either that that man violates the best morals from this, or that he himself preserves them. They surely violate their own quiet and peace by brawling about a superfluous question. I would prefer, however, in things of this sort, that both that man in this one's [country], and this one in that one's country, should not abhor from that which the others do. But if indeed also in a foreign country when he was traveling, where the people of God is greater and more frequent and more fervent, he saw, for example, [the Eucharist] offered twice on the fifth day of the last week of Lent, both in the morning and at evening, and coming into his own country, where the custom is to offer at the end of the day, he should contend that it is done badly and illicitly, because he himself saw otherwise elsewhere, that sense of his is childish, to be avoided in us, to be tolerated in others, to be corrected in our own [people].

CHAPTER V.

6. Therefore, your first inquiry, which you put in [your] memorandum, observe of which of those three kinds it is. For you ask in these words: "What ought to be done through the fifth feria (Thursday) of the last week of Lent? whether it is to be offered in the morning, and again after supper, on account of that which was said, 'Likewise after he had supped?' (Luke 22:20), or is it to be fasted, and offered only after supper? or also is it to be fasted, and after the oblation, as we are accustomed to do, is it to be supped?" To these things, therefore, I so respond, that whatever of these is to be done, if the authority of divine Scripture prescribes [it], it is not to be doubted but that we ought so to do as we read, so that we may now dispute not how it is to be done, but how the Sacrament is to be understood. Likewise also if the whole Church throughout the world frequents any of these; and hence to dispute whether it is so to be done, is [a mark] of most insolent insanity. But neither this, nor that, is present in that which you ask. It remains, therefore, that it be of that third kind, which varies through places and regions. Let each one do, therefore, what he shall find in that Church into which he comes.

Non enim quidquam corum contra fidem fit, aut contra mores, hinc vel inde meliores. His enim causis, id est aut propter fidem, aut propter mores, vel emendari oportet quod perperam fiebat, vel institui quod non fiebat. Ipsa quippe mutatio consuetudinis, etiam quae adjuvat utilitate, novitate perturbat. Quapropter quae utilis non est, perturbatione infructuosa consequenter noxia est.

7. Nec ideo putari debet institutum esse multis locis, ut illo die post refectionem offeratur, quia scriptum est: Identidem et calicem post coenam dicens, etc. Ipsam enim potuit appellare coenam, qua jam corpus acceperant, ut deinde calicem acciperent. Apostolus namque alibi dicit, Convenientibus ergo vobis in unum, non est dominicam coenam manducare (I Cor. XI, 20), hanc ipsam acceptionem Eucharistiae dominicam coenam vocans.

CAPUT VI.

Illud magis movere potuit homines, utrum jam refecti die illa vel offerrent vel sumerent Eucharistiam, quod in Evangelio dicitur, Cum autem illi manducarent, accepit Jesus panem et benedixit; cum etiam superius dixisset: Cum sero autem factum esset, recumbebat cum duodecim, et manducantibus eis dixit, Quoniam unus ex vobis tradet me (Matth. XXVI, 26, 20, 21). Postea enim tradidit Sacramentum. Et liquido apparet, quando primum acceperunt discipuli corpus et sanguinem Domini, non eos accepisse jejunos.

8. Numquid tamen propterea calumniandum est universae Ecclesiae quod a jejunis semper accipitur? Ex hoc enim placuit Spiritui sancto, ut in honorem tanti Sacramenti in os Christiani prius Dominicum corpus intraret, quam caeteri cibi: nam ideo per universum orbem mos iste servatur. Neque enim quia post cibos dedit Dominus, propterea pransi aut coenati fratres ad illud Sacramentum accipiendum convenire debent, aut sicut faciebant quos Apostolus arguit et emendat, mensis suis ista miscere. Namque Salvator quo vehementius commendaret mysterii illius altitudinem, ultimum hoc voluit altius infigere cordibus et memoriae discipulorum, a quibus ad passionem digressurus erat. Et ideo non praecepit quo deinceps ordine sumeretur, ut Apostolis, per quos Ecclesias dispositurus erat, servaret hunc locum. Nam si hoc ille monuisset, ut post cibos alios semper acciperetur, credo quod eum morem nemo variasset.

For not anything of them is done against the faith, or against better morals, here or there. For for these causes, that is, either on account of the faith, or on account of morals, either that which was done wrongly ought to be amended, or that which was not done ought to be instituted. For the very change of custom, even that which helps by utility, perturbs by novelty. Wherefore, that which is not useful, is consequently noxious by unfruitful perturbation.

7. Nor for that reason ought it to be thought to have been instituted in many places, that on that day it is offered after refreshment, because it is written: "Likewise also the chalice after supper saying," etc. For he was able to call the supper itself [that] by which they had already received the body, so that thereafter they might receive the chalice. For the Apostle elsewhere says, "When you come together therefore into one, it is not to eat the Lord's supper" (1 Cor. 11:20), calling this very reception of the Eucharist the Lord's supper.

CHAPTER VI.

That which could rather move men [is] whether they should already refreshed either offer or take the Eucharist on that day, because it is said in the Gospel, "And while they were eating, Jesus took bread and blessed [it];" since also he had said above: "And when evening was come, he reclined with the twelve, and as they were eating he said, 'For one of you shall betray me'" (Matt. 26:26, 20, 21). For afterward he delivered the Sacrament. And it clearly appears, when first the disciples received the body and blood of the Lord, [that] they did not receive [them] fasting.

8. Is it however on that account to be calumniated against the whole Church that it is always received by [those who are] fasting? For from this it pleased the Holy Spirit, that in honor of so great a Sacrament the Lord's body should enter into the mouth of a Christian before other foods: for therefore through the whole world this custom is observed. For not because the Lord gave [it] after foods, ought the brothers on that account convened for receiving that Sacrament to be [already] dined or supped, or as they were doing whom the Apostle reproves and amends, to mix those things with their tables. For the Savior, by which he might more vehemently commend the altitude of that mystery, wished to fix this last thing more deeply in the hearts and memory of the disciples, from whom he was about to depart to [his] passion. And therefore he did not prescribe in what order it should be taken thereafter, so that he might reserve this place for the Apostles, through whom he was about to dispose the Churches. For if he had advised this, that it should always be taken after other foods, I believe that no one would have varied that custom.

Cum vero ait Apostolus de hoc Sacramento loquens, Propter quod, fratres, cum convenitis ad manducandum, invicem exspectate. Si quis esurit, domi manducet, ut non ad judicium conveniatis; statim subtexuit: Caetera autem cum venero, ordinabo (I Cor. XI, 33, 34). Unde intelligi datur (quia multum erat, ut in Epistola totum illum agendi ordinem insinuaret, quem universa per orbem servat Ecclesia) ab ipso ordinatum esse quod nulla morum diversitate variatur.

CAPUT VII.

9. Sed nonnullos probabilis quaedam ratio delectavit, ut uno certo die per annum, quo ipsam coenam Dominus dedit, tanquam ad insigniorem commemorationem post cibos offerri et accipi liceat corpus et sanguinem Domini. Honestius autem arbitror ea hora fieri, ut qui etiam jejunaverit, post refectionem quae hora nona fit, ad oblationem possit occurrere. Quapropter neminem cogimus ante dominicam illam coenam prandere, sed nulli etiam contradicere audemus. Hoc tamen non arbitror institutum, nisi quia plures et prope omnes in plerisque locis eo die lavare consueverunt. Et quia nonnulli etiam jejunium custodiunt, mane offertur propter prandentes, quia jejunia simul et lavacra tolerare non possunt; ad vesperam vero propter jejunantes.

10. Si autem quaeris, cur etiam lavandi mos ortus sit: nihil mihi de hac re cogitanti probabilius occurrit, nisi quia baptizandorum corpora per observationem Quadragesimae sordidata, cum offensione sensus ad fontem tractarentur, nisi aliqua die lavarentur. Istum autem diem potius ad hoc electum, quo coena dominica anniversarie celebratur. Et quia concessum est hoc Baptismum accepturis, multi cum his lavare voluerunt, jejuniumque relaxare. His ut potui disputatis, moneo, ut ea quae praelocutus sum serves quantum potes, ut decet Ecclesiae prudentem ac pacificum filium. Alia quae interrogasti, si Dominus voluerit, alio tempore expediam.

AD INQUISITIONES JANUARII LIBER SECUNDUS, SEU EPISTOLA LV. De ritibus Ecclesiae, vel iis quos negligi nefas est, vel us qui tollendi sunt, si citra majus incommodum liceat. Sabbati mysterium, etc. Quadragesimae jejunium. Lotio pedum. De variis consuetudinibus. Cantus Ecclesiae, etc.

CAPUT PRIMUM.

But when the Apostle says speaking of this Sacrament, "Wherefore, brothers, when you convene for eating, wait for one another. If anyone is hungry, let him eat at home, so that you may not convene unto judgment;" he immediately subjoined: "But the rest, when I shall have come, I will ordain" (1 Cor. 11:33, 34). Whence it is given to be understood (because it was much, that in an Epistle he should insinuate that whole order of acting which the whole Church through the world observes) that that was ordained by him which is varied by no diversity of morals.

CHAPTER VII.

9. But a certain probable reason has delighted some, that on one certain day in the year, on which the Lord gave that very supper, as if for a more signal commemoration, it may be allowed that the body and blood of the Lord be offered and received after foods. But I think it to be done more honestly at that hour, so that he who shall also have fasted, may be able to occur for the oblation after the refreshment which is made at the ninth hour. Wherefore we compel no one to dine before that Lord's supper, but we also dare to contradict no one. I do not think this, however, to have been instituted, except because many and nearly all in most places have been accustomed to wash on that day. And because some also keep the fast, it is offered in the morning on account of those dining, because they cannot tolerate the fasts and the washings at the same time; but in the evening on account of those fasting.

10. If however you ask why the custom of washing also arose: nothing occurs to me thinking about this thing more probable, except because the bodies of those to be baptized, soiled through the observation of Lent, would be treated with offense to the sense at the font, unless they were washed on some day. But that this day was chosen rather for this, on which the Lord's supper is anniversarily celebrated. And because this was granted to those about to receive Baptism, many wished to wash with them, and to relax the fast. These things having been disputed as I was able, I advise that you serve those things which I have foretold as much as you can, as becomes a prudent and peaceful son of the Church. Other things which you asked, if the Lord shall wish, I will expedite at another time.

THE SECOND BOOK TO THE INQUIRIES OF JANUARIUS, OR EPISTLE LV. Concerning the rites of the Church, either those which it is a nefas (wickedness) to neglect, or those which are to be taken away, if it be allowed without greater incommodity. The mystery of the Sabbath, etc. The fast of Lent. The washing of the feet. Concerning various customs. The chant of the Church, etc.

CHAPTER FIRST.

1. Lectis litteris tuis, ubi me commonuisti ut debitum redderem de residuis enodandis quaestionibus, quas jam longe ante quaesiveras, gratissimum mihi atque charissimum desiderium studii tui amplius differri, tolerare non potui; et quamvis in mediis acervis occupationum mearum, hanc feci praecipuam, ut ad ea quae interrogasti responderem tibi. Diutius autem de tua epistola disputare nolo, ne hoc ipsum me impediat jam tandem neddere quod debeo.

2. Quaeris quae causa sit, cur anniversarius dies celebrandae dominicae passionis, non ad eumdem redeat anni diem, sicut dies qua traditur natus: et deinde subjungis, si hoc fit propter sabbatum et lunam, quid sibi velit in hac re observatio sabbati et lunae. Hic primum oportet noveris diem Natalem Domini non in sacramento celebrari, sed tantum in memoriam revocari quod natus sit, ac per hoc nihil opus erat, nisi revolutum anni diem, quo ipsa res acta est, festa devotione signari. Sacramentum est autem in aliqua celebratione, cum rei gestae commemoratio ita fit, ut aliquid etiam significari intelligatur, quod sancte accipiendum est. Eo itaque modo agimus Pascha, ut non solum in memoriam quod gestum est revocemus, id est quod mortuus est Christus et resurrexit, sed etiam caetera quae circa ea attestantur, ad sacramenti significationem non omittamus. Quia enim, sicut dicit Apostolus, Mortuus est propter delicta nostra, et resurrexit propter justificationem nostram (Rom. IV, 25); transitus quidam de morte ad vitam in illa passione Domini et resurrectione sacratus est. Nam etiam vocabulum ipsum quod Pascha dicitur, non graecum, sicut vulgo videri solet, sed hebraeum esse dicunt qui linguam utramque noverunt. Neque enim a passione, quoniam graece πάσχειν dicitur pati, sed ab eo quod transitur, ut dixi, de morte ad vitam, hebraeo verbo res appellata est: in quo eloquio Pascha transitus dicitur, sicut perhibent qui hoc sciunt. Quod voluit et ipse Dominus tangere cum dicit: Qui credit in me, transiet de morte ad vitam (Joan. V, 24). Et maxime idem evangelista hoc exprimere voluisse intelligitur, cum de celebraturo Domino Pascha cum discipulis suis, ubi coenam eis mysticam dedit, Cum vidisset, inquit, Jesus quia venit ejus hora ut transiret de mundo ad Patrem (Id. XIII, 1). Transitus ergo de hac vita mortali in aliam vitam immortalem, hoc est enim de morte ad vitam, in passione et in resurrectione Domini commendatur.

CAPUT II.

1. Having read your letters, where you reminded me that I should render the debt concerning the remaining questions to be unenotted, which you had already asked long before, I could not tolerate [that] the most grateful and most dear desire of your study be deferred further; and although in the midst of heaps of my occupations, I made this principal, that I should respond to you to those things which you asked. Moreover, I do not wish to dispute longer concerning your epistle, lest this very thing should impede me from finally rendering what I owe.

2. You ask what the cause is, why the anniversary day of celebrating the Lord's passion does not return to the same day of the year, just as the day on which he is delivered [as] born: and thereafter you subjoin, if this is done on account of the Sabbath and the moon, what the observation of the Sabbath and the moon wills for itself in this matter. Here first it behooves [that] you know the Birthday of the Lord (Natalem Domini) not to be celebrated in a sacrament, but only to be recalled into memory that he was born, and through this there was no need, except [that] the revolved day of the year, on which the thing itself was done, be marked with festive devotion. But it is a Sacrament in some celebration, when the commemoration of a deed done is so made, that something also is understood to be signified, which is to be received holily. In that way therefore we act the Pascha, so that we may not only recall into memory what was done, that is, that Christ died and rose again, but also we may not omit the other things which are attested around those things, unto the signification of the sacrament. For because, as the Apostle says, "He died on account of our delicts, and rose again on account of our justification" (Rom. 4:25); a certain transition (transitus) from death to life was consecrated in that passion of the Lord and resurrection. For also the very vocabulary which is called Pascha, they who know both languages say to be not Greek, as it is accustomed commonly to be seen, but Hebrew. For not from passion, since in Greek *πάσχειν* is said [to be] to suffer, but from that which is transitioned, as I said, from death to life, the thing was called by a Hebrew word: in which eloquence Pascha is called a transition (transitus), as they assert who know this. Which the Lord himself also wished to touch when he says: "He who believes in me, shall transition (transiet) from death to life" (John 5:24). And especially the same evangelist is understood to have wished to express this, when concerning the Lord about to celebrate the Pascha with his disciples, where he gave the mystic supper to them, "When Jesus had seen," he says, "that his hour came that he should transition (transiret) from the world to the Father" (John 13:1). The transition (transitus) therefore from this mortal life into another immortal life, for this is from death to life, is commended in the passion and in the resurrection of the Lord.

CHAPTER II.

3. Hic transitus a nobis modo agitur per fidem, quae nobis est in remissionem peccatorum, in spem vitae aeternae, diligentibus Deum et proximum; quia fides per dilectionem operatur (Gal. V, 6), et justus ex fide vivit (Habac. II, 4). Spes autem quae videtur, non est spes: quod enim videt quis, quid sperat? Si autem quod non videmus speramus, per patientiam exspectamus (Rom. VIII, 24): secundum hanc fidem, et spem, et dilectionem, qua coepimus esse sub gratia, jam commortui sumus cum Christo, et consepulti illi per baptismum in mortem (Coloss. III), sicut dicit Apostolus: Quia et vetus homo noster simul crucifixus est cum illo; et resurreximus cum illo (Rom. VI, 6): quia simul nos excitavit, et simul sedere fecit in coelestibus. Unde est et illa exhortatio: Si autem resurrexistis cum Christo, quae sursum sunt quaerite, ubi Christus est ad dexteram Dei sedens; quae sursum sunt sapite, non quae super terram. Sed quod sequitur et dicit, Mortui enim estis, et vita vestra abscondita est cum Christo in Deo. Cum Christus apparuerit vita vestra, tunc et vos apparebitis cum illo in gloria (Coloss. III, 1-4); satis indicat quid velit intelligi, quia nunc transitus noster de morte ad vitam, qui fit per fidem, spe peragitur futurae in fine resurrectionis et gloriae, cum corruptibile hoc, id est caro ista in qua gemimus modo, induet incorruptionem, et mortale hoc induet immortalitatem (I Cor. XV, 53). Nunc enim quidem jam habemus primitias spiritus per fidem, sed adhuc in nobis ipsis ingemiscimus, adoptionem exspectantes, redemptionem corporis nostri: spe enim salvi facti sumus. In hac spe cum sumus, corpus quidem mortuum est propter peccatum, spiritus autem vita est propter justitiam. Sed vide quid sequitur: Si autem Spiritus ejus, inquit, qui suscitavit Jesum a mortuis habitat in vobis; qui suscitavit Christum a mortuis, vivificabit et mortalia corpora vestra per inhabitantem Spiritum ejus in vobis (Rom. VIII, 23, 24, 10, 11). Hoc igitur universa Ecclesia, quae in peregrinatione mortalitatis inventa est, exspectat in fine saeculi quod in Domini nostri Jesu Christi corpore praemonstratum est, qui est ex mortuis primogenitus, quia et corpus ejus cui caput est ipse, non nisi Ecclesia est (Coloss. I, 18).

CAPUT III.

4. Nonnulli enim attendentes verba quae assidue dicit Apostolus, quia et mortui sumus cum Christo, et resurreximus cum eo, nec intelligentes quatenus dicantur, arbitrati sunt jam factam esse resurrectionem, nec ullam ulterius in fine temporum esse sperandam: Ex quibus est, inquit, Hymenaeus et Philetus, qui circa veritatem aberraverunt, dicentes resurrectionem jam factam esse, et fidem quorumdam subverterunt (II Tim. II, 17). Idem apostolus eos arguens detestatur, qui tamen dicit nos resurrexisse cum Christo.

3. This transition is now acted by us through faith, which is to us unto the remission of sins, unto the hope of eternal life, [by us] loving God and neighbor; because "faith works through love" (Gal. 5:6), and "the just lives from faith" (Habak. 2:4). "But hope which is seen, is not hope: for what anyone sees, why does he hope [for it]? But if we hope for that which we do not see, we expect [it] through patience" (Rom. 8:24). According to this faith, and hope, and love, by which we have begun to be under grace, we are already dead together with Christ, and buried together with him through baptism into death (Col. 3), just as the Apostle says: "Because also our old man was crucified together with him; and we have risen together with him" (Rom. 6:6): "because he simultaneously excited us, and made [us] sit together in the celestials." Whence is also that exhortation: "If however you have risen together with Christ, seek those things which are above, where Christ is sitting at the right hand of God; savor those things which are above, not those which are upon the earth." But that which follows and says, "For you are dead, and your life is hidden with Christ in God. When Christ shall have appeared, [who is] your life, then you also shall appear with him in glory" (Col. 3:1-4); indicates sufficiently what he wills to be understood, because now our transition from death to life, which is made through faith, is performed by hope of the future resurrection and glory in the end, when this corruptible [thing], that is this flesh in which we groan now, shall put on incorruption, and this mortal [thing] shall put on immortality (1 Cor. 15:53). For now indeed we already have the firstfruits of the spirit through faith, but still we groan in ourselves, expecting the adoption, the redemption of our body: for by hope we have been made safe. When we are in this hope, the body indeed is dead on account of sin, but the spirit is life on account of justice. But see what follows: "If however," he says, "his Spirit, who raised Jesus from the dead, dwells in you; he who raised Christ from the dead, will also vivify your mortal bodies through his Spirit inhabiting in you" (Rom. 8:23, 24, 10, 11). This therefore the whole Church, which has been found in the pilgrimage of mortality, expects in the end of the world, which has been pre-demonstrated in the body of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the firstborn from the dead, because also his body, of which he himself is the head, is none but the Church (Col. 1:18).

CHAPTER III.

4. For some, attending to the words which the Apostle says assidiously, because we are both dead with Christ and have risen with him, and not understanding how they are said, have thought the resurrection to have been made already, nor that any further [one] is to be hoped for in the end of times: "Of whom is," he says, "Hymenaeus and Philetus, who have erred around the truth, saying the resurrection to have been made already, and have subverted the faith of some" (2 Tim. 2:17, 18). The same Apostle detests [and] reproves them, who nevertheless says us to have risen with Christ.

Unde, nisi quia hoc per fidem, et spem, et dilectionem factum esse dicit in nobis, secundum primitias Spiritus? Sed quia spes quae videtur non est spes, et ideo si quod non videmus speramus, per patientiam exspectamus; restat utique redemptio corporis nostri, quam exspectantes in nobismetipsis ingemiscimus. Unde est et illud: Spe gaudentes, in tribulatione patientes (Rom. XII, 12). 5. Haec igitur innovatio vitae nostrae est quidam transitus de morte ad vitam, qui primo fit per fidem, ut in spe gaudeamus, et in tribulatione patientes simus, dum adhuc exterior noster homo corrumpitur, sed interior renovatur de die in diem (II Cor. IV, 16). Propter ipsum initium novae vitae, propter novum hominem quem jubemur induere, et exuere veterem (Coloss. III, 9, 10); expurgantes vetus fermentum, ut simus nova conspersio, quoniam Pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus (I Cor. V, 7): propter hanc ergo vitae novitatem, primus mensis in anni mensibus celebrationi huic attributus est. Nam et ipse dicitur mensis novorum (Exod. XXIII, 15). Quia vero in toto tempore saeculi nunc tertium tempus apparuit, ideo resurrectio Domini triduana est. Primum enim tempus est ante Legem, secundum sub Lege, tertium sub Gratia, ubi jam manifestatio est sacramenti prius occulti in prophetico aenigmate. Hoc ergo et in lunari numero significatur; quia enim septenarius numerus solet in Scripturis ad quamdam perfectionem mysticus apparere, tertia hebdomada lunae Pascha celebratur, qui dies occurrit a quarta decima in vicesimam primam.

CAPUT IV.

6. Est illic et aliud Sacramentum, quod si tibi obscurum fuerit, quia in talibus inquisitionibus minus eruditus es, non contristeris; nec ideo me putes meliorem, quia haec in studiis puerilibus didici: Qui enim gloriatur, in eo glorietur, inquit, scire et intelligere quoniam ego sum Dominus (Jer. IX, 24). Nonnulli ergo studiosi talium rerum quaesiverunt multa de numeris et motibus siderum. Et qui subtilius ista scrutati sunt, incrementa et decrementa lunaria ex conversione globi ejus conjecerunt, non quod aliquid substantiae vel accedat ei cum augetur, vel decedat cum minuitur, quod delira imperitia Manichaei opinantes, repleri eam dixerunt, sicut repletur navis, ex fugitiva Dei parte, quam commixtam principibus tenebrarum et eorum sordibus inquinatam, corde atque ore sacrilego et credere et loqui non dubitant.

Whence [is this], unless because he says this to have been made in us through faith, and hope, and love, according to the firstfruits of the Spirit? But because hope which is seen is not hope, and therefore if we hope for that which we do not see, we expect [it] through patience; there remains surely the redemption of our body, which expecting we groan in ourselves. Whence is also that: "Rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation" (Rom. 12:12). 5. This innovation therefore of our life is a certain transition from death to life, which first is made through faith, so that we may rejoice in hope, and be patient in tribulation, while still our exterior man is corrupted, but the interior is renewed from day to day (2 Cor. 4:16). On account of the beginning itself of the new life, on account of the new man whom we are commanded to put on, and to put off the old (Col. 3:9, 10); purging out the old leaven, that we may be a new paste, since our Pascha, Christ, has been immolated (1 Cor. 5:7): on account of this novelty of life, therefore, the first month in the months of the year has been attributed to this celebration. For it is also called the "month of new things" (mensis novorum) (Exod. 23:15). But because in the whole time of the world a third time has now appeared, therefore the resurrection of the Lord is of three days (triduana). For the first time is before the Law, the second under the Law, the third under Grace, where there is now the manifestation of the sacrament previously hidden in prophetic enigma. This therefore is signified also in the lunar number; because since the septenary number is accustomed to appear in the Scriptures as mystic unto a certain perfection, the Pascha is celebrated in the third week of the moon, which day occurs from the fourteenth unto the twenty-first.

CHAPTER IV.

6. There is there also another Sacrament, which if it shall have been obscure to you, because in such inquiries you are less erudite, be not contristated; nor on that account think me better, because I learned these in childish studies: "For he who glories, let him glory in this," he says, "to know and understand that I am the Lord" (Jer. 9:24). Some studious [men] therefore of such things have sought many things concerning the numbers and motions of the stars. And they who have scrutinized those things more subtly, have conjectured the lunar increases and decreases from the conversion of its globe, not that anything of substance either approaches it when it is increased, or departs when it is diminished, which the Manichaeans, opining [with] delirious unskillfulness, said it to be replenished, just as a ship is replenished, from the fugitive part of God, which [having been] commingled with the princes of darkness and defiled with their sordes, they do not doubt both to believe and to speak with sacrilegious heart and mouth.

Hinc ergo impleri lunam dicunt, cum eadem pars Dei magnis laboribus ab inquinamento purgata, de toto mundo atque omnibus cloacis fugiens, redditur Deo lugenti dum redeat; repleri vero per mensem dimidium, et alio dimidio in solem refundi, velut in aliam navem. Nec tamen inter istas anathematizandas blasphemias aliquid unquam fingere potuerunt, cur vel incipiens lucere vel desinens, corniculato lumine fulgeat, aut cur a dimidio mense incipiat minui, et non ad refundendum plena perveniat.

7. Illi autem qui haec certis numeris indagarunt, ita ut et defectus solis et lunae non solum cur fierent, sed etiam quando futuri essent longe ante praedicerent, et eos determinatis intervallis temporum canonica supputatione praefigerent, litterisque mandarent, quas modo qui legunt atque intelligunt, nihilominus eos praedicunt, nec aliter aut alias accidunt quam praedicunt. Tales ergo (quibus non est ignoscendum, sicut sancta Scriptura dicit; quia cum tantum valerent ut possent aestimare saeculum, Dominum ejus, quem supplici pietate possent, non facilius invenerunt [Sap. XIII, 9]), ex ipsis cornibus lunae quae a sole aversa sunt, sive crescentis sive decrescentis, conjecerunt eam vel a sole illustrari, et quanto magis ab eo recederet, tanto magis ab ea parte quae terris apparet, radios ejus excipere; quanto autem ad eum magis post dimidium mensem ex alio semicirculo propinquaret, tanto magis a superiori parte illustratam, ab ea parte quam terris adverteret non posse excipere radios, et propterea videri decrescere: vel si haberet suum lumen, id habere ex una parte in hemisphaerio, quam partem cum recedens a sole paulatim terris ostenderet, donec totam ostenderet, quasi augmenta monstrare, dum non addatur quod deerat, sed prodatur quod inerat; ac rursus paulatim abscondere quod patebat, et ideo videri decrescere. Sed quodlibet horum sit duorum, illud certe manifestum est, et cuivis advertenti facile cognitum, quod luna non augeatur ad oculos nostros, nisi a sole recedendo, neque minuatur, nisi ad solem ex parte alia propinquando.

CAPUT V.

Hence therefore they say the moon to be filled, when the same part of God purged from defilement with great labors, fleeing from the whole world and all sewers, is rendered to God mourning until it should return; [and] to be replenished indeed through half a month, and in the other half to be refunded into the sun, as if into another ship. Nor yet among those anathematizable blasphemies were they ever able to feign anything, why either beginning to shine or ceasing, it should shine with horned light, or why from the middle of the month it should begin to be diminished, and should not arrive full for refunding.

7. But those who have investigated these things with certain numbers, so that they not only foretold long before why the eclipses of the sun and moon occurred, but also when they would be future, and prefixed them by canonical supputation at determined intervals of times, and committed [them] to letters, which now they who read and understand, none the less foretell them, nor do they happen otherwise or at other times than they foretell. Such therefore (to whom it is not to be forgiven, as the holy Scripture says; because "when they were so far able that they could estimate the world, they did not more easily find the Lord of it," whom they could [have found] with suppliant piety [Wisd. 13:9]), from the horns themselves of the moon which are turned away from the sun, whether increasing or decreasing, have conjectured it either to be illustrated by the sun, and by how much more it should recede from it, by so much more to receive its rays from that part which appears to the lands; by how much however it should approach more to it after half a month from another semicircle, by so much more illustrated from the superior part, not to be able to receive the rays from that part which it should turn toward the lands, and on that account to be seen to decrease: or if it should have its own light, to have that from one part in a hemisphere, which part when receding from the sun it showed by degrees to the lands, until it showed the whole, [it seemed] as if to show increases, while that which was lacking was not added, but that which was in [it] was produced; and again by degrees to hide what was patent, and therefore to be seen to decrease. But whichever of these two it be, that certainly is manifest, and easily known to anyone attending, that the moon is not increased to our eyes, except by receding from the sun, nor diminished, except by approaching to the sun from the other part.

CHAPTER V.

8. Attende nunc quod in Proverbiis legitur: Sapiens sicut sol permanet; stultus autem sicut luna mutatur (Eccli. XXVII, 12). Et quis est sapiens qui permanet, nisi sol ille justitiae de quo dicitur, Ortus est mihi sol justitiae, et quem sibi non fuisse ortum in die novissima plangentes impii dicturi sunt: Et justitiae lumen non luxit nobis, et sol non ortus est nobis? (Sap. V, 6.) Nam istum carnis oculis visibilem solem oriri facit super bonos et malos Deus, qui etiam pluit super justos et injustos (Matth. V, 45). Ducuntur autem saepe ex rebus visibilibus ad invisibilia congruae similitudines. Quis est ergo ille stultus, qui tanquam luna mutatur, nisi Adam in quo omnes peccaverunt? Anima quippe humana recedens a sole justitiae, ab illa scilicet interna contemplatione incommutabilis veritatis, omnes vires suas in externa convertit, et eo magis magisque obscuratur in interioribus ac superioribus suis: sed cum redire coeperit ad illam incommutabilem sapientiam, quanto magis ei appropinquat affectu pietatis, tanto magis exterior homo corrumpitur, sed interior renovatur de die in diem, omnisque lux illa ingenii, quae ad inferiora vergebat, ad superiora convertitur, et a terrenis quodammodo aufertur, ut magis magisque huic saeculo moriatur, et vita ejus abscondatur cum Christo in Deo.

9. Mutatur ergo in deterius ad exteriora progrediens, et in vita sua projiciens intima sua; et hoc terrae, id est eis qui terrena sapiunt, melius videtur, cum laudatur peccator in desideriis animae suae, et qui iniqua gerit, benedicitur (Psal. IX, 3). Mutatur autem in melius, cum intentionem suam et gloriam a terrenis, quae in hoc saeculo apparent, paulatim avertit, et ad superiora atque interiora convertit; et hoc terrae id est eis qui terrena sapiunt, deterius videtur. Unde illi impii postremo infructuosam agentes poenitentiam, etiam hoc inter multa dicturi sunt: Ii sunt quos aliquando habuimus in derisum et in similitudinem improperii: nos insensati vitam illorum aestimabamus insaniam (Sap. V, 3, 4). Ac per hoc Spiritus sanctus de visibilibus ad invisibilia, et de corporalibus ad spiritualia sacramenta similitudinem ducens, transitum illum de alia vita in aliam vitam, quod Pascha nominatur, a quarta decima luna voluit observari, ut non solum propter tempus tertium, quod supra commemoravi, quia inde incipit hebdomada tertia; sed etiam propter ipsam conversionem ab exterioribus ad interiora, de luna similitudo assumeretur: usque ad vicesimam vero et primam, propter ipsum numerum septenarium, quo universitatis significatio saepe figuratur, qui etiam ipsi Ecclesiae tribuitur, propter instar universitatis.

CAPUT VI.

8. Attend now to what is read in Proverbs: "A wise man remains as the sun; but a fool is changed as the moon" (Ecclus. 27:12). And who is the wise man who remains, except that sun of justice of whom it is said, "The sun of justice has arisen to me," and whom the impious, mourning on the last day, are about to say not to have arisen to them: "And the light of justice did not shine to us, and the sun did not arise to us"? (Wisd. 5:6.) For God makes this sun visible to the eyes of the flesh to arise over the good and the bad, who also rains upon the just and the unjust (Matt. 5:45). Moreover, congruent similitudes are often led from visible things to invisible [ones]. Who is therefore that fool, who is changed as the moon, except Adam in whom all have sinned? For the human soul receding from the sun of justice, that is, from that internal contemplation of incommutable truth, converts all its strengths into external [things], and is obscured by that more and more in its interiors and superiors: but when it shall have begun to return to that incommutable wisdom, by how much more it approaches it by the affection of piety, by so much more the exterior man is corrupted, but the interior is renewed from day to day, and all that light of genius, which was verging toward inferior [things], is converted toward superior [ones], and is in a certain manner taken away from earthly [things], so that more and more it may die to this world, and its life may be hidden with Christ in God.

It is changed therefore into the worse, progressing toward exterior [things], and projecting its intimates in its life; and this seems better to the earth, that is, to those who savor earthly things, when a singer is praised in the desires of his soul, and he who carries out iniquitous [deeds] is blessed (Psalm 9:3). It is changed however into the better, when it averts its intention and glory by degrees from earthly [things], which appear in this world, and converts [them] toward superior and interior [ones]; and this seems worse to the earth, that is, to those who savor earthly things. Whence those impious [ones] finally doing unfruitful penance, are about to say also this among many things: "These are they whom we sometimes had in derision and into a similitude of reproach: we insensate [ones] estimated their life [as] insanity" (Wisd. 5:3, 4). And through this the Holy Spirit leading a similitude from visible [things] to invisible [ones], and from corporal [things] to spiritual sacraments, willed that transition from another life into another life, which is named Pascha, to be observed from the fourteenth moon, so that not only on account of the third time, which I commemorated above, because thence the third week begins; but also on account of that very conversion from exterior [things] to interior [ones], a similitude might be assumed from the moon: but unto the twenty-first indeed, on account of the septenary number itself, by which a signification of the universe is often figured, which also is attributed to the Church itself, on account of the likeness of the universe.

CHAPTER VI.

10. Ideo Joannes apostolus in Apocalypsi, ad septem scribit Ecclesias. Ecclesia vero adhuc in ista mortalitate carnis constituta, propter ipsam mutabilitatem, lunae nomine in Scripturis signatur. Unde est illud: Paraverunt sagittas suas in pharetra, ut sagittent in obscura luna rectos corde (Psal. X, 3, secundum LXX). Prius enim quam fiat illud quod dicit Apostolus, Cum Christus apparuerit vita vestra, tunc et vos apparebitis cum ipso in gloria (Coloss. III, 4), obscura videtur Ecclesia in tempore peregrinationis suae, inter multas iniquitates gemens; et tunc sunt timendae insidiae fallacium seductorum quas nomine sagittarum intelligi voluit. Unde alio loco propter nuntios fidelissimos veritatis, quos ubique parit Ecclesia, dicitur: Luna testis in coelo fidelis (Psal. LXXXVIII, 38). Et cum de regno Domini Psalmista cantaret, Orietur, inquit, in diebus ejus justitia et abundantia pacis, donec interficiatur luna (Psal. LXXI, 7): id est, abundantia pacis in tantum crescet, donec omnem mutabilitatem mortalitatis absumat. Tunc novissima inimica destruetur mors, et quidquid nobis resistit ex infirmitate carnis, unde nobis perfecta pax nondum est, consumetur omnino, cum corruptibile hoc induerit incorruptionem, et mortale hoc induerit immortalitatem (I Cor. XV, 26, 53, 54). Unde et illius civitatis muri, quae Jericho appellatur, quae in hebraeo eloquio Luna interpretari dicitur, septimo circuitu circumacta Testamenti arca corruerunt (Josue VI, 20). Quid enim nunc aliud agit annuntiatio regni coelorum, quam circumactio arcae significavit, nisi ut omnia munimenta mortalis vitae, id est, omnis sper hujus saeculi, quae resistit spei futuri saeculi, in dono septenario Spiritus sancti per liberum arbitrium destruatur? Ob hoc enim circumeunte arca, non impulsu violento illi muri ceciderunt, sed sponte. Sunt et alia testimonia Scripturarum, quae nobis ingerunt per commemorationem lunae Ecclesiae significationem, quae in ista mortalitate ab illa Jerusalem, cujus cives sancti Angeli sunt, in aerumnis et laboribus peregrinatur.

11. Non ideo tamen putare debent stulti, qui nolunt in melius commutari, adoranda esse illa luminaria, quia ducitur ex eis aliquando similitudo ad divina mysteria figuranda; ex omni enim creatura ducitur. Nec ideo debemus in sententiam damnationis irruere, quae ore apostolico de quibusdam profertur, qui coluerunt, et servierunt creaturae potius quam Creatori, qui est benedictus in saecula (Rom. I, 25).

10. Therefore John the apostle in the Apocalypse writes to the seven Churches. For the Church, being still constituted in this mortality of the flesh, on account of that very mutability, is signified in the Scriptures by the name of the moon. Whence is that [saying]: "They have prepared their arrows in the quiver, that they may shoot in the dark moon the upright in heart" (Psalm 10:3, according to the LXX). For before that happens which the Apostle says, "When Christ shall have appeared, [who is] your life, then you also shall appear with Him in glory" (Col. 3:4), the Church seems dark in the time of its pilgrimage, groaning among many iniquities; and then the snares of fallacious seducers are to be feared, which he willed to be understood by the name of arrows. Whence in another place, on account of the most faithful messengers of truth, whom the Church brings forth everywhere, it is said: "A faithful witness in the sky is the moon" (Psalm 88:38). And when the Psalmist sang of the kingdom of the Lord, he said: "In his days justice shall arise, and abundance of peace, until the moon be taken away" (Psalm 71:7): that is, the abundance of peace shall increase to such an extent, until it consumes all the mutability of mortality. Then the last enemy, death, shall be destroyed, and whatever resists us from the infirmity of the flesh, whence perfect peace is not yet ours, shall be consumed entirely, when this corruptible [thing] shall have put on incorruption, and this mortal [thing] shall have put on immortality (1 Cor. 15:26, 53, 54). Whence also the walls of that city, which is called Jericho, which in the Hebrew eloquence is said to be interpreted [as] Moon, fell down, the ark of the Testament having been carried around in the seventh circuit (Josh. 6:20). For what else does the announcement of the kingdom of heaven do now, which the carrying around of the ark signified, except that all the fortifications of mortal life, that is, all the hope of this world, which resists the hope of the future world, may be destroyed in the septenary gift of the Holy Spirit through free will? For on this account, the ark going around, those walls did not fall by a violent impulse, but of their own accord. There are also other testimonies of the Scriptures, which bring to us through the commemoration of the moon the signification of the Church, which in this mortality pilgrimages in distresses and labors from that Jerusalem, whose citizens are the holy Angels.

11. Yet fools, who do not want to be changed for the better, ought not therefore to think that those luminaries are to be adored, because a similitude is sometimes led from them to figure divine mysteries; for it is led from every creature. Nor ought we therefore to rush into the sentence of damnation, which is brought forth by the apostolic mouth concerning certain [ones], who worshipped and served the creature rather than the Creator, who is blessed forever (Rom. 1:25).

Sicut enim non adoramus pecora, quamvis dictus sit Christus et agnus (Joan. I, 29) et vitulus (Ezech. XLIII, 19); nec feram, quia dictus est leo de tribu Juda (Apoc. V, 5); nec lapidem, quia petra erat Christus (I Cor. X, 4); nec montem Sion, quia in ipso figuratur Ecclesia (I Petr. II, 4): sic nec solem nec lunam, quamvis ex ea coelesti creatura, sicut ex multis terrestribus, sacramentorum figurae ad informationes mysticas assumantur.

CAPUT VII.

12. Quapropter mathematicorum deliramenta cum detestatione irridenda sunt; quibus cum objecerimus vana commenta, unde homines in errorem praecipitant, quo prius praecipitati sunt, garruli sibi videntur, cum dicunt nobis: Cur et vos ad solis et lunae computationem Pascha celebratis? quasi nos ordines siderum, aut vicissitudines temporum a summo atque optimo Deo conditas arguamus, et non eorum perversitatem, quae rebus sapientissime conditis ad stultissimas opiniones abutitur. Nam si mathematicus nobis contradicturus est de sideribus et luminaribus coeli ad sacramenta mystice figuranda similitudines ducere, contradicant et augures ne dicatur nobis, Estote simplices ut columbae: contradicant et Marsi, ne dicatur nobis, Astuti sicut serpentes (Matth. X, 16): contradicant histriones, ne in Psalmis citharam nominemus. Aut quia ex his rebus ad mysteria verbi Dei, similitudinum signa sumuntur, dicant, si placet, vel auspicia nos captare, vel venena conficere, vel theatricas affectare luxurias, quod dementissimum est dicere.

13. Non igitur nos de sole et luna, annuis menstruisve temporibus actionum nostrarum eventa conjicimus, ne in vitae humanae periculosissimis tempestatibus tanquam in scopulos miserae servitutis illisi, a libero arbitrio naufragemus: sed ad rem sacrate significandam similitudines aptas religiosissima devotione suscipimus, sicut de caetera creatura, de ventis, de mari, de terra, de volatilibus, de piscibus, de pecoribus, de arboribus, de hominibus, ad sermonem quidem multipliciter, ad celebrationem vero Sacramentorum jam christiana libertate parcissime; sicut de aqua, de frumento, de vino, de oleo.

For just as we do not adore cattle, although Christ was called both a lamb (John 1:29) and a calf (Ezek. 43:19); nor a wild beast, because He was called the lion of the tribe of Judah (Rev. 5:5); nor a stone, because the rock was Christ (1 Cor. 10:4); nor Mount Sion, because the Church is figured in it (1 Pet. 2:4): so neither [do we adore] the sun nor the moon, although from that celestial creature, as from many terrestrial [ones], the figures of sacraments are assumed for mystical informations.

CHAPTER VII.

12. Wherefore the ravings of mathematicians [astrologers] are to be mocked with detestation; to whom when we shall have objected [their] vain comments, whence they precipitate men into error, into which they were first precipitated, they seem talkative to themselves, when they say to us: Why do you also celebrate Pascha according to the computation of the sun and the moon? as if we were accusing the orders of the stars, or the vicissitudes of times established by the highest and best God, and not their perversity, which abuses things most wisely established for the most foolish opinions. For if the mathematician is about to contradict us concerning the stars and the luminaries of heaven for leading similitudes to figure mysteries mystically, let the augurs also contradict [us] lest it be said to us, "Be simple as doves": let the Marsi [charmers] also contradict [us], lest it be said to us, "Astute as serpents" (Matt. 10:16): let the actors contradict [us], lest we name the cithara in the Psalms. Or because signs of similitudes are taken from these things for the mysteries of the word of God, let them say, if it pleases, either that we catch auspices, or compose poisons, or affect theatrical luxuries, which is most insane to say.

13. Therefore we do not conjecture the events of our actions from the sun and the moon, [or] the annual or monthly times, lest being dashed against the rocks of miserable servitude in the most perilous tempests of human life, we suffer shipwreck from free will: but we receive apt similitudes for signifying a thing sacredly with most religious devotion, as from the rest of the creature, from the winds, from the sea, from the earth, from the flying [things], from the fishes, from the cattle, from the trees, from men, for discourse indeed manifoldly, but for the celebration of the Sacraments now with Christian liberty most sparingly; as from water, from wheat, from wine, from oil.

In servitute autem veteris populi etiam multa celebrari imperata sunt, quae nobis tantummodo intelligenda traduntur. Non itaque dies observamus et annos et menses et tempora, ne audiamus ab Apostolo: Timeo vos ne forte sine causa laboraverim in vos (Gal. IV, 11). Eos enim culpat qui dicunt: Non proficiscar hodie, quia posterus dies est, aut quia luna sic fertur; vel, Proficiscar ut prospera cedant, quia ita se habet positio siderum: Non agam hoc mense commercium, quia illa stella mihi agit mensem; vel, Agam, quia suscepit mensem: Non plantem hoc anno vineam, quia bissextus est. Non autem quisquam sapiens arbitretur observatores temporum reprehendendos, qui dicunt, Non proficiscar hodie, quia tempestas exorta est; aut, Non navigem, quia adhuc sunt hibernae reliquiae; aut, Tempus seminandi est, quia imbribus autumnalibus terra satiata est; vel si qui forte alii naturales effectus circa motum aeris et humores ad variandas temporum qualitates in siderum ordinatissima conversione notati sunt, de quibus dictum est cum conderentur: Et sint in signis et temporibus et in diebus et in annis (Gen. I, 14). Si quae autem figurae similitudinum non tantum de coelo et de sideribus, sed etiam de inferiori creatura ducuntur ad dispensationem sacramentorum, eloquentia quaedam est doctrinae salutaris, movendo affectui discentium accomodata, a visibilibus ad invisibilia, a corporalibus ad spiritualia, a temporalibus ad aeterna.

CAPUT VIII.

14. Nec quisquam nostrum attendit quod eo tempore, quo Pascha celebramus, sol in ariete est, sicut illi appellant quemdam siderum locum, ubi revera mense novorum sol invenitur: sed sive illi arietem, sive aliquid aliud eamdem partem coeli vocare voluerint, nos de Scripturis sanctis hoc didicimus, quod omnia sidera Deus condidit, et locis coelestibus quibus voluit, ordinavit; quae stellis distincta et ordinata in quaslibet partes dividant, quibuslibet vocabulis notent, ubicumque sol esset mense novorum, illic eum reperiret haec celebratio, propter similitudinem sacramenti renovandae vitae, de qua satis supra disseruimus. Quod si etiam locus ille siderum aries vocari posset, propter aliquam figurae congruentiam, neque de hujusmodi timeret sermo divinus aliquam sacramenti similitundum ducere, sicut de aliis non solum coelestibus, sed etiam terrestribus creaturis; sicut de Orione et Pleiadibus, sicut de monte Sina et de monte Sion, sicut de fluminibus quae vocantur, Geon, Phison, Tigris, Euphrates, sicut de ipso toties in sanctis mysteriis nominato fluvio Jordane, rerum figurate insinuandarum mysticas similitudines adduxit.

Moreover, in the servitude of the ancient people also many things were commanded to be celebrated, which are delivered to us only to be understood. Thus we do not observe days and years and months and times, lest we hear from the Apostle: "I fear you lest perhaps I have labored in you without cause" (Gal. 4:11). For he blames those who say: I will not set out today, because it is a posterior day, or because the moon is thus borne; or, I will set out that things may yield prosperous [results], because the position of the stars has itself so: I will not carry on commerce this month, because that star carries on the month for me; or, I will carry [it] on, because it has received the month: I will not plant a vineyard this year, because it is bissextile [leap year]. But let not any wise man think that observers of times are to be reprehended, who say, I will not set out today, because a tempest has arisen; or, I will not sail, because there are still winter remains; or, It is the time for sowing, because the earth has been satiated by the autumnal rains; or if any other natural effects perhaps have been noted about the movement of the air and humors for varying the qualities of times in the most ordered conversion of the stars, concerning which it was said when they were established: "And let them be for signs and times and for days and for years" (Gen. 1:14). But if any figures of similitudes are led not only from the sky and from the stars, but also from the inferior creature for the dispensation of sacraments, it is a certain eloquence of salutary doctrine, accommodated for moving the affection of the learners, from visible [things] to invisible [ones], from corporal [things] to spiritual [ones], from temporal [things] to eternal [ones].

CHAPTER VIII.

14. Nor does any of us attend to [the fact] that at that time, in which we celebrate Pascha, the sun is in Aries, as they call a certain place of the stars, where indeed in the month of new [things] the sun is found: but whether they have willed to call that same part of the sky Aries, or something else, we have learned this from the holy Scriptures, that God established all the stars, and ordered [them] in the celestial places which He willed; which distinct and ordered stars they may divide into any parts, and note with any names, wherever the sun should be in the month of new [fruits], there this celebration would find it, on account of the similitude of the sacrament of renewing life, concerning which we have sufficiently discussed above. Because if also that place of the stars could be called Aries, on account of some congruence of figure, neither would the divine discourse fear to lead some similitude of a sacrament from this kind, as from other creatures not only celestial, but also terrestrial; as from Orion and the Pleiades, as from Mount Sina and from Mount Sion, as from the rivers which are called, Geon, Phison, Tigris, Euphrates, as from the river Jordan itself so often named in the holy mysteries, it has led mystical similitudes of things to be insinuated figuratively.

15. Sed quantum intersit inter siderum observationes ad aerias qualitates accomodatas, sicut agricolae vel nautae observant; aut ad notandas partes mundi cursumque aliquo et alicunde dirigendum, quod gubernatores navium faciunt, et ii qui per solitudines arenosas in interiora Austri nulla semita certa vel recta gradiuntur; aut cum ad aliquid in doctrina utili figurate significandum, fit nonnullorum siderum aliqua commemoratio; quantum ergo intersit inter has utilitates, et vanitates hominum ob hoc observanting sidera, ut nec aeris qualitates, nec regionum vias, nec solos temporum numeros, nec spiritualium similitudines, sed quasi fatalia rerum jam eventa perquirant, quis non intelligat?

CAPUT IX.

16. Sed jam deinceps videamus cur etiam id observetur, cum Pascha celebratur, ut sabbatum occurrat: hoc enim proprium christianae religionis est. Nam Judaei mensem novorum tantummodo et lunam observant a quartadecima usque ad vicesimam primam. Sed quia illud eorum Pascha quo passus est Dominus, ita occurrit ut inter mortem ejus et resurrectionem medius esset sabbati dies, addendum patres nostri censuerunt, ut et nostra festivitas a Judaeorum festivitate distingueretur; et quod non frustra factum esse credendum est ab illo qui est ante tempora, et per quem facta sunt tempora, et qui venit in plenitudine temporum, et qui potestatem habebat ponendi animam suam et iterum recipiendi eam et ideo non fatalem, sed opportunam sacramento quod commendare instituerat, horam exspectabat, cum diceret, Nondum venit hora mea (Joan. II, 4), in anniversaria passionis ejus celebratione a posteris servaretur.

17. Quod enim nunc, ut superius dixi, fide ac spe gerimus, atque ut ad id perveniamus dilectione satagimus, requies est quaedam ab omni labore omnium molestiarum sancta atque perpetua: in eam nobis ex hac vita fit transitus, quem Dominus noster Jesus Christus sua passione praemonstrare ac consecrare dignatus est. Inest autem in illa requie non desidiosa segnitia, sed quaedam ineffabilis tranquillitas actionis otiosae. Sic enim ab hujus vitae operibus in fine requiescitur, ut in alterius vitae actione gaudeatur. Sed quia talis actio in Dei laude agitur, sine labore membrorum, sine angore curarum; non ad eam sic transitur per quietem, ut ipsi labor succedat, id est non sic esse actio incipit, ut esse desinat quies: neque enim reditur ad labores et curas; sed permanet in actione quod ad quietem pertinet, nec in opere laborare, nec in cogitatione fluctuare. Quia ergo per requiem ad primam vitam reditur, unde anima lapsa est in peccatum, propterea sabbato requies significatur.

15. But how much difference there is between the observations of the stars accommodated to the qualities of the air, as farmers or sailors observe; or for noting the parts of the world and directing a course somewhere and from somewhere, which the governors of ships do, and those who walk through sandy solitudes into the interiors of the South with no certain or straight path; or when for signifying something figuratively in useful doctrine, some commemoration of certain stars is made; how much difference therefore there is between these utilities, and the vanities of men observing the stars for this purpose, that they may seek out neither the qualities of the air, nor the ways of regions, nor the numbers of times alone, nor the similitudes of spiritual things, but as it were fatal events of things already [happened], who would not understand?

CHAPTER IX.

16. But now next let us see why it is also observed, when Pascha is celebrated, that the Sabbath should occur: for this is proper to the Christian religion. For the Jews observe only the month of new [fruits] and the moon from the fourteenth unto the twenty-first. But because that Pascha of theirs in which the Lord suffered, so occurred that between His death and resurrection the middle day was of the Sabbath, our fathers thought [it] to be added, that also our festivity might be distinguished from the festivity of the Jews; and because it is not to be believed to have been done in vain by Him who is before times, and through whom times were made, and who came in the fullness of times, and who had power of laying down His soul and receiving it again; and therefore he was expecting not a fatal [hour], but an opportune hour for the sacrament which He had instituted to commend, when He said, "My hour has not yet come" (John 2:4), it should be kept by posterity in the anniversary celebration of His passion.

17. For that which now, as I said above, we carry on by faith and hope, and that we may arrive at it we are busy with love, is a certain holy and perpetual rest from all labor of all molestations: into it a transition is made for us from this life, which our Lord Jesus Christ deigned to pre-show and consecrate by His passion. Moreover, there is in that rest not an idle sloth, but a certain ineffable tranquility of leisurely action. For thus one rests from the works of this life in the end, that one may rejoice in the action of another life. But because such action is carried on in the praise of God, without labor of members, without anguish of cares; one does not thus pass through quiet into it, that labor itself succeeds it, that is, action does not thus begin to be, that quiet ceases to be: for indeed one does not return to labors and cares; but that which pertains to quiet remains in action, neither to labor in work, nor to fluctuate in thought. Because therefore through rest one returns to the first life, whence the soul fell into sin, therefore rest is signified by the Sabbath.

Illa autem vita prima, quae de peregrinatione redeuntibus, et primam stolam accipientibus redditur, per unam sabbati, quem diem dominicum dicimus, figuratur. Quaere septem dies Genesim legens, invenies septimum sine vespera, quia requiem sine fine significat. Prima ergo vita non fuit sempiterna peccanti: requies autem ultima sempiterna est, ac per hoc et octavus sempiternam beatitudinem habebit, quia requies illa, quae sempiterna est, excipitur ab octavo, non exstinguitur; neque enim esset aliter sempiterna. Ita ergo erit octavus qui primus, ut prima vita non tollatur, sed reddatur aeterna.

CAPUT X.

18. Sabbatum tamen commendatum est priori populo in otio corporaliter celebrandum, ut figura esset sanctificationis in requie Spiritus sancti. Nusquam enim legimus in Genesi sanctificationem per omnes priores dies; sed de solo sabbato dictum est: Et sanctificavit Deus diem septimum (Gen. II, 3). Amant enim requiem, sive piae animae, sive iniquae; sed qua perveniant ad illud quod amant, plurimae nesciunt: nec aliquid appetunt etiam ipsa corpora ponderibus suis, nisi quod animae amoribus suis. Nam sicut corpus tandiu nititur pondere, sive deorsum versus, sive sursum versus, donec ad locum quo nititur veniens conquiescat; pondus quippe olei si dimittatur in aere, deorsum; si autem sub aquis, sursum nititur: sic animae ad ea quae amant propterea nituntur, ut perveniendo requiescant. Et multa quidem per corpus delectant, sed non est in eis aeterna requies, nec saltem diuturna; et propterea magis sordidant animam, et aggravant potius, ut sincerum ejus pondus, quo in superna fertur, impediant. Cum ergo anima seipsa delectatur, nondum re incommutabili delectatur; et ideo adhuc superba est, quia se pro summo habet, cum superior sit Deus. Nec in tali peccato impunita relinquitur, quia Deus superbis resistit, humilibus autem dat gratiam (Jacobi IV, 6). Cum autem Deo delectatur, ibi veram, certam, aeternam invenit requiem, quam in aliis quaerebat, nec inveniebat. Proinde admonetur in Psalmo: Delectare in Domino, et dabit tibi petitiones cordis tui (Psal. XXXVI, 4).

19. Quia ergo charitas Dei diffusa est in cordibus nostris per Spiritum sanctum qui datus est nobis (Rom. V, 5), ideo sanctificatio in septimo die commemorata est, ubi requies commendatur.

Moreover, that first life, which is restored to those returning from pilgrimage, and receiving the first robe, is figured through the first [day] of the Sabbath [week], which day we call the Lord's [day]. Seek the seven days reading Genesis, you will find the seventh without evening, because it signifies rest without end. Therefore the first life was not sempiternal to the [one] sinning: but the last rest is sempiternal, and through this also the eighth [day] will have sempiternal beatitude, because that rest, which is sempiternal, is received by the eighth, not extinguished; for otherwise it would not be sempiternal. Thus therefore the eighth will be [that] which [was] the first, so that the first life may not be taken away, but be restored eternal.

CHAPTER X.

18. Nevertheless, the Sabbath was commended to the former people to be celebrated corporally in leisure, that it might be a figure of sanctification in the rest of the Holy Spirit. For nowhere in Genesis do we read of sanctification through all the prior days; but concerning the Sabbath alone it was said: "And God sanctified the seventh day" (Gen. 2:3). For they love rest, whether pious souls or iniquitous [ones]; but by what [way] they may arrive at that which they love, very many do not know: nor do even the bodies themselves appetite anything by their weights, except what the soul [appetites] by its loves. For just as a body strives so long by weight, whether toward downward or toward upward, until coming to the place where it strives it rests; for the weight of oil, if it be let go in the air, [strives] downward; but if under the waters, it strives upward: so souls strive toward those [things] which they love on this account, that by arriving they may rest. And many things indeed delight through the body, but in them there is not eternal rest, nor even a long-lasting [one]; and on that account they rather defile the soul, and aggravate [it] rather, so that they may impede its sincere weight, by which it is borne into the superiors. When therefore the soul is delighted by itself, it is not yet delighted by an incommutable thing; and therefore it is still proud, because it has itself for the highest, when God is superior. Nor in such sin is it left unpunished, because "God resists the proud, but gives grace to the humble" (James 4:6). But when it is delighted by God, there it finds true, certain, eternal rest, which it was seeking in others and did not find. Therefore it is admonished in the Psalm: "Delight in the Lord, and He will give to thee the petitions of thy heart" (Psalm 36:4).

19. Because therefore "the charity of God is poured forth in our hearts through the Holy Spirit who has been given to us" (Rom. 5:5), therefore sanctification was commemorated on the seventh day, where rest is commended.

Quia vero nec bene operari possumus, nisi dono ejus adjuti, sicut dicit Apostolus, Deus enim est qui operatur in vobis et velle et operari, pro bona voluntate (Philipp. II, 13), nec requiescere poterimus post omnia bona opera nostra quae in hac vita gerimus, nisi ejus dono ad aeternitatem sanctificati atque perfecti; propterea de ipso Deo dicitur quia cum fecisset omnia opera valde bona, septimo die requievit ab omnibus operibus suis quae fecit (Gen. I, 31, et II, 2). Futuram enim requiem significabat, quam post bona opera daturus erat nobis hominibus. Sicut enim cum bene operamur, ipse dicitur operari in nobis, cujus munere bene operamur: ita cum requiescimus, ipse requiescere dicitur, quo donante requiescimus.

CAPUT XI.

20. Hinc est quod etiam in tribus primis praeceptis Decalogi quae ad Deum pertinent (caetera enim septem ad proximum pertinent, id est ad hominem, quia in duobus praeceptis tota lex pendet [Matth. XXII, 40]), tertium ibi de observatione sabbati positum est: ut in primo praecepto Patrem intelligamus, ubi prohibetur coli aliqua in figmentis hominum Dei similitudo; non quia non habet imaginem Deus, sed quia nulla imago ejus coli debet, nisi illa quae hoc est quod ipse; nec ipsa pro illo, sed cum illo. Et quia creatura mutabilis est, ac propterea dicitur omnis creatura vanitati subjecta (Rom. VIII, 20), quoniam natura universi etiam in parte monstratur; ne quisquam Filium Dei, Verbum per quod facta sunt omnia, putaret esse creaturam, sequitur aliud praeceptum: Non accipies in vanum nomen Domini Dei tui (Exod. XX, 7; Deut. V, 11). Spiritus autem sanctus, in quo nobis illa requies tribuitur, quam ubique amamus, sed nisi Deum amando non invenimus, cum charitas ejus diffunditur in cordibus nostris per Spiritum sanctum qui datus est nobis (Rom. V, 5), quia sanctificavit Deus diem septimum in quo requievit, tertio praecepto legis insinuatur, quod scriptum est de observatione sabbati; non ut jam in ista vita nos quiescere existimemus, sed ut omnia quae bene operamur non habeant intentionem, nisi in futuram requiem sempiternam. Memento enim maxime, quod jam supra commemoravi, quia spe salvi facti sumus; spes autem quae videtur, non est spes (Rom. VIII, 24).

21. Ad ipsum autem ignem amoris nutriendum et flatandum quodammodo, quo tanquam pondere sursum vel introrsum referamur ad requiem, ista omnia pertinent quae nobis figurate insinuantur; plus enim movent et accendunt amorem, quam si nuda sine ullis sacramentorum similitudinibus ponerentur. Cujus rei causam difficile est dicere. Sed tamen ita se habet, ut aliquid per allegoricam significationem intimatum plus moveat, plus delectet, plus honoretur, quam si verbis propriis diceretur apertissime.

But because we can neither work well, unless aided by His gift, as the Apostle says, "For it is God who works in you both to will and to work, for [His] good will" (Phil. 2:13), nor shall we be able to rest after all our good works which we carry on in this life, unless sanctified and perfected by His gift for eternity; on that account it is said concerning God Himself that when He had made all works very good, "on the seventh day He rested from all His works which He made" (Gen. 1:31, and 2:2). For He was signifying the future rest, which after good works He was about to give to us men. For just as when we work well, He Himself is said to work in us, by whose gift we work well: so when we rest, He Himself is said to rest, by whose grant we rest.

CHAPTER XI.

20. Hence it is that also in the first three precepts of the Decalogue which pertain to God (for the other seven pertain to the neighbor, that is to man, because on two precepts the whole law depends [Matt. 22:40]), the third is placed there concerning the observation of the Sabbath: so that in the first precept we may understand the Father, where it is forbidden that any similitude of God be worshipped in the figments of men; not because God has no image, but because no image of Him ought to be worshipped, except that which is this which He Himself is; nor itself for Him, but with Him. And because the creature is mutable, and on that account every creature is said [to be] "subject to vanity" (Rom. 8:20), since the nature of the universe is shown even in part; lest anyone should think the Son of God, the Word through whom all things were made, to be a creature, another precept follows: "Thou shalt not take in vain the name of the Lord thy God" (Exod. 20:7; Deut. 5:11). Moreover, the Holy Spirit, in whom that rest is attributed to us, which we love everywhere, but do not find except by loving God, when His charity is poured forth in our hearts through the Holy Spirit who has been given to us (Rom. 5:5), because God sanctified the seventh day in which He rested, is insinuated by the third precept of the law, which is written concerning the observation of the Sabbath; not that we should think ourselves to rest already in this life, but that all [things] which we work well should have no intention except in the future sempiternal rest. For remember especially, what I have already commemorated above, because "by hope we were made safe; but hope which is seen, is not hope" (Rom. 8:24).

Moreover, to the nourishing and blowing, in a certain manner, of the fire of love itself, by which as by a weight we may be referred upward or inward to rest, all these things pertain which are insinuated to us figuratively; for they move and enkindle love more than if they were placed nakedly without any similitudes of sacraments. The cause of which thing is difficult to say. But yet it has itself so, that something intimated through an allegorical signification moves more, delights more, is more honored, than if it were said most openly by proper words.

Credo quod ipse animae motus quandiu rebus adhuc terrenis implicatur, pigrius inflammatur: si vero feratur ad similitudines corporales, et inde referatur ad spiritualia, quae illis similitudinibus figurantur, ipso quasi transitu vegetatur, et tanquam in facula ignis agitatus accenditur, et ardentiore dilectione rapitur ad quietem.

CAPUT XII.

22. Ideoque inter omnia illa decem praecepta solum ibi quod de sabbato positum est, figurate observandum praecipitur; quam figuram nos intelligendam, non etiam per otium corporale celebrandam suscepimus. Cum enim sabbato significetur spiritualis requies, de qua dictum est in Psalmo, Vacate et videte, quoniam ego sum Deus (Psal. XLV, 11), et quo vocantur homines ab ipso Domino dicente, Venite ad me omnes qui laboratis et onerati estis, et ego vos reficiam: tollite jugum meum super vos, et discite a me quia mitis sum et humilis corde, et invenietis requiem animabus vestris (Matth. XI, 28, 29); caetera tamen ibi praecepta proprie sicut praecepta sunt, sine ulla figurata significatione observamus. Nam et idola non colere manifeste didicimus; et non accipere in vanum nomen Domini Dei nostri, et honorare patrem et matrem, et non moechari, non occidere, non furari, non falsum testimonium dicere, non concupiscere uxorem proximi, non concupiscere ullam rem proximi (Exod. XX, 1-17, et Deut. V, 6-21), non figurate aliud praetendunt, et mystice aliud significant; sed sic observantur ut sonant. Observare tamen diem sabbati non ad litteram jubemur, secundum otium ab opere corporali, sicut observant Judaei: et ipsa eorum observatio quae ita praecepta est, nisi aliam quamdam spiritualem requiem significet, ridenda judicatur. Unde non inconvenienter intelligimus ad amorem excitandum, quo ad requiem tendimus, valere omnia quae figurate in Scripturis dicuntur; quandoquidem id solum in Decalogo figurate praecipitur, ubi requies commendatur, quae ubique amatur, sed in solo Deo certa et sancta invenitur.

CAPUT XIII.

I believe that the very movement of the soul, so long as it is still implicated in earthly things, is more sluggishly inflamed: but if it be borne to corporal similitudes, and thence be referred to spiritual [things], which are figured by those similitudes, it is vegetated by the very transition as it were, and as in a torch a fire having been agitated is enkindled, and is snatched with more ardent affection to quiet.

CHAPTER XII.

22. And therefore among all those ten precepts, only that which is placed there concerning the Sabbath is commanded to be observed figuratively; which figure we have received to be understood, not also to be celebrated through corporal leisure. For since spiritual rest is signified by the Sabbath, concerning which it was said in the Psalm, "Be vacant and see, that I am God" (Psalm 45:11), and to which men are called by the Lord Himself saying, "Come to me all you who labor and are burdened, and I will refresh you: take my yoke upon you, and learn from me that I am meek and humble in heart, and you will find rest for your souls" (Matt. 11:28, 29); nevertheless we observe the other precepts there properly as they are commanded, without any figurative signification. For also we have learned manifestly not to worship idols; and not to take in vain the name of the Lord our God, and to honor father and mother, and not to commit adultery, not to kill, not to steal, not to speak false testimony, not to covet the wife of the neighbor, not to covet any thing of the neighbor (Exod. 20:1-17, and Deut. 5:6-21), do not figuratively pretend one thing, and mystically signify another; but are so observed as they sound. Nevertheless we are not commanded to observe the day of the Sabbath according to the letter, according to leisure from corporal work, as the Jews observe [it]: and their very observation which was so commanded, unless it signifies some other spiritual rest, is judged to be mocked. Whence not inconveniently we understand that all [things] which are said figuratively in the Scriptures avail for exciting love, by which we tend toward rest; since that alone is commanded figuratively in the Decalogue where rest is commended, which is loved everywhere, but is found certain and holy in God alone.

CHAPTER XIII.

23. Dies tamen dominicus non Judaeis, sed Christianis resurrectione Domini declaratus est, et ex illo habere coepit festivitatem suam. Animae quippe omnium sanctorum ante resurrectionem corporis sunt quidem in requie, sed in ea non sunt actione qua corpora recepta vegetantur. Talem quippe actionem significat dies octavus, qui et primus, quia non aufert illam requiem, sed glorificat. Non enim redit cum corpore difficultas ex corpore, quia nec corruptio: Oportet enim corruptibile hoc indui incorruptionem, et mortale hoc indui immortalitatem (I Cor. XV, 53). Quapropter ante resurrectionem Domini, quamvis sanctos patres plenos prophetico spiritu octavi sacramentum nequaquam lateret, quo significatur resurrectio (nam et pro octavo Psalmus inscribitur [Psal. VI et XI], et octavo die circumcidebantur infantes, et in Ecclesiaste ad duorum Testamentorum significationem dicitur, Da illis septem, et illis octo [Eccle. XI, 2]); reservatum est tamen et occultatum, et solum celebrandum sabbatum traditum est: quia erat antea requies mortuorum; resurrectio autem nullius erat, qui resurgens ex mortuis, jam non moreretur, et mors illi ultra non dominaretur; ut postquam facta est talis resurrectio in corpore Domini (ut praeiret in capite Ecclesiae, quod corpus Ecclesiae speraret in fine), jam etiam dies dominicus, id est octavus, qui et primus, inciperet celebrari. Ipsa etiam causa intelligitur, cur observandum Pascha, ubi ovem occidere et comedere jubentur, quod manifestissime passionem Domini praefigurat, non eis ita praeceptum est, ut attenderent occurrere sabbatum, et cum mense novorum ad tertiam lunae hebdomadam concurrere, ut eumdem quoque diem Dominus potius sua passione signaret, qui etiam dominicum, id est, octavum, qui et primus est, declaraturus advenerat.

CAPUT XIV.

24. Attende igitur sacratissimum triduum crucifixi, sepulti, suscitati. Horum trium quod significat crux, in praesenti agimus vita: quod autem significat sepultura et resurrectio, fide ac spe gerimus. Nunc enim dicitur homini: Tolle crucem tuam et sequere me (Matth. XVI, 24). Cruciatur autem caro, cum mortificantur membra nostra, quae sunt super terram, fornicatio, immunditia, luxuria, avaritia, et caetera hujusmodi, de quibus idem dicit: Si secundum carnem vixeritis, moriemini; si autem spiritu facta carnis mortificaveritis, vivetis (Rom. VIII, 13).

23. Nevertheless the Lord's day was declared not to the Jews, but to Christians by the resurrection of the Lord, and from that [time] it began to have its festivity. For the souls of all the saints before the resurrection of the body are indeed in rest, but they are not in that action by which the received bodies are vegetated. For the eighth day signifies such action, which is also the first, because it does not take away that rest, but glorifies [it]. For difficulty from the body does not return with the body, because neither [does] corruption: "For it is necessary [for] this corruptible to put on incorruption, and [for] this mortal to put on immortality" (1 Cor. 15:53). Wherefore before the resurrection of the Lord, although the sacrament of the eighth [day], by which the resurrection is signified, was by no means hidden from the holy fathers full of the prophetic spirit (for the Psalm is inscribed for the eighth [Psalm 6 and 11], and on the eighth day infants were circumcised, and in Ecclesiastes it is said for the signification of the two Testaments, "Give to them seven, and to them eight" [Eccl. 11:2]); nevertheless it was reserved and hidden, and only the Sabbath to be celebrated was delivered: because there was previously rest of the dead; but the resurrection of no one was [such], who rising from the dead, should no longer die, and death should no longer dominate him; so that after such resurrection was made in the body of the Lord (that it might go before in the head of the Church, what the body of the Church should hope for in the end), now also the Lord's day, that is the eighth, which is also the first, might begin to be celebrated. The very cause is also understood, why the Pascha to be observed, where they are commanded to kill and eat a sheep, which most manifestly prefigures the passion of the Lord, was not so commanded to them, that they should attend that the Sabbath should occur, and should concur with the month of new [fruits] at the third week of the moon, so that the Lord should rather sign the same day by His passion, who also had arrived to declare the Lord's [day], that is, the eighth, which is also the first.

CHAPTER XIV.

24. Attend therefore to the most sacred triduum of the crucified, buried, [and] raised [Lord]. Of these three, what the cross signifies, we do in the present life: but what the burial and resurrection signify, we carry on by faith and hope. For now it is said to man: "Take up thy cross and follow me" (Matt. 16:24). Moreover, the flesh is crucified, when our members are mortified, which are upon the earth, fornication, uncleanness, luxury, avarice, and other [things] of this kind, concerning which the same [Apostle] says: "If you shall have lived according to the flesh, you shall die; but if by the spirit you shall have mortified the deeds of the flesh, you shall live" (Rom. 8:13).

Hinc etiam de seipso dicit: Mundus mihi crucifixus est, et ego mundo (Gal. VI, 14). Et alio loco: Scientes, inquit, quia vetus homo noster simul crucifixus est cum illo, ut evacuetur corpus peccati, ut ultra non serviamus peccato (Rom. VI, 6). Quandiu ergo id agunt opera nostra, ut evacuetur corpus peccati, quandiu exterior homo corrumpitur, ut interior renovetur de die in diem, tempus est crucis.

25. Haec sunt etiam bona opera quidem, tamen adhuc laboriosa, quorum merces est requies: sed ideo dicitur, Spe gaudentes, ut cogitantes requiem futuram, cum hilaritate in laboribus operemur. Hanc hilaritatem significat crucis latitudo in transverso ligno, ubi figuntur manus. Per manus enim opera intelligimus; per latitudinem, hilaritatem operantis, quia tristitia facit angustias; per altitudinem vero cui caput adjungitur, exspectationem retributionis de sublimi justitia Dei, qui reddet unicuique secundum opera sua, iis quidem qui secundum tolerantiam boni operis gloriam, et honorem, et incorruptionem quaerentibus vitam aeternam (Id. II, 6, 7). Itaque longitudo, qua totum corpus extenditur, ipsam tolerantiam significat, unde longanimes dicuntur qui tolerant. Profundum autem quod terrae infixum est, secretum sacramenti praefigurat. Recordaris enim, nisi fallor, quae verba Apostoli in ista designatione crucis expediam, ubi ait: In charitate radicati atque fundati, ut possitis comprehendere cum omnibus sanctis quae sit longitudo, latitudo, altitudo et profundum (Eph. III, 17, 18). Ea vero quae nondum videmus, et nondum tenemus, sed fide et spe gerimus, in alio biduo figurata sunt. Haec enim quae nunc agimus, tanquam clavis praeceptorum in Dei timore confixi, sicut scriptum est, Confige clavis a timore tuo carnes meas (Psal. CXVIII, 120), in necessariis deputantur, non in eis quae per seipsa appetenda et concupiscenda sunt. Unde illium optimum se dicit concupiscere, dissolvi, et esse cum Christo: manere autem in carne necessarium, inquit, propter vos (Philipp. I, 23, 24). Quod ergo inquit, dissolvi, et esse cum Christo, inde incipit requies, quae non interrumpitur resurrectione, sed clarificatur; quae tamen nunc fide retinetur, quia justus ex fide vivit (Habac. II, 4). An ignoratis, inquit, quoniam quicumque baptizati sumus in Christo Jesu, in morte ipsius baptizati sumus? Consepulti ergo illi sumus per baptismum in mortem (Rom. VI, 3, 4). Unde, nisi fide? Neque enim jam in nobis perfectum est, adhuc in nobismetipsis ingemiscentibus, et adoptionem exspectantibus, redemptionem corporis nostri: Spe enim salvi facti sumus; spes autem quae videtur, non est spes: quod enim videt quis, quid sperat? si autem quod non videmus speramus, per patientiam exspectamus (Id. VIII, 24, 25).

Hence also concerning himself he says: "The world is crucified to me, and I to the world" (Gal. 6:14). And in another place: "Knowing," he says, "that our old man was crucified together with Him, that the body of sin may be evacuated, that we may no longer serve sin" (Rom. 6:6). So long therefore as our works do this, that the body of sin may be evacuated, so long as the exterior man is corrupted, that the interior may be renewed from day to day, it is the time of the cross.

25. These are indeed also good works, yet still laborious, whose reward is rest: but therefore it is said, "Rejoicing in hope," so that thinking [of] the future rest, we may work in labors with hilarity. This hilarity the breadth of the cross signifies in the transverse wood, where the hands are fixed. For through the hands we understand works; through breadth, the hilarity of the worker, because sadness makes straits; but through height, to which the head is joined, the expectation of retribution from the sublime justice of God, "who will render to each one according to his works, to those indeed who according to the tolerance of a good work seeking glory, and honor, and incorruption, eternal life" (Rom. 2:6, 7). Therefore the length, by which the whole body is extended, signifies tolerance itself, whence they are called long-suffering who tolerate. Moreover, the depth which is fixed in the earth, prefigures the secret of the sacrament. For you remember, unless I am deceived, what words of the Apostle I shall expedite in this designation of the cross, where he says: "Rooted and founded in charity, that you may be able to comprehend with all the saints what is the length, breadth, height and depth" (Eph. 3:17, 18). Moreover, those things which we do not yet see, and do not yet hold, but carry on by faith and hope, are figured in the other two days [of the triduum]. For these things which we do now, fixed as if by the nails of the precepts in the fear of God, as it is written, "Fix my flesh with nails by Thy fear" (Psalm 118:120), are deputed among necessary [things], not in those which are to be appetited and concupiscined for themselves. Whence he says that he concupiscines that best [thing], "to be dissolved, and to be with Christ: but to remain in the flesh [is] necessary," he says, "on account of you" (Phil. 1:23, 24). That therefore [which] he said, "to be dissolved, and to be with Christ," thence begins the rest, which is not interrupted by resurrection, but clarified; which nevertheless is now retained by faith, "because the just lives by faith" (Hab. 2:4). "Are you ignorant," he says, "that as many of us as have been baptized in Christ Jesus, have been baptized in His death? Therefore we have been buried together with Him through baptism into death" (Rom. 6:3, 4). Whence, unless by faith? For indeed it is not yet perfected in us, still groaning in ourselves, and expecting the adoption, the redemption of our body: "For by hope we were made safe; but hope which is seen, is not hope: for what a man sees, why does he hope? but if we hope [for] what we do not see, through patience we expect [it]" (Rom. 8:24, 25).

26. Quod memento quam saepe commemorem, ne jam nunc in ista vita nos beatos fieri debere arbitremur, et ab omnibus difficultatibus liberos; ac sic in angustiis rerum temporalium adversus Deum ore sacrilego murmuremus, quasi non exhibeat quod promisit. Promisit quidem etiam huic vitae necessaria; sed alia sunt solatia miserorum, alia gaudia beatorum. Domine, inquit, secundum multitudinem dolorum meorum in corde meo, exhortationes tuae jucundaverunt animam meam (Psal. XCIII, 19). Non ergo murmuremus in difficultatibus, ne perdamus latitudinem hilaritatis, de qua dicitur, Spe gaudentes; quia sequitur, in tribulatione patientes (Rom. XII, 12). Nova ergo vita in fide nunc inchoatur, et spe geritur: nam tunc perfecta erit, cum absorbebitur mortale a vita, cum absorbebitur mors in victoriam, cum illa novissima inimica destruetur mors, cum immutati fuerimus, et aequales Angelis effecti: Omnes enim, inquit, resurgemus; sed non omnes immutabimur (I Cor. XV, 54, 26, 51). Et Dominus: Erunt, inquit, aequales Angelis Dei (Luc. XX, 36). Apprehensi enim sumus modo in timore per fidem, tunc autem apprehendemus in charitate per speciem. Quandiu enim sumus in corpore, peregrinamur a Domino: per fidem enim ambulamus, non per speciem (II Cor. V, 6). Ipse itaque Apostolus qui dicit, ut apprehendam, sicut apprehensus sum, aperte se non apprehendisse confitetur: Fratres, inquit, ego me non arbitror apprehendisse (Philipp. III, 12, 13). Sed tamen quia ipsa spes ex promissione veritatis certa nobis est, cum diceret, Consepulti igitur sumus illi per baptismum in mortem, subjunxit et ait, ut quomodo surrexit Christus ex mortuis per gloriam Patris, ita et nos in novitate vitae ambulemus (Rom. VI, 4). Ambulamus ergo in re laboris, sed in spe quietis; in carne vetustatis, sed in fide novitatis. Dicit enim, Corpus quidem mortuum est propter peccatum; spiritus autem vita est propter justitiam. Si autem Spiritus ejus qui suscitavit Jesum Christum a mortuis habitat in vobis; qui suscitavit Jesum Christum a mortuis, vivificabit et mortalia corpora vestra per inhabitantem Spiritum ejus in vobis (Id. VIII, 10, 11).

27. Haec et ex autoritate divinarum Scripturarum et universae Ecclesiae, quae toto orbe diffunditur, consensione, per anniversarium Pascha celebrantur,

CAPUT XV.

26. Which remember how often I commemorate, lest now already in this life we think ourselves to ought to become blessed, and free from all difficulties; and thus in the straits of temporal things we should murmur with a sacrilegious mouth against God, as if He were not exhibiting what He promised. He promised indeed also the necessary [things] for this life; but some are the solaces of the miserable, others the joys of the blessed. "Lord," he says, "according to the multitude of my sorrows in my heart, Thy exhortations have made my soul joyful" (Psalm 93:19). Therefore let us not murmur in difficulties, lest we lose the breadth of hilarity, concerning which it is said, "Rejoicing in hope"; because it follows, "patient in tribulation" (Rom. 12:12). Therefore the new life is begun now in faith, and carried on in hope: for then it will be perfect, when the mortal shall be absorbed by life, when death shall be absorbed into victory, when that last enemy, death, shall be destroyed, when we shall have been changed, and made equal to the Angels: "For all," he says, "we shall rise; but not all shall we be changed" (1 Cor. 15:54, 26, 51). And the Lord [says]: "They shall be," He says, "equal to the Angels of God" (Luke 20:36). For we have been apprehended now in fear through faith, but then we shall apprehend in charity through sight (*species*). "For as long as we are in the body, we pilgrimage from the Lord: for through faith we walk, not through sight" (2 Cor. 5:6). Thus the Apostle himself who says, "that I may apprehend, as I have been apprehended," openly confesses himself not to have apprehended: "Brethren," he says, "I do not judge myself to have apprehended" (Phil. 3:12, 13). But yet because hope itself from the promise of truth is certain to us, when he said, "Therefore we have been buried together with Him through baptism into death," he subjoined and said, "that as Christ rose from the dead through the glory of the Father, so also we may walk in novelty of life" (Rom. 6:4). We walk therefore in the matter of labor, but in the hope of quiet; in the flesh of oldness, but in the faith of novelty. For he says, "The body indeed is dead on account of sin; but the spirit is life on account of justice. But if the Spirit of Him who raised Jesus Christ from the dead dwells in you; He who raised Jesus Christ from the dead, will also vivify your mortal bodies through His Spirit dwelling in you" (Rom. 8:10, 11).

27. These [things] are celebrated through the anniversary Pascha, both from the authority of the divine Scriptures and by the consent of the universal Church, which is diffused in the whole world.

CHAPTER XV.

In magno utique sicut jam intelligis, sacramento. Et in Scripturis quidem veteribus ad agendum Pascha non est praeceptum tempus, nisi ex mense novorum, a luna quarta decima usque ad vicesimam primam: ex Evangelio tamen, quia manifestum est, quo etiam die Dominus crucifixus sit, et in sepultura fuerit, et resurrexerit, adjuncta est etiam ipsorum dierum observatio per patrum concilia, et orbi universo christiano persuasum est eo modo Pascha celebrari oportere.

28. Quadragesima sane jejuniorum habet auctoritatem, et in veteribus Libris ex jejunio Moysi (Exod. XXXIV, 28) et Eliae (III Reg. XIX, 8); et ex Evangelio, quia totidem diebus Dominus jejunavit (Matth. IV, 2), demonstrans Evangelium non dissentire a Lege et Prophetis. In persona quippe Moysi, Lex; in persona Eliae, Prophetae accipiuntur, inter quos et in monte gloriosus apparuit; ut evidentius emineret quod de illo dicit Apostolus: Testimonium habens a Lege et Prophetis (Rom. III, 21). In qua ergo parte anni congruentius observatio Quadragesimae constitueretur, nisi confini atque contigua dominicae passioni? Quia in ea significatur haec vita laboriosa, cui opus est continentia, ut ab ipsius mundi amicitia jejunetur; quae utique fallaciter blandiri, et illecebrarum fucos circumspargere atque jactare non cessat. Numero autem quadragenario vitam istam propterea figurari arbitror, quia denarius in quo est perfectio beatitudinis nostrae, sicut in octonario, quia redit ad primum, ita in hoc mihi videtur exprimi: quia creatura, quae septenario figuratur, adhaeret Creatori, in quo declaratur unitas Trinitatis per universum mundum temporaliter annuntianda; qui mundus et a quatuor ventis delimatur, et quatuor elementis erigitur, et quatuor anni temporum vicibus variatur. Decem autem quater in quadraginta consummantur, quadragenarius autem partibus suis computatus, addit ipsum denarium et fiunt quinquaginta tanquam merces laboris et continentiae. Neque enim frustra ipse Dominus et quadraginta dies post resurrectionem in hac terra et in hac vita cum Discipulis conversatus est, et posteaquam ascendit in coelum, decem diebus interpositis promissum misit Spiritum sanctum, completo die Pentecostes: qui dies quinquagenarius habet alterum sacramentum, quod septies septem quadraginta novem fiunt; et cum reditur ad initium, qui est octavus, qui et primus dies, quinquaginta complentur; qui celebrantur post Domini resurrectionem, jam in figura non laboris, sed quietis et laetitiae.

In a great sacrament, certainly, as you now understand. And in the ancient Scriptures indeed, a time is not prescribed for acting the Pascha, except from the month of new [fruits], from the fourteenth moon until the twenty-first: yet from the Gospel, because it is manifest on which day also the Lord was crucified, and was in burial, and rose again, the observation of those same days was added also through the councils of the fathers, and it was persuaded to the whole Christian world that the Pascha ought to be celebrated in that manner.

28. The Lent (*Quadragesima*) of fasts surely has authority, both in the ancient Books from the fasting of Moses (Exod. 34:28) and of Elijah (1 Kings 19:8); and from the Gospel, because for just as many days the Lord fasted (Matth. 4:2), demonstrating that the Gospel does not dissent from the Law and the Prophets. For in the person of Moses, the Law [is received]; in the person of Elijah, the Prophets are received, between whom He also appeared glorious on the mountain; so that it might emerge more evidently what the Apostle says of Him: "Having testimony from the Law and the Prophets" (Rom. 3:21). In what part of the year, therefore, would the observation of Lent be more congruously constituted, unless bordering and contiguous to the Lord's passion? Because in it is signified this laborious life, for which there is need of continence, so that one may fast from the friendship of this very world; which certainly does not cease to flatter fallaciously, and to scatter and throw around the dyes of allurements. Moreover, I judge this life to be figured by the number forty for this reason, because the number ten (*denarius*), in which is the perfection of our beatitude, just as in the number eight (*octonarius*), because it returns to the first, so in this it seems to me to be expressed: because the creature (*creatura*), which is figured by the number seven (*septenario*), adheres to the Creator, in whom is declared the unity of the Trinity to be announced temporally through the whole world; which world is both delimited by the four winds, and raised by the four elements, and varied by the four turns of the seasons of the year. Moreover, four times ten are consummated in forty, but the number forty (*quadragenarius*), computed by its parts, adds that very number ten and they become fifty, as if the reward of labor and continence. For not in vain did the Lord Himself both converse for forty days after the resurrection on this earth and in this life with the Disciples, and after He ascended into heaven, with ten days interposed, sent the promised Holy Spirit, the day of Pentecost being completed: which fiftieth day has another sacrament, because seven times seven become forty-nine; and when it is returned to the beginning, which is the eighth [day], which is also the first day, fifty are completed; which are celebrated after the Lord's resurrection, now in the figure not of labor, but of quiet and gladness (*laetitia*).

Propter hoc et jejunia relaxantur, et stantes oramus, quod est signum resurrectionis. Unde etiam omnibus diebus dominicis id ad altare observatur, et Alleluia canitur, quod significat actionem nostram futuram non esse nisi laudare Deum, sicut scriptum est: Beati qui habitant in domo tua, Domine; in saecula saeculorum laudabunt te (Psal. LXXXIII, 5).

CAPUT XVI.

29. Sed dies quinquagesimus et in Scripturis commendatur; et non tantum in Evangelio, quia tunc Spiritus sanctus advenit, sed etiam in veteribus Libris. Nam et ibi posteaquam Pascha occiso agno celebraverunt, dies quinquaginta numerantur usque ad diem quo Lex data est in monte Sina famulo Dei Moysi, digito Dei scripta (Exod. XII, XIX, XX, XXXI): in libris autem Evangelii apertissime declaratur, digitum Dei significare Spiritum sanctum. Cum enim unus evangelista dixisset, In digito Dei ejicio daemonia (Luc. XI, 20); alius hoc idem ita dixit, In spiritu Dei ejicio daemonia (Matth. XII, 28). Quis hanc laetitiam divinorum sacramentorum, cum sanae doctrinae luce clarescunt , non praeferat universis mundi hujus imperiis, etiam inusitata felicitate pacatis? Nonne tanquam duo Seraphim clamant ad invicem concinentia laudes Altissimi: Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, Dominus Deus sabaoth (Isai. VI, 3); ita duo Testamenta fideliter concordantia sacratam concinunt veritatem? Occiditur ovis, celebratur Pascha, et interpositis quinquaginta diebus datur Lex ad timorem scripta digito Dei. Occiditur Christus, qui tanquam ovis ad immolandum ductus est, sicut Isaias testatur (Isai. LIII, 7), celebratur verum Pascha, et interpositis quinquaginta diebus datur ad charitatem Spiritus sanctus, qui est digitus Dei, contrarius hominibus sua quaerentibus, et ideo jugum aspersum et sarcinam gravem portantibus, nec invenientibus requiem animabus suis; quia charitas non quaerit quae sua sunt (I Cor. XIII, 5). Ideo animositas haereticorum semper inquieta est, quos magorum Pharaonis habere conatum declarat Apostolus, dicens: Sicut enim Jamnes et Mambres restiterunt Moysi, sic et isti resistunt veritati, homines mente corrupti, reprobi circa fidem: sed ultra non proficient; dementia enim eorum erit manifesta omnibus, sicut et illorum fuit (II Tim. III, 8). Quia enim per ipsam corruptionem mentis inquietissimi fuerunt, in signo tertio defecerunt, fatentes sibi adversum esse Spiritum sanctum qui erat in Moyse. Nam deficientes dixerunt: Digitus Dei est hic (Exod. VIII, 19). Sicut autem conciliatus et placatus Spiritus sanctus requiem praestat mitibus et humilibus corde, ita contrarius et adversus immites ac superbos inquietudine exagitat. Quam inquietudinem muscae illae brevissimae significaverunt, sub quibus magi Pharaonis defecerunt, dicentes: Digitus Dei est hic.

On account of this also fasts are relaxed, and we pray standing, which is a sign of resurrection. Whence also on all Lord's days this is observed at the altar, and the Alleluia is sung, which signifies that our future action is to be nothing else than to praise God, as it is written: "Blessed are they who dwell in Thy house, Lord; for ages of ages they shall praise Thee" (Psalm 84:5).

CAPUT XVI.

29. But the fiftieth day is also commended in the Scriptures; and not only in the Gospel, because the Holy Spirit then arrived, but also in the ancient Books. For there also, after they celebrated the Pascha with the slain lamb, fifty days are numbered until the day on which the Law was given on Mount Sinai to the servant of God, Moses, written with the finger of God (Exod. 12, 19, 20, 31): moreover, in the books of the Gospel it is declared most openly that the finger of God signifies the Holy Spirit. For when one evangelist had said, "In the finger of God I cast out demons" (Luke 11:20); another said this same thing thus, "In the spirit of God I cast out demons" (Matth. 12:28). Who would not prefer this gladness of divine sacraments, when they shine with the light of sound doctrine, to all the empires of this world, pacified even with unusual happiness? Do not the two Testaments, faithfully concordant, sing together the sacred truth, just as two Seraphim cry to one another, singing together the praises of the Most High: "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth" (Isaiah 6:3)? The sheep is slain, the Pascha is celebrated, and with fifty days interposed, the Law written with the finger of God is given for fear. Christ is slain, who like a sheep was led to be sacrificed, as Isaiah testifies (Isaiah 53:7), the true Pascha is celebrated, and with fifty days interposed, the Holy Spirit, who is the finger of God, is given for charity, being contrary to men seeking their own things, and therefore carrying a harsh yoke and a heavy burden, nor finding rest for their souls; because "charity seeketh not the things that are its own" (1 Cor. 13:5). Therefore the animosity of heretics is always restless, whom the Apostle declares to have the attempt of the magicians of Pharaoh, saying: "For as Jannes and Mambres resisted Moses, so also these resist the truth, men corrupt in mind, reprobate concerning the faith: but they shall not proceed further; for their dementia shall be manifest to all, as theirs also was" (2 Tim. 3:8). For because they were most restless through that very corruption of mind, they failed in the third sign, confessing that the Holy Spirit who was in Moses was adverse to them. For failing they said: "The finger of God is here" (Exod. 8:19). Moreover, just as the Holy Spirit, reconciled and pacified, provides rest to the meek and humble in heart, so, being contrary and adverse to the harsh and proud, He agitates them with restlessness. Which restlessness those very small flies signified, under which the magicians of Pharaoh failed, saying: "The finger of God is here."

30. Exodum lege, et vide ubi Pascha celebraverunt, post quot dies data sit Lex. Loquitur Deus ad Moysen in eremo Sina die primo mensis tertii. Nota ergo unum diem ex ingressu ipsius tertii mensis, et vide quid dicat inter caetera: Descende, inquit, testare populo, et purifica illos hodie et cras, et lavent vestimenta sua, et sint parati in diem tertium. Tertia enim die descendet Dominus in montem Sina coram omni populo (Id. XIX, 10, 11): tunc data est Lex tertio scilicet die tertii mensis. Numera itaque a quartodecimo primi mensis die, quo factum est Pascha, usque ad diem tertium tertii mensis, et invenies decem et septem dies primi mensis, triginta secundi, tres tertii, qui fiunt quinquaginta. Lex in arca est sanctificatio in corpore Domini, per cujus resurrectionem nobis requies futura promittitur, ad quam percipiendam Spiritu sancto charitas inspiratur. Spiritus autem nondum erat datus, quia Jesus nondum erat clarificatus (Joan. VII, 39.) Unde prophetia illa cantata est: Exsurge, Domine, in requiem tuam, tu et arca sanctificationis tuae (Psal. CXXXI, 8). Ubi requies, ibi sanctificatio. Unde nunc ut amemus et desideremus, pignus accepimus. Vocantur autem ad requiem alterius vitae, quo ab ista vita transitur, quod Pascha significat, omnes in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti.

CAP. XVII.

CAP. XVII.

31. Propterea quinquagenarius numerus ter multiplicatus, addito ad eminentiam sacramenti ipso ternario, et in illis magnis piscibus invenitur, quos jam Dominus post resurrectionem novam vitam demonstrans, a dextera parte levari imperavit; nec retia rupta sunt (Joan. XXI, 6, 11), quia tunc haereticorum inquietudo non erit. Tunc homo perfectus et quietus, purgatus in animo et in corpore per eloquia Domini casta, argentum igne examinatum terrae, purgatum septuplum (Psal. XI, 7), accipiet mercedem denarium, ut sint decem et septem. Nam et in hoc numero sicut in aliis multiplices figuras exhibentibus, sacramentum mirabile reperitur. Nec immerito etiam Psalmus septimus decimus in Regnorum libris solus integer legitur (II Reg. XXII, 2-51); quia regnum illud significat, ubi adversarium non habebimus. Titulus enim ejus est: In die qua eruit eum Dominus de manu omnium inimicorum ejus, et de manu Saül. Quis enim figuratur in David, nisi ille qui venit secundum carnem ex semine David? (Rom. I, 3.) Qui utique in corpore suo, quod est Ecclesia adhuc patitur inimicos.

30. Read Exodus, and see where they celebrated the Pascha, after how many days the Law was given. God speaks to Moses in the desert of Sinai on the first day of the third month. Note therefore one day from the entrance of that third month, and see what He says among other things: "Go down," He says, "testify to the people, and purify them today and tomorrow, and let them wash their garments, and be ready for the third day. For on the third day the Lord will descend onto Mount Sinai in the sight of all the people" (Id. 19:10, 11): then the Law was given, namely on the third day of the third month. Number therefore from the fourteenth day of the first month, on which the Pascha was made, until the third day of the third month, and you will find seventeen days of the first month, thirty of the second, [and] three of the third, which make fifty. The Law in the ark is the sanctification in the body of the Lord, through whose resurrection future rest is promised to us, for the receiving of which charity is inspired by the Holy Spirit. Moreover, the Spirit had not yet been given, because Jesus was not yet clarified (John 7:39). Whence that prophecy was sung: "Arise, Lord, into Thy rest, Thou and the ark of Thy sanctification" (Psalm 132:8). Where rest is, there is sanctification. Whence now that we may love and desire, we have received a pledge. Moreover, all are called in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit to the rest of the other life, to which transition is made from this life, which the Pascha signifies.

CAP. XVII.

CAP. XVII.

31. On that account the number fifty, multiplied three times, that very number three being added for the eminence of the sacrament, is found also in those great fishes, which the Lord, now demonstrating the new life after the resurrection, commanded to be lifted from the right side; nor were the nets broken (John 21:6, 11), because then there will not be the restlessness of heretics. Then the man, perfect and quiet, purged in mind and in body through the chaste eloquences of the Lord, as silver examined by the fire of the earth, purged sevenfold (Psalm 12:7), will receive the reward of the denarius, so that they are seventeen. For also in this number, as in others exhibiting multiple figures, a wonderful sacrament is found. Nor undeservedly is also the seventeenth Psalm read alone whole in the books of the Kingdoms (2 Sam. 22:2-51); because it signifies that kingdom where we shall not have an adversary. For its title is: "In the day in which the Lord rescued him from the hand of all his enemies, and from the hand of Saul." For who is figured in David, unless He who came according to the flesh from the seed of David (Rom. 1:3)? Who certainly in His body, which is the Church, still suffers enemies.

Unde illi persecutori quem voce mactavit, et in suum corpus trajiciens quodammodo manducavit, sonuit de coelo: Saule, Saule, quid me persequeris? (Act. IX, 4.) Quando autem eruetur hoc corpus ejus de manu omnium inimicorum ejus, nisi cum et illa novissima inimica destruetur mors? Ad hoc tempus pertinuit numerus ille centum quinquaginta trium piscium. Nam et ipse numerus septimus decimus surgens in trigonum, centum quinquaginta trium summam complet. Ab uno quippe usque ad decem et septem surgens, omnes medios adde, et invenies: ad unum scilicet adde duo, fiunt utique tria; adde tria, fiunt sex; adde quatuor, fiunt decem; adde quinque, fiunt quindecim; adde sex, fiunt viginti unum; adde ita caeteros, et ipsum decimum septimum, fiunt centum quinquaginta tria.

32. Haec de Scripturis firmissime tenentur, id est Pascha et Pentecostes. Nam ut quadraginta illi dies ante Pascha observentur, Ecclesiae consuetudo roboravit; sic etiam ut octo dies Neophytorum distinguantur a caeteris, id est, ut octavus primo concinat. Ut autem Alleluia per illos solos dies quinquaginta in Ecclesia cantetur, non usquequaque observatur: nam et aliis diebus varie cantatur alibi atque alibi; ipsis autem diebus ubique. Ut autem stantes in illis diebus et omnibus dominicis oremus, utrum ubique servetur ignoro: tamen quid in eo sequatur Ecclesia, dixi ut potui, et arbitror esse manifestum.

CAP. XVIII.

33. De lavandis vero pedibus, cum Dominus hoc propter formam humilitatis, propter quam docendam venerat, commendaverit, sicut ipse consequenter exposuit, quaesitum est quonam tempore potissimum res tanta etiam facto doceretur, et illud tempus occurrit, quo ipsa commendatio religiosius inhaereret. Sed ne ad ipsum sacramentum Baptismi videretur pertinere, multi hoc in consuetudinem recipere noluerunt. Nonnulli etiam de consuetudine auferre non dubitaverunt. Aliqui autem ut hoc et sacratiore tempore commendarent, et a Baptismi sacramento distinguerent, vel diem tertium octavarum, quia et ternarius numerus in multis sacramentis maxime excellit, vel etiam ipsum octavum ut hoc facerent elegerunt.

Whence to that persecutor whom He slew with His voice, and in a certain manner ate by transferring [him] into His own body, there sounded from heaven: "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou Me?" (Acts 9:4). Moreover, when shall this body of His be rescued from the hand of all His enemies, unless when that last enemy, death, shall also be destroyed? To this time pertained that number of a hundred and fifty-three fishes. For that seventeenth number itself, rising into a triangle, completes the sum of a hundred and fifty-three. Rising indeed from one up to seventeen, add all the middle [numbers], and you will find [it]: to one certainly add two, they become three; add three, they become six; add four, they become ten; add five, they become fifteen; add six, they become twenty-one; add thus the others, and the seventeenth itself, they become a hundred and fifty-three.

32. These [things] are most firmly held from the Scriptures, that is, Pascha and Pentecost. For that those forty days before Pascha are observed, the custom of the Church has strengthened; so also that the eight days of the Neophytes be distinguished from the others, that is, that the eighth concord with the first. Moreover, that the Alleluia be sung in the Church through those fifty days alone is not observed everywhere: for also on other days it is sung variously here and there; moreover, on those very days everywhere. Moreover, that we pray standing on those days and on all Lord's days, I do not know whether it be observed everywhere: yet what the Church follows in it, I have said as I was able, and I judge it to be manifest.

CAP. XVIII.

33. Concerning the washing of feet, indeed, since the Lord commended this on account of the form of humility, for the teaching of which He had come, as He Himself consequently explained, it was asked at what time especially such a great matter should also be taught by deed, and that time occurred in which the commendation itself might more religiously inhere. But lest it should seem to pertain to the sacrament of Baptism itself, many were unwilling to receive this into custom. Some also did not hesitate to remove [it] from custom. Moreover, others, so that they might both commend this at a more sacred time and distinguish it from the sacrament of Baptism, chose either the third day of the octaves, because the number three also excels greatly in many sacraments, or even the eighth day itself to do this.

34. Miror sane quid ita volueris, ut de iis quae varie per diversa loca observantur, tibi aliqua scriberem, cum et non sit necessarium, et una in his saluberrima regula retinenda sit, ut quae non sunt contra fidem, neque contra bonos mores, et habent aliquid ad exhortationem vitae melioris, ubicumque justini videmus, vel instituta cognoscimus, non solum non improbemus, sed etiam laudando et imitando sectemur, si aliquorum infirmitas non ita impedit, ut amplius detrimentum sit. Si enim eo modo impediat ut majora studiosorum lucra speranda sint, quam calumniatorum detrimenta metuenda, sine dubitatione faciendum est, maxime id quod etiam de Scripturis defendi potest; sicut de hymnis et psalmis canendis, cum et ipsius Domini et Apostolorum habeamus documenta et exempla et praecepta . De hac re tam utili ad movendum pie animum, et accendendum divinae dilectionis affectum, varia consuetudo est, et pleraque in Africa Ecclesiae membra pigriora sunt: ita ut Donatistae nos reprehendant, quod sobrie psallimus in ecclesia divina cantica Prophetarum, cum ipsi ebrietates suas ad canticum psalmorum humano ingenio compositorum, quasi ad tubas exhortationis inflamment. Quando autem non est tempus, cum in ecclesia fratres congregantur, sancta cantandi, nisi cum legitur aut disputatur, aut antistes clara voce deprecatur, aut communis oratio voce diaconi indicitur?

CAPUT XIX.

35. Aliis vero particulis temporum quid melius a congregatis Christianis fiat, quid utilius, quid sanctius omnino non video. Quod autem instituitur praeter consuetudinem, ut quasi observatio sacramenti sit, approbare non possum, etiamsi multa hujusmodi propter nonnullarum vel sanctarum vel turbulentarum personarum scandala devitanda, liberius improbare non audeo. Sed hoc nimis doleo, quod multa quae in divinis libris saluberrime praecepta sunt, minus curantur; et tam multis praesumptionibus sic plena sunt omnia, ut gravius corripiatur qui per octavas suas terram nudo pede tetigerit, quam qui mentem vinolentia sepelierit. Omnia itaque talia, quae neque sanctarum Scripturarum auctoritatibus continentur, nec in conciliis episcoporum statuta inveniuntur, nec consuetudine universae Ecclesiae roborata sunt, sed pro diversorum locorum diversis moribus innumerabiliter variantur, ita ut vix aut omnino nunquam inveniri possint causae, quas in eis instituendis homines secuti sunt, ubi facultas tribuitur, sine ulla dubitatione resecanda existimo.

34. I truly wonder why you wished that I should write to you something concerning those [matters] which are observed variously through diverse places, since it is not necessary, and one most salutary rule is to be retained in these: that those things which are not against the faith, nor against good morals, and have something for the exhortation of a better life, wherever we see [them] justifiably, or know [them] to be instituted, we should not only not disapprove, but even follow [them] by praising and imitating, if the infirmity of some does not so impede that there be more detriment. For if it should impede in such a way that greater gains of the studious are to be hoped for, than detriments of the calumniators to be feared, it is to be done without doubt, especially that which can even be defended from the Scriptures; as concerning the singing of hymns and psalms, since we have the documents and examples and precepts both of the Lord Himself and of the Apostles. Concerning this matter so useful for piously moving the mind and for kindling the affection of divine love, there is varied custom, and many members of the Church in Africa are more sluggish: so that the Donatists reproach us because we soberly sing in the church the divine songs of the Prophets, while they inflame their own ebrieties to the song of psalms composed by human genius, as if to the trumpets of exhortation. Moreover, when is there not time for singing holy [songs] when the brethren are gathered in the church, unless when [something] is read or discussed, or the bishop (*antistes*) prays with a clear voice, or common prayer is announced by the voice of the deacon?

CAPUT XIX.

35. But for other small portions of the times, I do not see at all what better [thing] should be done by gathered Christians, what more useful, what more holy. Moreover, as to what is instituted beyond custom, so that it be as if an observation of a sacrament, I cannot approve [it], even if I do not dare to disapprove [it] more freely for the sake of avoiding the scandals of some persons, either holy or turbulent. But I grieve too much for this, that many [things] which are most salutarily prescribed in the divine books are less cared for; and all [things] are so full of many presumptions, that he who touched the earth with a bare foot through his octaves is more severely corrected, than he who buried his mind with wine-bibbing (*vinolentia*). Therefore all such [things], which are neither contained by the authorities of the holy Scriptures, nor are found enacted in the councils of bishops, nor have been strengthened by the custom of the universal Church, but are varied innumerably for the diverse customs of diverse places, so that the causes which men followed in instituting them can scarcely or at all never be found —where the faculty is granted, I judge that [they] are to be cut off without any doubt.

Quamvis enim neque hoc inveniri possit, quomodo contra fidem sint; ipsam tamen religionem, quam paucissimis et manifestissimis celebrationum sacramentis misericordia Dei esse liberam voluit, servilibus oneribus premunt, ut tolerabilior sit conditio Judaeorum, qui etiamsi tempus libertatis non agnoverunt, legalibus tamen sarcinis, non humanis praesumptionibus subjiciuntur. Sed Ecclesia Dei inter multam paleam multaque zizania constituta, multa tolerat, et tamen quae sunt contra fidem vel bonam vitam non approbat, nec tacet, nec facit.

CAPUT XX.

36. Itaque illud quod scripsisti, quosdam fratres ita temperare se a carnibus edendis, ut immundas arbitrentur, apertissime contra fidem sanamque doctrinam est. Ex hinc ergo si diutius disputare voluero, potest putari a nonnullis obscure hinc Apostolum praecepisse; qui etiam inter multa quae de hac re dixit, sic detestatus est haereticorum impiam opinionem, ut diceret: Spiritus autem manifeste dicit quia in novissimis temporibus recedent quidam a fide, attendentes spiritibus seductionis et doctrinis daemoniorum, in hypocrisi mendaciloquorum, cauteriatam habentes conscientiam suam, prohibentes nubere, abstinere a cibis quos Deus creavit ad percipiendum cum gratiarum actione fidelibus, et iis qui cognoverunt veritatem: quia omnis creatura Dei bona est, et nihil abjiciendum quod cum gratiarum actione percipitur; sanctificatur enim per verbum Dei et orationem (I Tim. IV, 1-5). Et alio loco de his rebus loquitur: Omnia munda mundis; immundis autem et infidelibus nihil est mundum; sed polluta sunt eorum et mens et conscientia (Tit. I, 15). Tu ipse, lege caetera, et recita quibus potes, ut ne in se irritam faciant gratiam Dei, quia in libertatem vocati sunt; tantum ne libertatem in occasionem carnis assumant, et ideo jam nolint refrenandae carnis concupiscentiae causa a quibuslibet cibis temperare, quia non eis permittitur superstitiose atque infideliter facere.

37. Hi vero qui de paginis evangelicis sortes legunt , etsi optandum est ut hoc potius faciant, quam ad daemonia consulenda concurrant; tamen etiam ista mihi displicet consuetudo, ad negotia saecularia, et ad vitae hujus vanitatem, propter aliam vitam loquentia oracula divina velle convertere.

CAPUT XXI.

For although this also cannot be found, how they are against the faith; yet they press with servile burdens the very religion which the mercy of God willed to be free with very few and most manifest celebrations of sacraments, so that the condition of the Jews is more tolerable, who even if they did not acknowledge the time of liberty, are nevertheless subjected to legal burdens, not to human presumptions. But the Church of God, constituted among much chaff and many cockles (*zizania*), tolerates many [things], and yet does not approve, nor is silent, nor does those [things] which are against the faith or a good life.

CAPUT XX.

36. Therefore that which you wrote, that certain brethren so temper themselves from eating flesh that they judge [it] unclean, is most openly against the faith and sound doctrine. From this therefore, if I shall wish to dispute longer, it can be thought by some that the Apostle has prescribed this obscurely; who also among many [things] which he said concerning this matter, so detested the impious opinion of heretics that he said: "But the Spirit says manifestly that in the last times some shall recede from the faith, attending to spirits of seduction and doctrines of demons, in the hypocrisy of speakers of lies, having their own conscience cauterized, forbidding to marry, [and] to abstain from foods which God created for receiving with thanksgiving by the faithful, and by those who have known the truth: because every creature of God is good, and nothing is to be rejected which is received with thanksgiving; for it is sanctified through the word of God and prayer" (1 Tim. 4:1-5). And in another place he speaks concerning these things: "All [things are] clean to the clean; but to the unclean and infidels nothing is clean; but both their mind and conscience are polluted" (Titus 1:15). You yourself, read the rest, and recite [them] to those whom you can, so that they may not make the grace of God void in themselves, because they are called into liberty; only let them not assume liberty as an occasion of the flesh, and therefore now be unwilling to temper from any foods for the sake of refraining the concupiscence of the flesh, because it is not permitted to them to do so superstitiously and infidely.

37. Moreover, these who read lots from the evangelical pages, even if it is to be hoped that they do this rather than concur to consult demons; yet this custom also displeases me: to wish to turn divine oracles, speaking on account of another life, to secular businesses and to the vanity of this life.

CAPUT XXI.

38. Haec tibi si satis esse ad ea quae requisisti non putaveris, nimis ignoras et vires et occupationes meas. Tantum enim absum ab eo quod putasti nihil me latere, ut nihil in epistola tua legerim tristius, quia et apertissime falsum est; et miror quia hoc te latet, quod non solum in aliis innumerabilibus rebus multa me latent, sed etiam in ipsis sanctis Scripturis multo nesciam plura quam sciam. Sed ideo spem in nomine Christi non infructuosam gero, quia non solum credidi Deo meo, in illis duobus praeceptis totam Legem Prophetasque pendere (Matth. XXII, 40), sed etiam expertus sum, experiorque quotidie; quandoquidem nullum mihi sacramentum, aut aliquis sermo admodum obscurior de sacris Litteris aperitur, ubi non eadem praecepta reperiam: Finis enim praecepti est charitas de corde puro, et conscientia bona et fide non ficta (I Tim. I, 5); et plenitudo legis charitas (Rom. XIII, 10).

39. Itaque et tu, charissime, sive ista, sive alia, sic lege, sic disce, ut memineris verissime dictum: Scientia inflat, charitas aedificat (I Cor. VIII, 1). Charitas autem non aemulatur, non inflat. Sic itaque adhibeatur scientia tanquam machina quaedam, per quam structura charitatis assurgat quae maneat in aeternum, etiam cum scientia destruetur (Id. XIII, 4, 8); quae ad finem charitatis adhibita multum est utilis; per se autem ipsa sine tali fine, non modo superflua, sed etiam perniciosa probata est. Scio autem quam te cogitatio sancta custodiat sub umbraculo alarum Domini Dei nostri. Sed ideo haec, etsi breviter, monui, quoniam novi eamdem ipsam charitatem tuam, quae non aemulatur, hanc epistolam multis daturam atque lecturam.

EPISTOLA LVI . Augustinus ad Celerem, jubens eum Litterarum sacrarum studio incumbere, ut discat hanc vitam collatione aeternae esse fumum; et Donatistarum secta se abdicet. Domino eximio meritoque honorabili et dilectissimo filio CELERI, AUGUSTINUS .

1. Promissi mei et tuae voluntatis immemor non sum. Sed quoniam visitandarum ecclesiarum ad meam pertinentium curam necessitate profectus sum, nec per me ipse debitum continuo reddere potui: me tibi tamen diutius debere nolui, quod posset et me habente redhiberi. Proinde charissimo filio presbytero Optato delegavi, ut eis horis quas tibi opportuniores videris, tecum legat ea quae pollicitus sum: cum totum fieri posse persenserit, hoc etiam Eximietas tua quam grate acceperit, tam impigre atque acriter facere suadebit. Quantum autem te diligam, salubribusque studiis in rerum divinarum atque humanarum cognitione oblectari atque exerceri velim, credo quod optime intelligas.

38. If you shall not judge these [things] to be enough for you for those [questions] which you required, you are too ignorant of both my strengths and my occupations. For I am so far from that which you thought, that nothing lies hidden from me, that I have read nothing more sadly in your letter, because it is most openly false; and I wonder that this lies hidden from you, that not only in other innumerable things many [things] lie hidden from me, but also in those same holy Scriptures I do not know many more [things] than I know. But therefore I carry a not unfruitful hope in the name of Christ, because not only have I believed my God, that in those two precepts the whole Law and the Prophets hang (Matth. 22:40), but also I have experienced, and I experience daily; since no sacrament, or any somewhat obscure discourse from the sacred Letters is opened to me, where I do not find those same precepts: "For the end of the precept is charity from a pure heart, and a good conscience and a faith not feigned" (1 Tim. 1:5); and "the fullness of the law is charity" (Rom. 13:10).

39. Therefore you also, most dear [one], whether read these or other [things], so learn that you remember [it] to have been most truly said: "Knowledge puffs up, charity builds up" (1 Cor. 8:1). Moreover, "charity envieth not, is not puffed up." Thus therefore let knowledge be applied as a certain machine, through which the structure of charity may arise, which may remain for eternity, even when knowledge shall be destroyed (Id. 13:4, 8); which, applied to the end of charity, is very useful; moreover, itself by itself without such an end, it has been proved not only superfluous, but even pernicious. Moreover, I know how holy thought guards you under the shadow of the wings of the Lord our God. But therefore I have advised these [things], even if briefly, because I know that same charity of yours, which does not envy, will give this letter to many and to be read.

EPISTOLA LVI. Augustine to Celer, ordering him to apply himself to the study of the sacred Letters, so that he may learn that this life is smoke in comparison of the eternal; and that he should abdicate the sect of the Donatists. To the eminent and deservedly honorable and most beloved son CELER, AUGUSTINE.

1. I am not unmindful of my promise and of your will. But since I have set out by the necessity of the care of visiting the churches pertaining to me, nor could I by myself immediately render the debt: yet I was unwilling to owe [it] to you longer, which could be returned even while I have it. Accordingly, I have delegated to the most dear son Optatus, the presbyter, that he read with you in those hours which you judge more opportune those [things] which I promised: when he shall have perceived the whole to be able to be done, your Eminence also will persuade [him] to do [it] as unweariedly and as keenly as you have gratefully received [it]. Moreover, how much I love you, and wish you to be delighted and exercised by salutary studies in the cognition of divine and human things, I believe that you most excellently understand.

2. Charitatem officii mei si non aspernaris, spero in ipsa fide christiana, et in moribus jam ita constitutae personae tuae congruis, tales te provectus habiturum, ut hujus fumi vel vaporis temporalis, quae vita humana dicitur, ultimum diem, quem nulli mortalium evitare conceditur, vel avidus vel securus vel certe non desperate sollicitus, non in vanitate erroris, sed in soliditate veritatis exspectes. Quam certum est enim tibi vivere te, tam sit certum doctrina salutari istam vitam quae in deliciis temporalibus agitur, in comparatione vitae aeternae quae nobis per Christum atque in Christo promittitur, non vitam sed mortem esse deputandam. Nullo modo autem dubitaverim de indole tua, quod ista consuetudine Donatistarum facillime te extrahes, si religiosissime ipsam christianam puritatem non parvipenderis. Quam inconcussis enim documentorum firmamentis error ille convincatur, non magnum est etiam tardis ingenio, si tantum patienter atque intente audierint, pervidere. Sed ad sectandam insolitam rectitudinem, usitatae et quasi familiaris perversitatis vinculum abrumpere, majorum virium est. Et nequaquam desperandum adjuvan te atque exhortante ipso Domino Deo nostro, de generosa libertate, atque plane virili pectore tuo. Incolumem te Domini Dei nostri misericordia tueatur, domine eximie meritoque honorabilis et dilectissime fili.

EPISTOLA LVII . Augustinus, libro quodam suo in eam rem conscripto, Celerem instruxerat, mera levitate Donatistas se ab Ecclesia catholica segregasse: cui, si eo codice satisfactum non sit, promittit adhuc scripta. In fine, cum amico quodam donatista, Celeri subdito, conferre cupit. Domino dilectissimo meritoque honorabili ac suscipiendo filio CELERI, AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

1. Nullam fuisse justam causam, cur ab orbe terrarum, quo Ecclesia catholica secundum prophetica et evangelica promissa diffunditur, se pars Donati dirimeret, credo quod magis quoque considerans prudentia tua facillime intelligit. De qua re, si diligentior disputatio necessaria est, memini me ad legendum dedisse benevolentiae tuae codicem, cum id te petisse charissimus mihi, tuus filius, meus Caecilius intimasset; qui codex non paucis diebus apud te fuit. Quem si rei hujus cognoscendae studio, vel inter occupationes tuas legere sive voluisti sive potuisti, non dubito comperisse prudentiam tuam nihil eos habere quod probabiliter contradicant. Et si quid te forte adhuc movet, quantum Deus donat ac sinit, forte poterimus respondere interroganti, aut ad legendum itidem aliquid dare, domine dilectissime meritoque honorabilis ac suscipiende fili.

2. If you do not spurn the charity of my office, I hope that in the Christian faith itself, and in the morals now congruent to your so constituted person, you will have such progresses, that you may expect the last day of this temporal smoke or vapor, which is called human life—which to none of mortals is granted to avoid—either greedy or secure or certainly not desperately solicitous, not in the vanity of error, but in the solidity of truth. For as certain as it is to you that you live, so certain let it be by salutary doctrine that this life which is carried on in temporal delights, in comparison of the eternal life which is promised to us through Christ and in Christ, is to be deputed not life but death. Moreover, I would in no way doubt concerning your natural disposition, that you will most easily extract yourself from this custom of the Donatists, if you shall not have valued lightly the very Christian purity most religiously. For by how unshaken firmaments of documents that error may be convinced, it is not great even for those slow in genius to perceive, if only they shall have heard patiently and intently. But to follow unusual rectitude, to break off the bond of usual and as it were familiar perversity, is of greater strengths. And by no means is it to be despaired, with the Lord our God Himself helping and exhorting you, concerning your generous liberty and plainly manly breast. May the mercy of our Lord God keep you unharmed, eminent and deservedly honorable and most beloved son.

EPISTOLA LVII. Augustine, by a certain book of his written for that purpose, had instructed Celer that the Donatists, out of mere levity, had segregated themselves from the Catholic Church: to whom, if satisfaction be not given by that volume, he promises yet further writings. In the end, he desires to confer with a certain Donatist friend, subject to Celer. To the most beloved and deservedly honorable and to-be-esteemed son CELER, AUGUSTINE [sends] greeting in the Lord.

1. That there was no just cause why the party of Donatus should sever itself from the whole world, through which the Catholic Church is diffused according to the prophetic and evangelical promises, I believe that your prudence, also considering [it] more [deeply], most easily understands. Concerning which matter, if a more diligent disputation is necessary, I remember that I gave to your benevolence a book for reading, when your son, most dear to me, my Caecilius, had intimated that you had requested it; which book was with you for not a few days. Which if you either wished or were able to read, out of the study of knowing this matter, even among your occupations, I do not doubt that your prudence has discovered that they have nothing which they may probably contradict. And if anything perhaps still moves you, as much as God grants and permits, we shall perhaps be able to respond to [you] questioning, or likewise give something for reading, most beloved and deservedly honorable and to-be-esteemed son.

2. Quapropter peto unitatem catholicam regioni Hipponensi diligentius commendes hominibus tuis, maxime Paterno et Maurusio. Vigilantiam cordis tui novi, nec opus est, arbitror, plura scribere; cum si volueris, facillime possis, et quid alii curent et caveant in possessionibus tuis, et in re tua quid agatur addiscere. In re tua esse, mihi valde affirmatum est, amicum, cum quo cupio concordare; peto faveas ad hanc rem, ut et inter homines magnam laudem, et apud Deum habeas magnam mercedem: jam enim mihi per quemdam Carum utriusque nostrum medium mandaverat, se nescio quos violentos suos timere ne faceret, quos in re tua et te favente timere non poterit; nec ipse in eo debes diligere non constantiam, sed plane pertinaciam. Turpe est enim mutare sententiam, sed veram et rectam; nam stultam et noxiam, et laudabile et salubre est. Sicut autem constantia non sinit hominem depravari, sic pertinacia non sinit corrigi: proinde sicut illa laudanda, sic ista est emendanda. Presbyter quem misi, reliqua tuae prudentiae planius intimabit. Incolumem felicemque te Dei misericordia tueatur, domine dilectissime meritoque honorabilis ac suscipiende fili.

EPISTOLA LVIII . Augustinus Pammachio viro senatori gratulatur, quod suos apud Numidiam colonos donatistas adhortationibus suis adduxerit ad Ecclesiam catholicam. Domino eximio et merito suscipiendo, atque in Christi visceribus dilectissimo filio PAMMACHIO , AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

1. Bona opera tua Christi gratia germinantia, te nobis in membris ejus honorandum, et plane notissimum dilectissimumque fecerunt. Neque enim si quotidie faciem tuam viderem, notior mihi esses, quam cum interiorem tuum pacis decore pulchrum ac veritatis luce radiantem, in unius tui facti candore conspexi, conspexi et agnovi, agnovi et amavi. Huic nunc loquor, huic scribo, dilecto amico meo, qui mihi corpore absenti absens innotuit. Verumtamen jam simul eramus, et conjuncti sub uno capite vivebamus, in cujus charitate nisi radicatus esses, non tibi tam dilecta catholica unitas foret, nec colonos tuos Afros, eo terrarum unde Donatistarum furor exortus est, hoc est in media consulari Numidia constitutos, tali admoneres alloquio, tanto fervore spiritus animares, ut devotione promptissima ad sequendum eligerent, quod te talem ac tantum virum non nisi agnita veritate sequi cogitarent, et tam longe a te locorum intervallis remoti, irent sub idem caput, atque in ejus membris in aeternum tecum deputarentur, cujus praecepto tibi temporaliter serviunt.

2. Wherefore I ask that you more diligently commend the Catholic unity to the region of Hippo, to your men, especially to Paternus and Maurusius. I know the vigilance of your heart, nor is there need, I judge, to write more; since if you wish, you can most easily learn both what others care for and beware of in your possessions, and what is being done in your estate. It has been strongly affirmed to me that a friend is in your estate with whom I desire to agree; I ask that you favor this matter, so that you may have both great praise among men, and a great reward with God: for already he had sent word to me through a certain Carus, a mediator of both of us, that he feared I know not what violent [men] of his, lest he should do [it], whom in your estate and with you favoring he will not be able to fear; nor should you in him love not constancy, but plainly pertinacity. For it is base to change a sentiment, but a true and right one; for [to change] a foolish and noxious one, it is both laudable and salutary. Moreover, just as constancy does not permit a man to be depraved, so pertinacity does not permit [him] to be corrected: accordingly, just as that is to be praised, so this is to be emended. The presbyter whom I have sent will intimate the rest more plainly to your prudence. May the mercy of God keep you unharmed and happy, most beloved and deservedly honorable and to-be-esteemed son.

EPISTOLA LVIII. Augustine congratulates Pammachius, a senatorial man, because he had brought his Donatist colonists in Numidia by his exhortations to the Catholic Church. To the eminent and deservedly to-be-esteemed, and in the bowels of Christ most beloved son PAMMACHIUS, AUGUSTINE [sends] greeting in the Lord.

1. Your good works germinating by the grace of Christ, have made you to us to-be-honored in His members, and plainly most known and most beloved. For nor if I saw your face daily would you be more known to me, than when I beheld your interior, beautiful with the decorum of peace and radiating with the light of truth, in the candor of your one deed, beheld and recognized, recognized and loved. To this [man] I now speak, to this [man] I write, to my beloved friend, who became known to me absent in body while absent. Nevertheless we were already together, and we were living joined under one head, in whose charity unless you were rooted, the Catholic unity would not be so beloved to you, nor would you admonish with such discourse your African colonists, constituted in that [part] of the lands whence the fury of the Donatists arose, that is in the middle of consular Numidia, [and] animate [them] with so much fervor of spirit, that with most prompt devotion they should choose to follow [that] which they thought that you, such and so great a man, would not follow unless the truth had been recognized, and removed from you by so great intervals of places, they should go under the same head, and should be deputed with you for eternity in His members, by whose precept they serve you temporally.

2. In hoc ergo tuo facto te cognitum amplectens, exsultavi ut gratularer tibi in Christo Jesu Domino nostro, tibique has gratulatorias litteras mitterem qualecumque specimen cordis et amoris erga te mei; neque enim amplius potui. Sed quaeso ne tu hactenus quidquid te diligo metiaris: perlectam transi hanc epistolam transitu invisibili qui intus fit, et perge cogitando in pectus meum, et cerne quid illic de te agatur. Patebit enim oculo charitatis cubiculum charitatis, quod claudimus adversus nugas tumultuosas saeculi, cum illic Deum adoramus; et videbis ibi delicias laetitiae meae de tam bono opere tuo, quas nec lingua effari, nec stilo exprimere valeo, calentes atque flagrantes in sacrificio laudis ejus, quo inspirante hoc voluisti, et quo adjuvante potuisti. Gratias Deo super inenarrabili dono ejus. (II Cor. IX, 15.)

3. O quam multorum tecum pariter senatorum, pariterque sanctae Ecclesiae filiorum, tale opus desideramus in Africa, de quali tuo laetamur! Sed illos periculosum est exhortari, tibi securum est congratulari. Illi enim forte non facient, et tanquam nos in animo eorum vicerint inimici Ecclesiae, decipiendis insidiabuntur infirmis. Tu vero jam fecisti, unde inimici Ecclesiae liberatis confundantur infirmis. Proinde sufficere visum est, ut ipse quibus christiano jure potueris, amica fiducia istam epistolam legas. Sic enim ex tuo facto fieri posse in Africa credent, quod forte dum putant fieri non posse, pigrescunt. Insidias autem quas ipsi haeretici distorto corde moliuntur, quoniam risi eos arbitratos valere aliquid in possessione Christi, animo tuo, nec scribere volui. Audies tamen haec a fratribus meis, quos plurimum commendo Eximietati tuae, ne in tam magna tamque inopinata salute hominum, de quibus per te Catholica mater exsultat, aspernere etiam superflua metuentes.

EPISTOLA LIX . Augustinus Victorino concilium convocanti, excusatoria, quare ad concilium non venturus sit: rogans ut prius cum Xantippo super jure primatus et concilii convocandi placide componat. Domino beatissimo et venerabili patri et consacerdoti VICTORINO, AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

2. Embracing you, therefore, recognized in this your deed, I have exulted that I might congratulate you in Christ Jesus our Lord, and send to you these congratulatory letters as some specimen of my heart and love towards you; for I was not able for more. But I ask that you do not hitherto measure whatever I love you: having read through, pass over this letter by an invisible transition which is made within, and proceed by thinking into my breast, and discern what is being done there concerning you. For to the eye of charity the chamber of charity will lie open, which we close against the tumultuous trifles of the age, when we adore God there; and you will see there the delights of my gladness concerning so good a work of yours, which I am strong enough neither to speak out with tongue, nor to express with pen, warm and flaming in the sacrifice of His praise, with Him inspiring that you willed this, and with Him helping that you were able. "Thanks be to God upon His inenarrable gift" (2 Cor. 9:15).

3. O of how many senators equally with you, and equally of sons of the holy Church, do we desire such a work in Africa, of such as yours we rejoice in! But those it is perilous to exhort, you it is secure to congratulate. For those perhaps will not do [it], and as if the enemies of the Church have conquered in their mind, they will lie in wait for deceiving the infirm. You truly have already done [it], whence the enemies of the Church, with the infirm liberated, may be confounded. Accordingly, it seemed sufficient that you yourself, by what Christian right you shall be able, read that letter with friendly confidence. For thus from your deed they will believe [it] to be able to be done in Africa, which perhaps while they think [it] not to be able to be done, they are sluggish. Moreover, the snares which those heretics with distorted heart devise, since I laughed that they arbitrated [that they] were worth something in the possession of Christ, I willed neither to write to your mind. You shall hear these [things] however from my brethren, whom I very much commend to your Eminence, lest in so great and so unexpected a salvation of men, concerning whom through you the Catholic mother exults, you should spurn even those fearing superfluous [things].

EPISTOLA LIX. Augustine to Victorinus, [who was] convoking a council, an excusatory [letter], why he is not about to come to the council: asking that first he peacefully compose with Xantippus concerning the right of primacy and of convoking a council. To the most blessed and venerable father and fellow-priest VICTORINUS, AUGUSTINE [sends] greeting in the Lord.

1. Tractoria ad me quinto idus novembris venit, jam finito die, et me valde indispositum invenit, ut occurrere omnino non possem. Verumtamen sive imperitiam meam moverit, sive juste motus sim, tuae Sanctitatis et Gravitatis est arbitrari. Legi in eadem tractoria etiam ad Mauritanias esse scriptum, quas provincias scimus suos habere primates. Quod si et ex eis ad Numidiam convocandum esset concilium, oportuit utique ut aliquorum Maurorum episcoporum, qui illic priores sunt, nomina in tractoria ponerentur; quod in ista tractoria non reperiens, multum miratus sum. Deinde ad ipsos Numidas ita perturbato et neglecto ordine scriptum, ut nomen meum tertio loco invenerim, qui novi quam post multos episcopos factus sim. Quae res et aliis injuriosa est satis, et mihi invidiosa. Praeterea venerabilis frater et collega noster, Xantippus Tagosensis , dicit quod eum primatus ipse contingat, et erga plurimos sic habetur, et tales mittit epistolas. Qui etiam error si facile inter vestram Sanctitatem cognosci et corrigi potest, non debuit tamen in tractoria quam misit Venerabilitas tua, nomen ejus praetermitti. Quod si in mediis locis conscriberetur, et non in primo poneretur, multum mirarer; quanto magis mirandum est quod nulla ibi ejus admemoratio facta est, qui maxime ad concilium venire debuit, ut de ipso primatus ordine, coram omnium Numidarum episcopis Ecclesiarum primitus ageretur?

2. His de causis etiam venire dubitarem, ne forte falsa esset tractoria, qua tanta perversitas appareret; quanquam et angustia temporis et aliae graves necessitates me multipliciter impedirent. Unde peto Beatitudinem tuam ut mihi ignoscas, et primo instare digneris, ut inter tuam Sanctimoniam et senem Xantippum concorditer constet, quis vestrum debeat convocare concilium: aut certe, quod salubrius arbitror, sine cujusquam praejudicio ambo convocate collegas nostros, eos maxime qui vobis episcopatus aetate vicini sunt, qui facile quis vestrum verum dicat agnoscant, ut inter vos paucos eadem prae caeteris quaestio dirimatur, et errore sublato minores a caeteris convocentur, qui nec possunt nec debent, nisi vobis in hac re tanquam prioribus credere, et nunc ignorant cui vestrum potissimum credant. Hanc epistolam signatam misi annulo qui exprimit faciem hominis attendentis in latus.

EPISTOLA LX . Augustinus Aurelio significat Donatum et ipsius fratrem se venitente recessisse de monasterio: porro et monachis facilem lapsum, et ordini clericorum injuriam fieri, dum tales in clerum assumuntur. Domino beatissimo et debita observantia venerabili, sinceriterque charissimo fratri et consacerdoti papae AURELIO, AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

1. The tractoria came to me on the fifth of the ides of November, the day already finished, and found me very indisposed, so that I was not able to run to [it] at all. Nevertheless, whether my lack of experience moved [me], or I was moved justly, it is for your Holiness and Gravity to judge. I read in the same tractoria that it was written also to the Mauritanias, which provinces we know to have their own primates. Because if also from them a council was to be convoked to Numidia, it behoved certainly that the names of some Moorish bishops, who are priors there, should be placed in the tractoria; which not finding in that tractoria, I much wondered. Then to those same Numidians [it was] so written with perturbed and neglected order, that I found my name in the third place, who know how after many bishops I was made. Which matter both is injurious enough to others, and invidious to me. Besides, our venerable brother and colleague, Xantippus of Tagaste, says that the primacy itself touches him, and towards very many it is so held, and he sends such letters. Which error even if it can be easily recognized and corrected among your Holiness, yet his name ought not to have been passed over in the tractoria which your Venerability sent. Which if it were written in the middle places, and not placed in the first, I would much wonder; how much more is it to be wondered at that no mention of him was made there, who especially ought to have come to the council, so that concerning that order of primacy, it should be acted primarily before all the bishops of the Numidian Churches?

2. For these reasons also I would doubt to come, lest perhaps the tractoria were false, by which so great perversity would appear; although both the straitness of time and other grave necessities would impede me multiply. Whence I ask your Blessedness that you forgive me, and first deign to insist that between your Sanctity and the aged Xantippus it may concordantly stand, which of you ought to convoke the council: or certainly, which I judge more salutary, without prejudice of anyone, both convoke our colleagues, those especially who are near to you in age of episcopate, who may easily recognize which of you says the truth, so that among you few that same question may be severed before the others, and the error having been removed the minors may be convoked by the others, who neither can nor ought, unless to believe you in this matter as priors, and now are ignorant to which of you especially they should believe. I have sent this sealed letter with a ring which expresses the face of a man looking to the side.

EPISTOLA LX. Augustine signifies to Aurelius that Donatus and his brother had receded from the monastery with him resisting: furthermore both that a easy lapse [happens] to monks, and an injury is done to the order of clerics, while such are assumed into the clergy. To the most blessed and by due observance venerable, and sincerely most dear brother and fellow-priest pope AURELIUS, AUGUSTINE [sends] greeting in the Lord.

1. Litteras nullas tuae Venerabilitatis, ex quo ab invicem corporaliter digressi sumus, accepi. Nunc vero legi epistolam Benignitatis tuae de Donato et fratre ejus, et quid responderem diu fluctuavi. Sed tamen etiam atque etiam cogitanti quid sit utile saluti eorum, quibus in Christo nutriendis servimus, nihil mihi aliud occurrere potuit, nisi non esse istam viam dandam servis Dei, ut se facilius putent eligi ad aliquid melius, si facti fuerint deteriores. Et ipsis enim facilis lapsus, et ordini clericorum fit indignissima injuria, si desertores monasteriorum ad militiam clericatus eligantur, cum ex his qui in monasterio permanent, non tamen nisi probatiores atque meliores in clerum assumere soleamus: nisi forte, sicut vulgares dicunt, Malus choraula bonus symphoniacus est; ita iidem ipsi vulgares de nobis jocabuntur dicentes, Malus monachus bonus clericus est. Nimis dolendum, si ad tam ruinosam superbiam monachos surrigamus, et tam gravi contumelia clericos dignos putemus, in quorum numero sumus; cum aliquando etiam bonus monachus vix bonum clericum faciat, si adsit ei sufficiens continentia, et tamen desit instructio necessaria, aut personae regularis integritas.

2. Sed de istis credo arbitrata sit Beatitudo tua quod nostra voluntate, ut suis potius corregionalibus utiles essent, de monasterio recessissent: sed falsum est; sponte abierunt, sponte deseruerunt, nobis quantum potuimus, pro eorum salute, renitentibus. Et de Donato quidem, quia jam factum est, ut antequam de hac re aliquid in concilio statueremus, ordinaretur, si forte a superbiae perversitate correctus est, quod vult faciat prudentia tua. De fratre vero ejus, cujus vel maxime causa de monasterio etiam ipse Donatus abscessit, cum intelligas quid sentiam, nescio quid respondeam. Contradicere tamen prudentiae, honori, charitatique tuae non audeo; et sane spero id te facturum quod membris Ecclesiae salubre perspexeris.

EPISTOLA LXI . Augustinus Theodoro ut prolata hac epistola fidem faciat clericos ex parte Donati venientes ad Ecclesiam catholicam, in suo ipsorum ordine esse recipiendos. Dilectissimo et honorando fratri THEODORO, AUGUSTINUS Episcopus, in Domino salutem.

1. Cum Benevolentia tua mecum loqueretur, quomodo susciperemus clericos ex parte Donati, si voluerint esse catholici, placuit mihi illud quod tibi respondi, etiam hac ad te data epistola exprimere, ut si quis de hac re te interrogaverit, etiam manu mea prolata, quid de hac re sentiamus vel faciamus, ostendas.

1. I have received no letters of your Venerability since we bodily departed from one another. But now I have read the letter of your Benignity concerning Donatus and his brother, and I have fluctuated long what I should respond. But yet to [one] thinking again and again what may be useful for their salvation, for the nourishing of whom in Christ we serve, nothing else was able to occur to me, unless that that way is not to be given to the servants of God, so that they may more easily think themselves to be elected to something better, if they shall have been made worse. For both to them [there is] an easy lapse, and a most unworthy injury is done to the order of clerics, if deserters of monasteries be elected to the warfare of the clericature, since from these who remain in the monastery, we are nevertheless not accustomed to assume into the clergy unless the more proved and better [ones]: unless perhaps, as the vulgar say, "A bad chorus-player is a good symphonist"; so those same vulgar will joke concerning us saying, "A bad monk is a good cleric." Too much to be grieved, if we should raise monks to such ruinous pride, and should judge clerics worthy of so grave a contumely, in whose number we are; since sometimes even a good monk scarcely makes a good cleric, if sufficient continent be present to him, and yet necessary instruction, or integrity of regular person be lacking.

2. But concerning these I believe your Blessedness may have arbitrated that by our will, so that they might rather be useful to their own co-regionals, they had receded from the monastery: but it is false; they went away of their own accord, they deserted of their own accord, with us resisting as much as we were able, for their salvation. And concerning Donatus indeed, because it has already been done, so that before we should enact anything concerning this matter in a council, he was ordained, if perhaps he has been corrected from the perversity of pride, let your prudence do what it wills. Moreover, concerning his brother, for whose cause especially Donatus himself also departed from the monastery, since you understand what I feel, I know not what I should respond. Nevertheless I do not dare to contradict your prudence, honor, and charity; and surely I hope that you will do that which you shall have perceived salutary for the members of the Church.

EPISTOLA LXI. Augustine to Theodorus, so that this letter having been brought forth he may make faith that clerics coming from the party of Donatus to the Catholic Church, are to be received in their own order. To the most beloved and to-be-honored brother THEODORUS, AUGUSTINE the Bishop [sends] greeting in the Lord.

1. When your Benevolence was speaking with me about how we should receive clerics from the party of Donatus, if they should wish to be Catholics, it pleased me to express that which I responded to you also in this letter given to you, so that if anyone shall have interrogated you concerning this matter, you may show, with even my hand brought forth, what we feel or do concerning this matter.

Scias ergo nos non in eis detestari nisi dissensionem ipsorum, per quam schismatici vel haeretici facti sunt, quia Ecclesiae catholicae unitatem et veritatem non tenent, in eo quod pacem cum populo Dei non habent, qui toto terrarum orbe diffunditur, et in eo quod in hominibus Baptismum Christi non agnoscunt. Improbamus ergo malum errorem eorum, quem habent; bonum autem nomen Dei quod habent, et sacramentum ejus agnoscimus in eis, et veneramur, et amplectimur. Sed propterea dolemus errantes, et eos per charitatem Christi lucrari Deo cupimus, ut sanctum sacramentum quod foris ab Ecclesia habent ad perniciem, in pace Ecclesiae habeant ad salutem. Si ergo tollantur de medio mala hominum, et honorentur in hominibus bona Dei; erit fraterna concordia, et amabilis pax, ut in cordibus hominum vineat persuasionem diaboli, charitas Christi.

2. Itaque cum ad nos veniunt ex parte Donati, mala illorum non suscipimus, id est dissensionem et errorem, sed ipsa tolluntur de medio tanquam impedimenta concordiae, et amplectimur fratres nostros stantes cum eis, sicut dicit Apostolus, in unitate spiritus, in vinculo pacis (Ephes. IV, 3), et agnoscentes in eis bona Dei, sive sanctum Baptismum, sive benedictionem Ordinationis, sive continentiae professionem, sive consignationem virginitatis, sive fidem Trinitatis, et si qua alia sunt: quae omnia etiamsi erant, nihil tamen proderant, quando charitas non erat. Quis autem vere dicit se habere Christi charitatem, quando ejus non amplectitur unitatem? Cum ergo ad Catholicam veniunt, non hic accipiunt quod habebant; sed ut prodesse illis incipiat quod habebant, accipiunt hic quod non habebant. Hic enim accipiunt radicem charitatis in vinculo pacis, et in societate unitatis; ut non ad damnationem, sed ad liberationem illis valeant omnia quae habent sacramenta veritatis. Non enim debent gloriari sarmenta, quia non sunt spinarum ligna, sed vitis. Si enim non in radice vixerint, cum tota specie sua in ignem mittentur. De quibusdam autem ramis fractis dixit Apostolus quia potens est Deus iterum inserere illos (Rom. XI, 23). Et ideo, dilectissime frater, quoscumque illorum videris forte dubitantes quo ordine suscipiantur a nobis, ostende illis istam quam bene nosti manum meam, et si eam apud se habere voluerint, habeant; quia testem Deum facio super animam meam, sic eos me suscepturum, ut non solum baptismum Christi quem acceperunt, ipsum habeant, sed etiam honorem sanctimonii et continentiae.

You should know, therefore, that we detest nothing in them except their dissension, through which they have been made schismatics or heretics, because they do not hold the unity and truth of the Catholic Church, in that they do not have peace with the people of God, which is diffused through the whole world, and in that they do not recognize the Baptism of Christ in men. We disapprove, therefore, their bad error, which they have; but the good name of God which they have, and His sacrament we recognize in them, and we venerate, and we embrace. But for this reason we grieve for them erring, and we desire to gain them for God through the charity of Christ, so that the holy sacrament which they have outside from the Church unto perdition, they may have in the peace of the Church unto salvation. If, therefore, the evils of men be removed from the midst, and the good things of God be honored in men; there will be fraternal concord, and amiable peace, so that the charity of Christ may conquer the persuasion of the devil in the hearts of men.

2. And so when they come to us from the party of Donatus, we do not receive their evils, that is, dissension and error, but those same are removed from the midst as impediments to concord, and we embrace our brothers standing with them, as the Apostle says, *in unity of spirit, in the bond of peace* (Ephes. IV, 3), and recognizing in them the good things of God, whether holy Baptism, or the blessing of Ordination, or the profession of continence, or the sealing of virginity, or the faith of the Trinity, and if there are any other [things]: all of which even if they were, nevertheless they were profiting nothing, when charity was not. For who truly says that he has the charity of Christ, when he does not embrace His unity? When, therefore, they come to the Catholic [Church], they do not receive here what they had; but so that what they had may begin to profit them, they receive here what they did not have. For here they receive the root of charity in the bond of peace, and in the society of unity; so that not unto damnation, but unto liberation all things which they have, the sacraments of truth, may avail for them. For the branches ought not to glory, because they are not the wood of thorns, but of the vine. For if they shall not have lived in the root, they shall be sent with all their appearance into the fire. Moreover, concerning certain broken branches the Apostle said that *God is powerful to graft them in again* (Rom. XI, 23). And therefore, most beloved brother, whomever of them you shall have seen perhaps doubting in what order they are received by us, show to them that same hand of mine which you know well, and if they shall have wished to have it with themselves, let them have [it]; because I make God witness upon my soul, that I will so receive them, that not only the baptism of Christ which they received, they may have it itself, but even the honor of sanctity and of continence.

Epistola LXII.

Alypius, Augustinus et Samsucius Severo, excusantes quae in Timothei negotio gesta sunt.

Domino beatissimo et venerabiliter charissimo et sincerissimo fratri et consacerdoti SEVERO , et qui tecum, sunt fratribus, ALYPIUS, AUGUSTINUS et SAMSUCIUS, et qui nobiscum sunt fratres, in Domino salutem.

1. Cum Subsanam venissemus, et quae illic nobis absentibus contra nostram voluntatem gesta fuerant, quaereremus; quaedam sicut audieramus, quaedam vero aliter facta, omnia tamen dolenda et toleranda , quantum Dominus adjuvit, partim objurgando, partim monendo, partim orando correximus. Illud sane quod post tuae Sanctitatis profectionem nos plurimum contristavit, quod inde fratres sine itineris duce dimissi sunt, petimus ignoscas, et timidius quam malitiosius factum scias. Cum enim putarent eos a filio nostro Timotheo propterea mitti, ut in nos maxime Charitatem tuam ad iracundiam provocarent, vellent autem ipsi nostro adventui, quem tecum futurum sperabant, omnia integra reservare, putaverunt non eos profecturos, si ducem itineris non acciperent. Sed tamen peccatum esse, quis dubitet? Hinc etiam factum est ut et Fossori diceretur, jam Timotheum cum ipsis fratribus fuisse profectum; quod utique falsum erat: non tamen a presbytero dictum; et haec omnia fratrem Carcedonium penitus ignorasse, nobis manifestissime declaratum est, quantum ista manifestari solent.

2. Sed quid pluribus immoremur? Memoratus filius noster Timotheus vehementissime perturbatus quod dubietatem tam inopinatam invitissimus senserit, indicavit nobis quod cum ageres cum illo ut apud Subsanam Deo serviret, erupit et juravit a te omnino non recessurum. Cumque ejus voluntatem requireremus, respondit se hac juratione impediri quominus ibi esset ubi eum esse etiam antea volebamus; cum jam praesertim de suae libertatis manifestatione securus sit.

Epistola LXII.

Alypius, Augustine, and Samsucius to Severus, excusing those things which were done in the business of Timothy.

To the most blessed and by due observance most dear and most sincere brother and fellow-priest SEVERUS, and to the brothers who are with you, ALYPIUS, AUGUSTINE, and SAMSUCIUS, and the brothers who are with us, [send] greeting in the Lord.

1. When we had come to Subsana, and were inquiring into those things which had been done there in our absence against our will; we corrected some things as we had heard, but some things truly otherwise done, all things nevertheless to be grieved for and to be tolerated, as much as the Lord helped, partly by reproving, partly by admonishing, partly by praying. That indeed which after the departure of your Sanctity most saddened us, that from there the brothers were dismissed without a guide for the journey, we ask that you forgive, and know it to have been done more timidly than maliciously. For since they thought them to be sent by our son Timothy for this reason, so that they might provoke your Charity especially against us to anger, and they themselves wished to reserve all things integral for our advent, which they were hoping would be with you, they thought they would not set out if they did not receive a guide for the journey. But nevertheless who would doubt that it was a sin? Hence it also happened that it was said to the Grave-digger, that Timothy had already set out with those same brothers; which certainly was false: nevertheless not said by the presbyter; and it was most manifestly declared to us that brother Carcedonius was completely ignorant of all these things, as much as those things are accustomed to be manifested.

2. But why should we delay on more things? Our aforementioned son Timothy, most vehemently perturbed because he most unwillingly sensed so unexpected a doubt, indicated to us that when you were acting with him so that he might serve God at Subsana, he erupted and swore that he would by no means depart from you. And when we were seeking his will, he responded that he was impeded by this swearing from being there where we were wishing him to be even before; since especially he is already secure concerning the manifestation of his liberty.

Cumque illi aperuissemus non eum futurum perjurii reum, si non per ipsum, sed per te fieret ut propter vitandum scandalum tecum esse non posset; quandoquidem non de tua voluntate, sed de sua jurare potuerit, nec te sibi vicissim aliquid jurasse confessus sit; ad extremum dixit, quod servum Dei, Ecclesiae filium, dicere oportebat, quidquid nobis cum tua Sanctitate de illo fieri placuisset, id se sine dubio secuturum. Proinde petimus, et per charitatem Christi obsecramus prudentiam tuam, ut omnium quae locuti sumus memineris, et rescriptis tuis nos laetifices. Debemus enim nos firmiores (si tamen inter tanta tentationum pericula dicere hoc audendum est), sicut ait Apostolus, infirmorum onera sustinere (Rom. XV, 1). Frater Timotheus ideo non scripsit Sanctitati tuae, quia omnia quae gesta sunt sanctus frater tuus significavit. Memor nostri, in Domino glorieris, domine beatissime et venerabiliter charissime et sincerissime frater.

EPISTOLA LXIII . Rursum de Timotheo qui postquam jurasset se a Severo non recessurum, ordinatus fuerat subdiaconus apud Subsanam in dioecesi Hipponensi: hoc praeter suam voluntatem factum esse testatur Augustinus; Timotheum tamen quem ad Severum redire voluit, declarat lectoris officio jam ante praestitum ipsi juramentum, functum fuisse in ecclesiis dioeceseos Hipponensis, adeoque sibi remittendum. Domino beatissimo, et venerabili, et sincerissima charitate amplectendo fratri et consacerdoti SEVERO, et qui tecum sunt fratribus, AUGUSTINUS, et fratres qui mecum sunt, in Domino salutem.

1. Si dicam quae me ipsa causa cogit dicere, ubi erit sollicitudo charitatis? Si autem non dicam, ubi erit libertas amicitiae? Verumtamen fluctuans interim, elegi me purgare potius quam te arguere. Scripsisti te mirari, nos cum dolore nostro tolerare voluisse, quod correctione emendari potuisset: quasi non sint dolenda quae male facta sunt, etiamsi quantum possunt, postea corriguntur; aut non id maxime tolerandum sit, quod cum manifestum sit perperam factum, fieri non possit infectum. Desine itaque mirari, frater sincerissime. Nam ordinatus est apud Subsanam subdiaconus Timotheus, praeter meum consilium et voluntatem; cum quid de illo agendum esset, adhuc inter nostras alternas sententias deliberatio nutaret. Ecce adhuc doleo, quamvis jam ad te redierit; in quo nos tuae voluntati paruisse non poenitet.

And when we had opened to him that he would not be guilty of perjury, if it were made not through himself, but through you, that on account of avoiding scandal he could not be with you; since indeed he was able to swear not concerning your will, but concerning his own, nor did he confess that you had sworn anything to him in turn; at the last he said, what it behooved a servant of God, a son of the Church, to say, that whatever should have pleased us with your Sanctity to be done concerning him, he would follow that without doubt. Accordingly we ask, and through the charity of Christ we beseech your prudence, that you may be mindful of all things which we have spoken, and you may gladden us by your rescripts. For we who are stronger ought (if nevertheless this is to be dared to be said among so great dangers of temptations), as the Apostle says, *to sustain the burdens of the weak* (Rom. XV, 1). Brother Timothy therefore did not write to your Sanctity, because your holy brother signified all things which were done. Mindful of us, may you glory in the Lord, most blessed and by due observance most dear and most sincere brother.

EPISTOLA LXIII. Again concerning Timothy who after he had sworn that he would not depart from Severus, had been ordained subdeacon at Subsana in the diocese of Hippo: Augustine witnesses that this was done beside his will; nevertheless he declares that Timothy, whom he wished to return to Severus, had already fulfilled by the office of reader an oath previously offered to him in the churches of the diocese of Hippo, and so he should be released to him. To the most blessed, and venerable, and by most sincere charity to be embraced brother and fellow-priest SEVERUS, and to the brothers who are with you, AUGUSTINE, and the brothers who are with me, [send] greeting in the Lord.

1. If I should say those things which the cause itself compels me to say, where will be the solicitude of charity? But if I should not say [them], where will be the liberty of friendship? Nevertheless fluctuating in the meantime, I have chosen to purge myself rather than to reprove you. You wrote that you wondered that we wished to tolerate with our grief what could have been emended by correction: as if those things are not to be grieved for which were badly done, even if as much as they are able, they are afterwards corrected; or as if that is not especially to be tolerated, which since it is manifest to have been done perversely, cannot be made undone. Cease therefore to wonder, most sincere brother. For Timothy was ordained subdeacon at Subsana, besides my counsel and will; since what was to be done concerning him, a deliberation was yet nodding between our alternate opinions. Behold I yet grieve, although he has already returned to you; in which it does not repent us to have obeyed your will.

2. Audi etiam quid objurgando, quid monendo, quid orando correxerimus, et antequam hinc esset profectus; ne adhuc propterea videatur tibi nihil a nobis tunc fuisse correctum, quia nondum ad vos ipse redierat. Objurgando correximus, primo ipsum qui tibi non obtemperavit, ut inconsulto fratre Carcedonio ad tuam Sanctitatem ante profisceretur, unde origo hujus nostrae tribulationis exorta est; deinde presbyterum et Verinum, per quos ut ordinaretur factum esse comperimus. Cum enim omnes objurgantibus nobis haec omnia non recte facta esse confessi sunt, et ut sibi ignosceretur rogaverunt; nimis superbe ageremus, si non crederemus esse correctos. Neque enim agere poterant ut facta non essent; sed nec nos aliud objurgando agebamus, nisi ut se male egisse cognoscerent et dolerent. Monendo autem correximus, primo omnes, ut deinceps talia non auderent, ne iram Dei experirentur: deinde praecipue Timotheum, qui sola juratione se cogi dicebat ad tuam pergere Charitatem; ut si Sanctitas tua, quod fore sperabamus, considerans quae simul locuti fuerimus, propter infirmorum scandalum, pro quibus Christus mortuus est et propter Ecclesiae disciplinam, quam periculose negligunt, quoniam hic jam lector esse coeperat, nolles eum esse tecum; jam liber a vinculo jurationis, aequissimo animo Deo serviret, cui sumus rationem nostrorum actuum reddituri. Ipsum quoque fratrem Carcedonium, quantum potuimus, monendo ad hoc perduxeramus, ut etiam ipse patientissime acciperet quidquid de illo fieri, conservandae ecclesiasticae disciplinae provisio et necessitas cogeret. Orando autem correxeramus nos ipsos, ut et gubernationes et exitus nostrorum consiliorum misericordiae Dei commendaremus, et si quid indignationis nos momorderat, sub illius medicinalem dexteram confugiendo sanaremur. Ecce quam multa, partim objurgando, partim monendo, partim orando correxeramus.

3. Et nunc considerantes vinculum charitatis, ut non possideamur a satana, non enim ignoramus mentes ejus, quid aliud facere debuimus nisi obtemperare voluntati tuae, qui non putasti quod factum est corrigi potuisse, nisi ipse, in quo tibi injuriam factam esse conquereris, juri tuo redderetur? Hoc etiam frater ipse Carcedonius, quamvis non post levem animi perturbationem, de qua peto ut ores pro illo, tamen Christum in te cogitans, aequanimiter fecit. Et cum adhuc ego, utrum apud nos remorante Timotheo, alias ad tuam Germanitatem litteras mitterem, cogitandum putarem; veritus est ipse paternam commotionem tuam; et praecidit deliberationem meam, non solum sinens, sed etiam instans ut tibi Timotheus redderetur.

2. Hear also what we corrected by reproving, what by admonishing, what by praying, and before he had set out from here; lest for this reason it yet seem to you that nothing was corrected by us then, because he himself had not yet returned to you. We corrected by reproving, first him himself who did not obey you, so that he set out to your Sanctity before [consulting] with brother Carcedonius unconsulted, whence the origin of this our tribulation arose; then the presbyter and Verinus, through whom we found it to have been done that he was ordained. For when all, with us reproving, confessed that all these things were not rightly done, and asked that it be forgiven them; we would act too proudly, if we did not believe them to have been corrected. For they were not able to act so that they were not done; but neither were we acting anything else by reproving, unless that they might recognize and grieve that they had acted badly. Moreover we corrected by admonishing, first all, that henceforth they should not dare such things, lest they should experience the wrath of God: then especially Timothy, who said that he was compelled by a swearing alone to proceed to your Charity; so that if your Sanctity, which we were hoping would be, considering those things which we spoke together, on account of the scandal of the weak, for whom Christ died, and on account of the discipline of the Church, which they dangerously neglect, since he had already begun here to be a reader, you should be unwilling for him to be with you; already free from the bond of swearing, he might serve God with a most equal mind, to whom we are to render an account of our acts. We had also led brother Carcedonius himself, as much as we were able, by admonishing to this, that he himself also might most patiently receive whatever the provision and necessity of preserving ecclesiastical discipline should compel to be done concerning him. Moreover we had corrected by praying ourselves, so that we might commend both the governances and the exits of our counsels to the mercy of God, and if any of indignation had bitten us, we might be healed by fleeing under His medicinal right hand. Behold how many things, partly by reproving, partly by admonishing, partly by praying, we had corrected.

3. And now considering the bond of charity, so that we may not be possessed by Satan, for we are not ignorant of his minds, what else ought we to have done unless to obey your will, who did not think that what was done was able to be corrected, unless he himself, in whom you complain that an injury was done to you, were restored to your right? This also the brother Carcedonius himself, although not after a slight perturbation of mind, concerning which I ask that you pray for him, yet thinking Christ in you, did with an equal mind. And when I yet was thinking that it should be deliberated, whether with Timothy remarrying among us, I should send other letters to your Brotherhood; he himself feared your paternal commotion; and he cut off my deliberation, not only permitting, but also insisting that Timothy should be restored to you.

4. Ego autem, frater Severe, causam meam judicio tuo dimitto. Certus sum enim Christum habitare in corde tuo; per quem te obsecro ut ipsum consulas, tuae menti sibi subditae praesidentem, utrum homo, qui in ecclesia meae dispensationi credita jam legere coeperat, et non semel, sed iterum et tertio, apud Subsanam et presbytero Subsanensis Ecclesiae comitatus, et apud Turres, et apud Cizan et apud Verbalis egerat, non fuisse lector possit aut debeat judicari . Et sicut nos, quod postea nobis invitis factum est, Deo jubente correximus; sic et tu quod prius te nesciente factum est, eodem jubente similiter corrige. Neque enim vereor ne tu parum intelligas quantus aditus aperitur ad dissolvendum ordinem Ecclesiasticae disciplinae, si alterius Ecclesiae clericus cuicumque juraverit quod ab ipso non sit recessurus, eum secum esse permittat, ideo se facere affirmans, ne auctor sit ejus perjurii; cum profecto qui hoc non sinet, nec illum apud ipsum remanere permittet, quia de se, non de altero jurare potuit, ipse pacificam regulam sine aliqua reprehensione custodiat.

EPISTOLA LXIV . Augustinus Quintiano, ipsum ad patientiam adhortans et Aurelio episcopo reconciliatum cupiens, agensque de Privatione quem ille suae Ecclesiae clericum querebatur in monasterium Augustini susceptum fuisse. Domino dilectissimo fratri et compresbytero QUINTIANO, AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

1. Nos non dedignamur aspicere corpora minus pulchra, praesertim cum ipsae animae nostrae nondum pulchrae sint, sicut eas futuras speramus, cum ille ineffabiliter pulcher nobis apparuerit, in quem modo non videntes credimus: tunc enim similes ei erimus, quando videbimus eum sicuti est (Joan. III, 2). Quod et tu de anima tua, si libenter et fraterne me accipis, admonemus ut sentias, nec eamdem pulchram esse praesumas, sed quemadmodum Apostolus praecipit, in spe gaudeas, et quod sequitur facias; sic enim dicit, Spe gaudentes, in tribulatione patientes (Rom. XII, 12); spe enim salvi facti sumus; sicut rursus idem ipse dicit, Spes autem quae videtur, non est spes: quod enim videt quis, quid sperat? Si autem quod non videmus speramus, per patientiam exspectamus (Rom. VIII, 24, 25). Haec patientia in te non deficiat, et in bona conscientia sustine Dominum, et viriliter age, et confortetur cor tuum, et sustine Dominum (Psal. XXVI, 14).

4. But I, brother Severus, dismiss my cause to your judgment. For I am certain that Christ dwells in your heart; through whom I beseech you that you may consult Him, presiding over your mind subjected to Himself, whether a man, who in the church credited to my dispensation had already begun to read, and not once, but again and a third time, at Subsana and accompanied by the presbyter of the Subsanensian Church, and at Turres, and at Cizan, and at Verbalis had acted, is not able or ought not to be judged to be a reader. And as we corrected that which afterwards was done against our will, God commanding; so also you similarly correct that which before was done with you ignorant, the same [God] commanding. For I do not fear lest you understand too little how great an approach is opened to dissolving the order of Ecclesiastical discipline, if the cleric of another Church shall have sworn to whomever that he is not to depart from him, [and] he permits him to be with himself, affirming that he does so for this reason, lest he be the author of his perjury; when surely he who shall not permit this, nor permit him to remain with himself, because he was able to swear concerning himself, not concerning another, may himself keep the peaceful rule without any reprehension.

EPISTOLA LXIV. Augustine to Quintianus, exhorting him to patience and desiring him to be reconciled to Bishop Aurelius, and acting concerning Privatio whom he was complaining to have been received into the monastery of Augustine as a cleric of his Church. To the most beloved brother and fellow-presbyter QUINTIANO, AUGUSTINE, [sends] greeting in the Lord.

1. We do not disdain to look upon bodies less beautiful, especially since our souls themselves are not yet beautiful, as we hope them to be in the future, when He ineffably beautiful shall have appeared to us, in whom now not seeing we believe: for then we shall be like Him, when we shall see Him as He is (1 John III, 2). Which also concerning your soul, if you receive me willingly and fraternally, we admonish that you feel, nor that you presume it to be beautiful, but just as the Apostle prescribes, you may rejoice in hope, and may do that which follows; for thus he says, *Rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation* (Rom. XII, 12); *for in hope we have been made safe*; as again he himself says, *But hope which is seen, is not hope: for what a man sees, why does he hope [for]? But if we hope for what we do not see, through patience we expect [it]* (Rom. VIII, 24, 25). Let this patience not fail in you, and in good conscience sustain the Lord, and act manfully, and let your heart be comforted, and sustain the Lord (Psal. XXVI, 14).

2. Manifestum est quidem quod si ad nos venires, venerabili episcopo Aurelio non communicans, nec apud nos posses communicare; sed ea charitate nos faceremus, qua et illum facere non dubitamus. Nec ideo tamen onerosus nobis esset adventus tuus; quia et te oportet aequo animo facere pro Ecclesiae disciplina, praesertim salva conscientia, quam tu nosti et Deus. Neque enim et ille si causam tuam discutiendam distulit, odio tui fecit, et non necessitatibus suis; quas tu si ita nosses quemadmodum tuam nosti, nec mirareris nec contristareris. Quod etiam de nostris petimus credas, quia similiter eas non potes nosse. Sunt autem majores nobis, et auctoritate digniores, et loco viciniores episcopi, per quos facilius possitis ad curam vestram pertinentis Ecclesiae causas exsequi. Nec ego tamen tacui apud venerabilem et debita mihi pro ejus meritis honorificentia suscipiendum fratrem et collegam meum senem Aurelium, tribulationem vestram et querimoniam litterarum vestrarum; sed per exemplum epistolae tuae, innocentiam tuam ei perferre curavi. Litteras autem tuas vel pridie, vel ante biduum Natalis Domini accepi, quando illum insinuasti ad Ecclesiam Badesilitanam venturum, a qua timetis Dei plebem conturbari atque corrumpi. Quapropter per litteras quidem alloqui plebem vestram non audeo; rescribere autem eis qui mihi scriberent, possem: ultro autem ad plebem scribere, quae dispensationi meae commissa non est, unde possem?

Non vult enim volenti Christo servire, sed Christianis nolentibus dominari.

3. Verumtamen quod tibi uni dico, qui mihi scripsisti, per teipsum perveniat ad eos quibus opus est dici. Vos ipsi prius nolite in scandalum mittere Ecclesiam, legendo in populis scripturas quas canon ecclesiasticus non recepit; his enim heretici, et maxime Manichaei, solent imperitas mentes evertere, quos in campo vestro libenter latitare audio. Miror ergo prudentiam tuam, quod me admonueris ut jubeam non recipi eos qui ad nos a vobis ad monasterium veniunt, ut quod statutum est a nobis in concilio permaneret; et tu non memineris in concilio institutum, quae sint Scripturae canonicae quae in populo Dei legi debeant. Recense ergo concilium, et omnia quae ibi legeris commenda memoriae; et ibi etiam invenies, de solis clericis fuisse statutum , non etiam de laicis, ut undecumque venientes non recipiantur in monasterium. Non quia monasterii facta mentio est; sed quia sic institutum est, ut clericum alienum nemo suscipiat.

2. It is manifest indeed that if you should come to us, not communicating with the venerable bishop Aurelius, neither would you be able to communicate with us; but we would do [so] with that charity, with which we do not doubt him also to act. Nor nevertheless would your advent be onerous to us; because it behooves you also to act with an equal mind for the discipline of the Church, especially with a safe conscience, which you know and God [knows]. For neither did he, if he deferred your cause to be discussed, do [so] from hatred of you, and not from his own necessities; which if you כך knew them as you know your own, you would neither wonder nor be grieved. Which also we ask that you believe concerning ours, because similarly you cannot know them. But there are bishops greater than us, and more worthy in authority, and nearer in place, through whom you may more easily execute the causes of the Church pertaining to your care. Nor nevertheless have I been silent before the venerable and with due honorificence to be received by me for his merits brother and colleague my aged Aurelius, [concerning] your tribulation and the complaint of your letters; but through the example of your letter, I have cared to carry your innocence to him. Moreover I received your letters either the day before, or before the second day of the Birthday of the Lord, when you insinuated that he was about to come to the Church of Badesilita, from which you fear the people of God to be perturbed and corrupted. Wherefore I do not dare indeed to address your people through letters; moreover to write back to those who should write to me, I would be able: but of my own accord to write to the people, which has not been committed to my dispensation, whence would I be able?

For he does not wish to serve Christ willingly, but to dominate Christians unwillingly.

3. Nevertheless that which I say to you alone, who wrote to me, through yourself let it reach to those to whom it is necessary to be said. You yourselves first do not cast the Church into scandal, by reading among the people scriptures which the ecclesiastical canon has not received; for by these heretics, and especially Manichaeans, are accustomed to overturn ignorant minds, whom I hear freely to lurk in your field. I wonder therefore at your prudence, that you should have admonished me that I should command those who come to us from you to the monastery not to be received, so that what has been enacted by us in a council might remain; and you should not remember [that it was] instituted in a council, which are the canonical Scriptures which ought to be read among the people of God. Review therefore the council, and commend to memory all things which you shall have read there; and there also you will find, that it was enacted concerning clerics alone, not also concerning laics, that coming from anywhere they be not received into a monastery. Not because mention of a monastery was made; but because it was so instituted, that no one should receive another's cleric.

Recenti autem concilio statutum est, ut de aliquo monasterio qui recesserint, vel projecti fuerint, non fiant alibi clerici aut praepositi monasteriorum. Si ergo de Privatione te aliquid movit, scias eum a nobis nondum esse susceptum in monasterium; sed causam ipsius ad senem Aurelium misi, ut quod de illo statuerit, hoc faciam. Miror enim utrum jam potest lector deputari, qui nonnisi semel scripturas etiam non canonicas legit. Si enim propterea jam ille lector ecclesiasticus, profecto et illa scriptura est ecclesiastica. Si autem illa scriptura ecclesiastica non est, quisquis eam quamvis in ecclesia legerit, ecclesiasticus lector non est. Tamen de isto adolescente, quod memorato antistiti visum fuerit, hoc oportet observem.

4. Plebs autem Vigesilitana, vobiscum nobis in visceribus Christi charissima, si episcopum in plenario Africae concilio degradatum suscipere noluerit, sano capite faciet, et nec cogi potest, nec debet. Et quisquis eam violenter coegerit, ostendet qualis sit; et qualis ante fuerit, quando de se nihil mali credi volebat, faciet intelligi. Nullus enim sic proditur qualem causam habuerit, quam ille qui per saeculares potestates, vel quaslibet violentias, cum perturbatione et querela conatur recipere honorem quem perdidit. Fratres, cauti estote: multum astutus est diabolus; sed Christus Dei Sapientia est.

EPISTOLA LXV . Augustinus Xantippo Numidiae primati, rationem reddens cur Abundantio presbytero infami Ecclesiam committere noluerit. Domino beatissimo et venerabiliter suscipiendo patri et consacerdoti seni XANTIPPO, AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

1. Officio debito meritis tuis, salutans Dignationem tuam, tuisque me orationibus valde commendans, insinuo prudentiae tuae, Abundantium quemdam in fundo Strabonianensi pertinente ad curam nostram ordinatum fuisse presbyterum. Qui cum non ambularet vias servorum Dei, non bonam famam habere coeperat; qua ego conterritus, non tamen temere aliquid credens, sed plane sollicitior factus, operam dedi, si quo modo possem ad aliqua malae conversationis ejus certa indicia pervenire.

Moreover by a recent council it was enacted, that those who shall have receded from any monastery, or shall have been cast out, should not elsewhere become clerics or provosts of monasteries. If therefore anything concerning Privatio moved you, know him not yet to have been received by us into a monastery; but I have sent his cause to the aged Aurelius, so that what he shall have enacted concerning him, I may do this. For I wonder whether he can already be deputed a reader, who read not except once scriptures even not canonical. For if for this reason he [is] already an ecclesiastical reader, surely that scripture also is ecclesiastical. But if that scripture is not ecclesiastical, whoever shall have read it, although in a church, is not an ecclesiastical reader. Nevertheless concerning this youth, that which shall have seemed [fit] to the aforementioned bishop, this it behooves me to observe.

4. Moreover the people of Vigesila, most dear to us in the bowels of the charity of Christ together with you, if it should be unwilling to receive a bishop degraded in a plenary council of Africa, it will act with a sane head, and neither can it be compelled, nor ought it. And whoever shall have violently compelled it, will show of what sort he is; and of what sort he was before, when he was wishing nothing of evil to be believed concerning himself, he will make to be understood. For no one is so betrayed [concerning] what sort of cause he had, than he who through secular powers, or any violences, with perturbation and complaint endeavors to receive the honor which he lost. Brothers, be cautious: much astute is the devil; but Christ is the Wisdom of God.

EPISTOLA LXV. Augustine to Xantippus, the primate of Numidia, rendering an account why he should be unwilling to commit a Church to Abundantius, an infamous presbyter. To the most blessed and with venerable [regard] to be received father and fellow-priest the aged XANTIPPUS, AUGUSTINE, [sends] greeting in the Lord.

1. With the duty due to your merits, greeting your Worthiness, and strongly commending myself to your prayers, I insinuate to your prudence, that a certain Abundantius was ordained a presbyter in the Strabonian farm pertaining to our care. Who since he was not walking the ways of the servants of God, had begun to have a not good fame; by which I [being] terrified, nevertheless not rashly believing anything, but clearly made more solicitous, gave work, if by any way I were able to arrive at some certain indications of his bad conversation.

Ac primo comperi, eum pecuniam cujusdam rusticani divino apud se commendato intervertisse, ita ut nullam inde posset probabilem reddere rationem. Deinde convictus atque confessus est, die jejunii Natalis Domini, quo etiam Gippitana Ecclesia sicut caeterae jejunabant, cum tanquam perrecturus ad Ecclesiam suam valefecisset collegae suo presbytero Gippitano, hora ferme quinta, et cum secum nullum clericum haberet, in eodem fundo restitisse, et apud quamdam malae famae mulierem et prandisse et coenasse, et in una domo mansisse. In hujus autem hospitio jam quidem clericus noster Hipponensis remotus erat; et hoc quia iste optime noverat, negare non potuit. Nam quae negavit, Deo dimisi, judicans quae occultare permissus non est. Timui ei committere Ecclesiam, praesertim inter haereticorum circumlatrantium rabiem constitutam. Et cum me rogaret ut ad presbyterum fundi Armemanensis in campo Bullensi, unde ad nos devenerat, causa ejus insinuata litteras darem, ne quid de illo atrocius suspicaretur, ut illic vivat, si fieri potest, sine officio presbyterii correctior, misericordia commotus feci. Haec autem me praecipue prudentiae tuae intimare oportebat, ne aliqua tibi fallacia subreperet.

2. Audivi autem causam ejus, cum centum dies essent ad Dominicum Paschae, qui futurus est octavo idus aprilis. Hoc propter concilium insinuare curavi Venerabilitati tuae, quod etiam ipsi non celavi, sed ei fideliter quid institutum esset aperui: ut si intra annum causam suam, si forte sibi aliquid agendum putat, agere neglexerit, deinceps ejus vocem nemo audiat. Nos autem, beatissime domine et venerabiliter suscipiende pater, si haec indicia malae conversationis clericorum, maxime cum fama non bona eos coeperit comitari, non putaverimus eo modo vindicanda, quo in concilio constitutum est; incipimus cogi ea quae sciri non possunt, velle discutere, et aut incerta damnare, aut vere incognita praeterire. Ego certe presbyterum, et qui die jejunii, quo ejusdem loci etiam Ecclesia jejunabant, valefaciens collegae suo ejusdem loci presbytero, apud famosam mulierem, nullum secum clericum habens, remanere et prandere et coenare ausus est, et in una domo dormire, removendum ab officio presbyterii arbitratus sum, timens ei deinceps Ecclesiam Dei committere.

And first I found, that he had embezzled the money of a certain rustic committed to him in trust; so that he was able to render no probable account from there. Then he was convicted and confessed, [that] on the day of the fast of the Birthday of the Lord, on which also the Gippitan Church just as the others was fasting, when as if about to proceed to his own Church he had said farewell to his colleague the Gippitan presbyter, at almost the fifth hour, and when he had no cleric with him, he remained in the same farm, and both dined and supped at [the house of] a certain woman of bad fame, and remained in one house. Moreover in the lodging of this [woman] a certain cleric of ours of Hippo had already been removed; and because he knew this best, he was not able to deny it. For those things which he denied, I dismissed to God, judging those things which he was not permitted to hide. I feared to commit a Church to him, especially [one] constituted among the rage of heretics barking around. And when he asked me that I should give letters with his cause insinuated to the presbyter of the Armemanensian farm in the Bullensian field, whence he had come to us, lest he should suspect anything more atrocious concerning him, so that he may live there, if it can be done, more corrected without the office of the presbyterate, moved by mercy I did [so]. Moreover it behooved me especially to intimate these things to your prudence, lest any fallacy should creep upon you.

2. Moreover I heard his cause, when there were a hundred days to the Lord's Pascha, which is to be on the eighth [day before] the ides of April. I have cared to insinuate this to your Venerability on account of the council, which also I did not conceal from him himself, but I faithfully opened to him what was instituted: that if within a year he shall have neglected to act his cause, if perhaps he thinks anything is to be acted by him, henceforth no one may hear his voice. Moreover we, most blessed lord and with venerable [regard] to be received father, if we shall not have thought these indications of the bad conversation of clerics, especially when not good fame has begun to accompany them, to be vindicated in that way, in which it was instituted in a council; we begin to be compelled to wish to discuss those things which cannot be known, and either to damn uncertain [things], or to pass over truly unknown [things]. I surely have judged that a presbyter, who even on a day of fast, on which also the Church of the same place was fasting, saying farewell to his colleague the presbyter of the same place, at the house of a famous woman, having no cleric with him, dared to remain and dine and sup, and to sleep in one house, [is] to be removed from the office of the presbyterate, fearing to commit the Church of God to him henceforth.

Quod si forte judicibus ecclesiasticis aliud videtur, quia sex episcopis causam presbyteri terminari concilio statutum est, committat illi, qui vult, Ecclesiam suae curae commissam: ego talibus, fateor, quamlibet plebem committere timeo, praesertim quos nulla bona fama defendit, ut hoc eis possit ignosci; ne si quid perniciosius eruperit, languens imputem mihi.

Epistola LXVI.

Expostulat cum Crispino Calamensi, qui Mappalienses metu subactos rebaptizarat.

CAPUT PRIMUM.

1. Audivi pervenisse in manus tuas litteras meas; sed, quod adhuc rescripta non merui, nequaquam imputaverim dilectioni tuae: aliquid procul dubio impedimenti fuit. Unde agnosco a me Dominum potius deprecandum, ut tuae voluntati det facultatem mittendi quod rescripseris: nam rescribendi jam dedit quia, cum volueris, facillime poteris.

CAP. II. 2. Etiam hoc, ad me sane perlatum, utrum quidem crederem dubitavi; sed hinc quoque tibi aliquid utrum scriberem, dubitare non debui: hoc autem brevi suggestum esse Charitati tuae a nescio quibus fratribus, mihi dictum est, quod librum adversus te scripserim, Romamque miserim. Hoc falsum esse noveris; Deum nostrum testor, hoc me non fecisse. Sed si forte aliqua in aliquibus scriptis meis reperiuntur, in quibus aliter aliquid quam tu sensisse reperiar, non contra te dictum, sed quod mihi videbatur a me scriptum esse, puto te debere cognoscere; aut si cognosci non potest, credere. Ita sane hoc dixerim, ut ego non tantum paratissimus sim, si quid te in meis scriptis moverit, fraterne accipere quid contra sentias, aut de correctione mea, aut de ipsa tua benevolentia gavisurus; verum etiam hoc a te postulem, et flagitem.

3. O si licuisset, etsi non cohabitante, saltem vicino te in Domino perfrui ad crebrum et dulce colloquium! Sed quia id non est datum, peto ut hoc ipsum, quod in Domino quam possumus simul sumus, conservari studeas, et augeri ac perfici, et rescripta quamvis rara non spernere. Saluta obsequio meo sanctum fratrem Paulinianum, et omnes fratres qui tecum ac de te in Domino gaudent . Memor nostri exaudiaris a Domino in omni sancto desiderio tuo, domine charissime et desideratissime, et honorande in Christo frater.

Which if perhaps to the ecclesiastical judges it seems otherwise, because it was instituted in a council that the cause of a presbyter be terminated by six bishops, let him who wills, commit to him the Church committed to his care: I confess, I fear to commit any people to such [men], especially whom no good fame defends, so that this can be forgiven them; lest if anything more pernicious should erupt, languishing I may impute it to myself.

Epistola LXVI.

He expostulates with Crispinus of Calama, who had rebaptized the Mappalians subacted by fear.

CHAPTER FIRST.

1. I have heard that my letters have come into your hands; but, because I have not yet merited a reply, I would by no means impute [this] to your affection: without doubt there was some impediment. Whence I recognize that the Lord is rather to be deprecated by me, that He may give to your will the faculty of sending what you have written back: for He has already given the [faculty] of writing back because, when you shall have willed, you will be able [to do so] most easily.

CAP. II. 2. Also this, indeed reported to me, I doubted whether I should believe; but from here also whether I should write anything to you, I ought not to have doubted: moreover it was told to me, that it was suggested briefly to your Charity by I know not what brothers, that I had written a book against you, and sent [it] to Rome. Know that this is false; I call our God to witness, that I have not done this. But if perhaps some [things] are found in some of my writings, in which I am found to have felt something otherwise than you, I think you ought to know that [it was] not said against you, but written by me what seemed to me; or if it cannot be known, to believe [it]. Indeed I would say this thus, that I may be not only most prepared, if anything in my writings shall have moved you, to receive fraternally what you feel to the contrary, about to rejoice either in my correction, or in your benevolence itself; but even I request this from you, and demand [it].

3. O if it had been permitted, even if not cohabiting, at least as a neighbor to enjoy you in the Lord for frequent and sweet colloquy! But because that was not given, I ask that you study that this itself, which we are together in the Lord as much as we are able, be preserved, and increased and perfected, and not to despise replies although rare. Greet with my service the holy brother Paulinianus, and all the brothers who rejoice in the Lord with you and concerning you. Mindful of us may you be heard by the Lord in every holy desire of yours, most dear and most longed-for lord, and brother to be honored in Christ.

EPISTOLA LXVIII . Hieronymus Augustino, jam accepta epistola quae contiene quaestionem de mendacio officioso, sed dubitans etiamnum an sit Augustini, negat se responsurum nisi sit certus de auctore. Meminit et Ruffini ficto nomine. Domino vere sancto, ac beatissimo papae AUGUSTINO, HIERONYMUS, in Christo salutem. 1. In ipso profectionis articulo, sancti filii nostri Asterii hypodiaconi, necessarii mei , Beatitudinis tuae litterae supervenerunt, quibus satisfacis te contra parvitatem meam librum Romam non misisse. Hoc nec ego factum audieram; sed epistolae cujusdam, quasi ad me scriptae, per fratrem nostrum Sysinnium diaconum huc exemplaria pervenerunt. In qua hortaris me, ut παλινῳδίαν super quodam Apostoli capitulo canam, et imiter Stesichorum, inter vituperationes et laudes Helenae fluctuantem; ut qui detrahendo oculos perdiderat, laudando receperit. Ego simpliciter fateor Dignationi tuae, licet stilus et ἐπιχειρήματα tua mihi viderentur, tamen non temere exemplaribus litterarum credendum putavi; ne forte, me respondente laesus, juste expostulares, quod probare ante debuissent tuum esse sermonem, et sic rescribere. Accessit ad moram sanctae et venerabilis Paulae longa infirmitas. Dum enim languenti multo tempore assidemus, pene epistolae tuae, vel ejus qui sub tuo nomine scripserat, obliti sumus, memores illius versiculi: «Musica in luctu, importuna narratio» (Eccli. XXII, 6). Itaque, si tua est epistola, aperte scribe, vel mitte exemplaria veriora; ut absque ullo rancore stomachi in Scripturarum disputatione versemur, et vel nostrum emendemus errorem, vel alium frustra reprehendisse doceamus.

2. Absit autem a me, ut quidquam de libris Beatitudinis tuae attingere audeam. Sufficit enim mihi probare mea, et aliena non carpere. Caeterum optime novit prudentia tua, unumquemque in suo sensu abundare, et puerilis esse jactantiae, quod olim adolescentuli facere consueverant, accusando illustres viros, suo nomini famam quaerere. Nec tam stultus sum, ut diversitate explanationum tuarum me laedi putem; quia nec tu laederis. si nos contraria senserimus. Sed illa est vera inter amicos reprehensio, si nostram peram non videntes, aliorum juxta Persium, manticam consideremus.

EPISTOLA LXVIII. Jerome to Augustine, having already received the letter which contains the question about the officious lie, but doubting even now whether it be Augustine's, he denies that he will answer unless he be certain about the author. He mentions also Ruffinus by a feigned name. To the truly holy lord, and most blessed pope AUGUSTINE, JEROME [sends] greeting in Christ. 1. In the very article of the departure of our holy son Asterius the subdeacon, my necessary [friend], the letters of your Beatitude came over, by which you satisfy [me] that you did not send a book to Rome against my smallness. Neither had I heard this done; but copies of a certain letter, as if written to me, came here through our brother Sysinniuis the deacon. In which you exhort me, that I should sing a palinode (παλινῳδίαν) over a certain chapter of the Apostle, and imitate Stesichorus, fluctuating between the vituperations and praises of Helen; that he who by detracting had lost his eyes, by praising received [them back]. I simply confess to your Worthiness, although your style and arguments (ἐπιχειρήματα) seemed [so] to me, nevertheless I thought that the copies of letters were not to be trusted rashly; lest perhaps, I responding [and you] being hurt, you should justly expostulate, that I ought to have proved before that the speech was yours, and thus to write back. A long infirmity of the holy and venerable Paula was added to the delay. For while we sit by [her] languishing for much time, we almost forgot your letter, or [that] of him who had written under your name, mindful of that little verse: "Music in mourning, an unseasonable narration" (Eccli. XXII, 6). Therefore, if the letter is yours, write openly, or send truer copies; that we may be occupied in the disputation of the Scriptures without any rancor of the stomach, and either we may emend our error, or we may teach that [we] have reprehended another in vain.

2. Moreover far be it from me, that I should dare to touch anything from the books of your Beatitude. For it suffices for me to prove my own [things], and not to carp at another's. For the rest, your prudence knows best, [that] each one abounds in his own sense, and [that] it is of childish boasting, which formerly young men were accustomed to do, [that] by accusing illustrious men, they should seek fame for their own name. Nor am I so foolish, that by the diversity of your explanations I should think myself hurt; because neither are you hurt, if we shall have felt contrary [things]. But that is true reprehension among friends, if not seeing our own wallet, we consider the knapsack of others according to Persius.

Superest ut diligas diligentem te, et in Scripturarum campo juvenis senem non provoces. Nos nostra habuimus tempora, et cucurrimus quantum potuimus. Nunc, te currente, et longa spatia transmeante, nobis debetur otium: simulque (ut cum venia et honore tuo dixerim) ne solus mihi de poetis aliquid proposuisse videaris, memento Daretis et Entelli , et vulgaris proverbii, quod bos lassus fortius figat pedem. Tristes haec dictavimus. Utinam mereremur complexus tuos, et collatione mutua vel doceremus aliqua, vel disceremus!

3. Misit mihi, temeritate solita, maledicta sua Calphurnius cognomento Lanarius, quae ad Africam quoque studio ejus didici pervenisse. Ad quae breviter ex parte respondi; et libelli ejus vobis misi exemplaria, latius opus, cum opportunum fuerit, primo missurus tempore. In quo illud cavi, ne in quoquam existimationem laederem christianam, sed tantum ut delirantis imperitique mendacium ac vecordiam confutarem. Memento mei, sancte ac venerabilis papa. Vide, quantum te diligam, ut ne provocatus quidem voluerim respondere, nec credam tuum esse quod in altero forte reprehenderem. Frater Communis suppliciter te salutat.

EPISTOLA LXIX . Alypius et Augustinus Castorio, ipsum hortantes ut in episcopatu Vaginensis Ecclesiae Maximiano fratri suo gloriose cedenti succedat. Domino merito dilectissimo, digneque honorabili et suscipiendo filio CASTORIO, ALYPIUS et AUGUSTINUS in Domino salutem.

1. Molitus est quidem adversarius Christianorum, per charissimum atque dulcissimum filium nostrum fratrem tuum, Catholicae matri, quae vos in haereditatem Christi ab exhaeredata praecisione fugientes pio sinu suscepit, periculocissimum scandalum commovere; cupiens videlicet serenitatem gaudii nostri, quae nobis de bono vestrae conversionis oborta est, foeda innubilare tristitia. Sed Dominus Deus noster misericors et miserator, consolans afflictos, nutriens parvulos, curans infirmos, ad hoc eum aliquid posse permisit, ut rem correctam multo amplius laetaremur, quam dolebamus afflictam. Longe est quippe gloriosius episcopatus sarcinam propter Ecclesiae vitanda pericula deposuisse, quam propter regenda gubernacula suscepisse. Ille quippe se honorem, si pacis ratio pateretur, digne accipere potuisse demonstrat, qui acceptum non defendit indigne. Voluit ergo Deus, etiam per fratrem tuum, filium nostrum Maximianum, ostendere inimicis Ecclesiae suae, esse in visceribus ejus, qui non sua quaerant, sed quae Jesu Christi.

It remains that you love [him] loving you, and in the field of the Scriptures, [being] a young man, you do not provoke an old man. We have had our times, and we ran as much as we were able. Now, [while] you [are] running, and passing through long spaces, leisure is due to us: and at the same time (that I may say it with your leave and honor) lest you alone should seem to me to have proposed something from the poets, remember Dares and Entellus, and the common proverb, that a weary ox fixes his foot more strongly. Sad [at heart] we have dictated these [things]. Would that we might merit your embraces, and by mutual collation either we might teach some things, or we might learn!

3. Calphurnius surnamed Lanarius, with his usual temerity, sent me his maledictions, which I have learned have come also to Africa by his study. To which I responded briefly in part; and I sent to you copies of his little book, about to send a broader work at the first time, when it shall have been opportune. In which I was careful of that, lest I should hurt the Christian estimation in anyone, but only that I might confute the lie and madness of a raving and unskilled [man]. Remember me, holy and venerable pope. See, how much I love you, that even [when] provoked I have not willed to respond, nor do I believe [that] to be yours which I would perhaps reprehend in another. Our common brother greets you suppliantly.

EPISTOLA LXIX. Alypius and Augustine to Castorius, exhorting him himself that he should succeed in the bishopric of the Vaginensian Church to his brother Maximianus gloriously ceding. To the deservedly most beloved lord, and worthily honorable and to be received son CASTORIUS, ALYPIUS and AUGUSTINE [send] greeting in the Lord.

1. Indeed the adversary of Christians, through our most dear and sweetest son your brother, has endeavored to move a most dangerous scandal against the Catholic mother, who received you into the inheritance of Christ, fleeing from the disinherited excision, with a pious bosom; desiring namely to cloud the serenity of our joy, which has arisen to us from the good of your conversion, with foul sadness. But the Lord our God, merciful and commiserating, consoling the afflicted, nourishing the little ones, curing the infirm, permitted him to be able [to do] something for this [end], that we might rejoice much more in the matter corrected, than we were grieving [in it] afflicted. For it is by far more glorious to have laid down the burden of the bishopric on account of the dangers of the Church to be avoided, than to have received [it] on account of the rudders to be ruled. For he demonstrates that he could have worthily received the honor, if the reason of peace should permit, who does not unworthily defend [it] received. Therefore God willed, even through your brother, our son Maximianus, to show to the enemies of His Church, [that] there are in her bowels [those] who seek not their own, but the things which are of Jesus Christ.

Neque enim illud ministerium dispensationis mysteriorum Dei, victus aliqua saeculari cupiditate deseruit, sed pacifica permotus pietate deposuit, ne propter ejus honorem foeda et periculosa, aut fortasse etiam perniciosa in membris Christi dissensio nasceretur. Quid enim esset caecius et omni exsecratione dignius, quam propter Ecclesiae catholicae pacem schisma deserere, et ipsam pacem catholicam honoris sui quaestione turbare? Quid enim laudabilius, et christianae charitati commodatius, quam derelicta Donatistarum vesana superbia, ita haereditati Christi cohaerere, ut testimonium humilitatis, amore probaretur unitatis? Itaque quantum ad ipsum attinet, sicut eum gaudemus talem inventum, ut quod in ejus corde divinus sermo aedificavit, nequaquam tempestas hujus tentationis everteret: sic optamus et deprecamur a Domino, ut consequenti vita et moribus suis magis magisque declaret, quam bene ge turus fuisset, quod profecto gereret si hoc oportuisset. Retribuatur ei pax aeterna quae promissa est Ecclesiae, qui intellexit sibi non expedire quod paci non expediebat Ecclesiae.

2. Tu vero, fili charissime, non mediocre gaudium nostrum, qui nulla tali necessitate a suscipiendo episcopatu impediris, decet indolem tuam Christo in te dicare quod dedit. Ingenium quippe tuum, prudentia, eloquence, gravitas, sobrietas, et caetera quibus ornantur mores tui, dona sunt Dei. Cui melius serviunt, quam ei a quo tributa sunt, ut et custodiantur, et augeantur, et perficiantur, et remunerentur? Non serviant huic saeculo, ne vanescant cum illo atque dispereant. Non diu tecum in hoc agendum novimus, quanta facilitate consideres spes inanium hominum, et insatiabiles cupiditates, et incertam vitam. Abjice igitur ex animo quidquid terrenae atque falsae felicitatis exspectatione conceperat: operare in agro Dei, ubi certus est fructus, ubi tam multa tanto ante completa sunt promissa, ut ea quae restant insanissime desperentur. Obsecramus te per Christi divinitatem et humanitatem, per pacem coelestis illius civitatis, unde peregrinantes labore temporali aeternam requiem comparamus, ut in episcopatu Vaginensis Ecclesiae fratri tuo, non ignominiose cadenti, sed gloriose cedenti succedas. Plebs illa cui per tuam mentem ac linguam donis Dei fecundatam et ornatam uberrima incrementa speramus, in te intelligat fratrem tuum non pro sua desidia, sed pro ejus pace fecisse quod fecit. Haec epistola mandavimus ut tibi non legeretur, nisi cum te jam tenerent quibus es necessarius. Nos enim te spiritualis amoris vinculo tenemus, quia et nostro collegio multum es necessarius. Cur autem etiam corporalem praesentiam non exhibuerimus, postea scies.

For neither did he desert that ministry of the dispensation of the mysteries of God, conquered by any worldly cupidity, but he laid [it] down moved by peaceful piety, lest on account of his honor a foul and dangerous, or perhaps even pernicious dissension should be born in the members of Christ. For what would be blinder and more worthy of every execration, than on account of the peace of the Catholic Church to desert schism, and to disturb the Catholic peace itself by the question of his own honor? For what [is] more laudable, and more commodious to Christian charity, than the insane pride of the Donatists having been derelict, thus to cohere to the inheritance of Christ, that the testimony of humility might be proved by the love of unity? Therefore as much as pertains to him himself, as we rejoice [that] he was found such, that what the divine word built in his heart, by no means the tempest of this temptation should overturn: so we wish and deprecate from the Lord, that by his consequent life and conduct he may declare more and more, how well he would have managed [it], which surely he would manage if this were necessary. May the eternal peace which was promised to the Church be retributed to him, who understood [that] it was not expedient for himself what was not expedient for the peace of the Church.

2. You truly, most dear son, our no mediocre joy, who are hindered by no such necessity from receiving the bishopric, it becomes your disposition to dedicate to Christ in you what He gave. For your talent, prudence, eloquence, gravity, sobriety, and the others by which your conduct is adorned, are gifts of God. Whom do they better serve, than Him by whom they were attributed, so that they may both be guarded, and increased, and perfected, and remunerated? Let them not serve this age, lest they vanish with it and perish. We know [that] it is not to be long acted with you in this, with how great facility you consider the hopes of vain men, and insatiable cupidities, and uncertain life. Cast away therefore from your mind whatever it had conceived by the expectation of earthly and false felicity: work in the field of God, where the fruit is certain, where so many promises have been completed so much before, that those which remain are most insanely despaired of. We obsecrate you by the divinity and humanity of Christ, by the peace of that heavenly city, whence [we] peregrinating by temporal labor compare eternal rest, that in the bishopric of the Vaginensian Church you should succeed to your brother, not ignominiously falling, but gloriously ceding. Let that people for whom we hope for most abundant increases through your mind and tongue fecundated and adorned by the gifts of God, understand in you [that] your brother did what he did not for his own sloth, but for its peace. We have commanded that this letter should not be read to you, unless when those [men] to whom you are necessary should already hold you. For we hold you by the bond of spiritual love, because even to our college you are much necessary. Moreover why we have not exhibited even bodily presence, you shall know afterwards.

EPISTOLA LXX . Donatistarum Catholicos traditionis insimulantium temeritas prodit sese in causa Feliciani ab ipsis primum solemniter damnati, ac postea in honore suo recepti. Domino dilectissimo et honorabili fratri NAUCELIONI , ALYPIUS et AUGUSTINUS.

1. Cum retulisses nobis quid a patre nostro Clarentio responsum fuerit, id est, de Feliciano Mustitano non eum negasse, et damnatum ab ipsis, et postea in honore suo recepti, sed innocentem fuisse damnatum, quia absens fuerit, et absentem se fuisse probaverit: hoc dicimus, ut ad hoc respondeat, quia non licuit damnari inauditum, quem innocentem fuisse ipsi modo dicunt, qui eum damnaverunt. Aut ergo innocens damnari non debuit, aut nocens recipi damnatus non debuit. Si innocens receptus est, innocens damnatus est; si nocens damnatus est, nocens receptus est. Si nesciebant, qui illum damnaverunt, utrum innocens fuerit, arguendi sunt temeritatis, quia inauditum, innocentem, de quo nesciebant, damnare ausi sunt; et de praesenti facto intelligimus eadem temeritate illos damnasse etiam superiores quos traditionis crimine infamaverunt. Si enim potuit ab ipsis innocens damnari, potuerunt ab ipsis traditores etiam dici qui non erant traditores.

2. Deinde idem Felicianus damnatus ab ipsis multo tempore cum Maximiano communicavit: si innocens erat quando damnatus est, quare posteriore tempore cum scelerato Maximiano communicans multos baptizavit extra communionem ipsorum? Testes sunt ipsi, qui egerunt apud proconsulem, ut idem Felicianus tanquam cum Maximiano de Basilica excluderetur. Parum ergo erat damnasse absentem, damnasse inauditum, damnasse, sicut dicunt, innocentem; insuper et aditus est contra illum proconsul, ut de ecclesia expelleretur. Vel tunc quando illum expellebant de ecclesia, fatentur quia inter damnatos et sceleratos et Maximianistas eum deputaverunt. Quando ergo ille baptizabat homines, Maximiano communicans, baptismum verum dabat an falsum? Si verum baptismum dabat qui cum Maximiano communicabat, quare accusatur baptismus orbis terrarum? Si autem falsum baptismum dabat, quando communicabat cum Maximiano, quare sic sunt recepti cum illo quos in schismate Maximiani baptizavit, et nemo eos in parte vestra rebaptizavit?

EPISTOLA LXX. The temerity of the Donatists insimulating the Catholics of tradition betrays itself in the cause of Felicianus by themselves first solemnly damned, and afterwards received in his own honor. To the most beloved lord and honorable brother NAUCELION, ALYPIUS and AUGUSTINE [send greeting].

1. When you had related to us what was responded by our father Clarentius, that is, concerning Felicianus of Musti, [that] he did not deny him, both damned by themselves, and afterwards received in his own honor, but [that] he being innocent had been damned, because he had been absent, and he proved [that] he had been absent: we say this, that he may respond to this, because it was not licit for [one] unheard to be damned, whom they themselves now say to have been innocent, who damned him. Therefore either [being] innocent he ought not to have been damned, or [being] guilty he ought not to have been received [after being] damned. If [being] innocent he was received, [being] innocent he was damned; if [being] guilty he was damned, [being] guilty he was received. If they were ignorant, who damned him, whether he were innocent, they are to be argued of temerity, because they dared to damn [one] unheard, innocent, concerning whom they were ignorant; and from the present fact we understand [that] by the same temerity they damned even the superiors whom they infamed with the crime of tradition. For if [one] innocent was able to be damned by them, traditors were also able to be called by them who were not traditors.

2. Then the same Felicianus damned by them for much time communicated with Maximianus: if he was innocent when he was damned, why in a later time communicating with the wicked Maximianus did he baptize many outside their communion? They themselves are witnesses, who acted before the proconsul, that the same Felicianus just as with Maximianus should be excluded from the Basilica. It was therefore [too] little to have damned [him] absent, to have damned [him] unheard, to have damned, as they say, [one] innocent; moreover also the proconsul was approached against him, that he might be expelled from the church. Even then when they were expelling him from the church, they confess because they deputed him among the damned and wicked and Maximianists. Therefore when he was baptizing men, communicating with Maximianus, was he giving true baptism or false? If he who was communicating with Maximianus was giving true baptism, why is the baptism of the whole world accused? If moreover he was giving false baptism, when he was communicating with Maximianus, why are they thus received with him whom he baptized in the schism of Maximianus, and no one rebaptized them in your part?

EPISTOLA LXXI . Augustinus Hieronymo, dehortans a libris Testamenti veteris ex hebraeo vertendis, et exhortans ut Septuaginta versionem mire depravatam ac variantem reddat suae veritati. Novum Testamentum ab eo castigatum probat. Domino venerabili, et desiderabili sancto fratri, et compresbytero HIERONYMO AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

CAP. PRIMUM. 1. Ex quo coepi ad te scribere ac tua scripta desiderare, nunquam mihi melior occurrit occasio, quam ut per Dei servum ac ministrum fidelissimum, mihique charissimum mea tibi afferretur epistola, qualis est filius noster Cyprianus diaconus. Per hunc certe ita spero litteras tuas, ut certius in hoc rerum genere quidquam sperare non possim. Nam nec studium in petendis rescriptis memorato filio nostro deerit, nec gratia in promerendis, nec diligentia in custodiendis, nec alacritas in perferendis, nec fides in reddendis: tantum si aliquo modo merear, adjuvet Dominus, et adsit cordi tuo et desiderio meo, ut fraternam voluntatem nulla major voluntas impediat. 2. Quia ergo duas jam epistolas misi, nullam autem tuam postea recepi, easdem ipsas rursus mittere volui, credens eas non pervenisse. Quae etsi pervenerunt, ac fortasse tuae potius ad me pervenire minime potuerunt, ea ipsa scripta quae jam misisti, iterum mitte, si forte reservata sunt; sin minus, rursus dicta quod legam, dum tamen his respondere ne graveris, quod jam diu est ut exspecto. Primas etiam quas ad te adhuc presbyter litteras praeparaveram mittendas per quemdam fratrem nostrum Profuturum, qui postea collega nobis factus, jam ex hac vita migravit, nec eas tunc ipse perferre potuit, quia continuo dum proficisci disponit, episcopatus sarcina detentus, ac deinde in brevi defunctus est, etiam nunc mittere volui; ut scias in tua colloquia quam olim inardescam, et quam vim patiar, quod a me tam longe absunt sensus corporis tui, per quos adire possit ad animum tuum animus meus, mi frater dulcissime, et in Domini membris honorande.

CAPUT II.

EPISTOLA LXXI. Augustine to Jerome, dehorting from the books of the Old Testament to be translated from the Hebrew, and exhorting that he should render the version of the Seventy, wonderfully depraved and varying, to its own truth. He approves the New Testament chastened by him. To the venerable lord, and longed-for holy brother, and fellow-presbyter JEROME, AUGUSTINE [sends] greeting in the Lord.

CHAPTER FIRST. 1. Since I began to write to you and to long for your writings, never has a better occasion occurred to me, than that my letter should be brought to you through a servant of God and most faithful minister, and most dear to me, such as is our son Cyprian the deacon. Through him surely I so hope for your letters, that I cannot hope for anything more certainly in this kind of things. For neither study in seeking replies will be lacking to our mentioned son, nor grace in merited [them], nor diligence in guarding [them], nor alacrity in bringing [them] through, nor faith in rendering [them]: only if in some way I may merit [it], may the Lord help, and be present to your heart and to my desire, so that no greater will may impede the fraternal will. 2. Therefore because I have already sent two letters, but I have received none of yours afterwards, I have willed to send the same ones themselves again, believing [that] they have not arrived. Which even if they arrived, and perhaps yours rather were least able to arrive to me, send again those same writings which you have already sent, if perhaps they have been reserved; but if less, say again what I may read, provided nevertheless you do not be heavy to respond to these [things], which it is for a long time that I expect. Also the first letters which I being yet a presbyter had prepared to be sent to you through a certain brother of ours Profuturus, who afterwards having been made a colleague to us, has already migrated from this life, nor was he able then to bring them through himself, because continuously while he disposes to set out, [he was] detained by the burden of the bishopric, and then in a short [time] he died, even now I have willed to send; so that you may know how long ago I burn for your colloquies, and what force I suffer, because the senses of your body are so far absent from me, through which my mind may be able to approach to your mind, my sweetest brother, and to be honored in the members of the Lord.

CHAPTER II.

3. In hac autem epistola hoc addo, quod postea didicimus, Job ex hebraeo a te interpretatum, cum jam quamdam haberemus interpretationem, tuam ejusdem prophetae ex graeco eloquio versam in latinum: ubi tamen asteriscis notasti quae in hebraeo sunt, et in graeco desunt; obeliscis autem quae in graeco inveniuntur, et in hebraeo non sunt, tam mirabili diligentia, ut quibusdam in locis ad verba singula, singulas stellas videamus, significantes eadem verba esse in hebraeo, in graeco autem non esse. Porro in hac posteriore interpretatione, quae versa est ex hebraeo, non eadem verborum fides occurrit, nec parum turbat cogitantem, vel cur in illa prima tanta diligentia figantur asterisci, ut minimas etiam particulas orationis indicent deesse codicibus graecis, quae sunt in hebraeis; vel cur in hac altera quae ex hebraeis est, negligentius hoc curatum sit, ut hae eaedem particulae locis suis invenirentur. Aliquid inde, exempli gratia, volui ponere; sed mihi ad horam codex defuit, qui ex hebraeo est. Verumtamen quia praevolas ingenio, non solum quid dixerim, verum etiam quid dicere voluerim, satis, ut opinor, intelligis, ut, causa reddita, quod movet edisseras.

4. Ego sane te mallem graecas potius canonicas nobis interpretari Scripturas, quae Septuaginta interpretum perhibentur. Perdurum erit enim, si tua interpretatio per multas ecclesias frequentius coeperit lectitari, quod a graecis ecclesiis latinae ecclesiae dissonabunt, maxime quia facile contradictor convincitur graeco prolato libro, id est linguae notissimae. Quisquis autem in eo quod ex hebraeo translatum est, aliquo insolito permotus fuerit, et falsi crimen intenderit, vix aut nunquam ad hebraea testimonia pervenietur, quibus defendatur objectum. Quod si etiam perventum fuerit, tot latinas et graecas auctoritates damnari quis ferat? Huc accedit quia etiam consulti Hebraei possunt aliud respondere: ut tu solus necessarius videaris, qui etiam ipsos possis convincere; sed tamen quo judice mirum si potueris invenire.

CAPUT III.

3. Moreover in this letter I add this, which we afterwards learned, [that] Job was interpreted by you from the Hebrew, when we already had a certain interpretation of yours of the same prophet turned from the Greek speech into Latin: where nevertheless you noted with asterisks what [things] are in the Hebrew, and are lacking in the Greek; moreover with obelisks what [things] are found in the Greek, and are not in the Hebrew, with such wonderful diligence, that in some places at single words, we see single stars, signifying [that] the same words are in the Hebrew, but are not in the Greek. Furthermore in this later interpretation, which was turned from the Hebrew, the same faith of words does not occur, nor does it little disturb [one] thinking, either why in that first [one] asterisks are fixed with so great diligence, that they indicate even the smallest particles of speech to be lacking to the Greek codices, which are in the Hebrews; or why in this other which is from the Hebrews, this was more negligently cared for, that these same particles should be found in their places. I willed to put something from there, for the sake of example; but for the hour the codex was lacking to me, which is from the Hebrew. Nevertheless because you fly before in genius, you understand sufficiently, as I opine, not only what I have said, but even what I have willed to say, so that, the cause having been rendered, you may edissertate what moves [me].

Indeed I would rather [that] you should interpret for us rather the Greek canonical Scriptures, which are perhibited [to be] of the Seventy interpreters. For it will be very hard, if your interpretation shall have begun to be read more frequently through many churches, that the Latin churches will dissonate from the Greek churches, especially because a contradictor is easily convinced [by] a Greek book brought forth, that is of a most known language. Moreover whoever shall have been moved by anything unusual in that which was translated from the Hebrew, and shall have intended a crime of falsehood, scarcely or never will he arrive at the Hebrew testimonies, by which the object [of objection] may be defended. Which if even it shall have been arrived at, who would bear [that] so many Latin and Greek authorities be damned? Hither it is added because even consulted Hebrews can respond otherwise: so that you alone may seem necessary, who are able to convince even them themselves; but nevertheless by what judge [it is] a wonder if you were able to find.

CHAPTER III.

5. Nam quidam frater noster episcopus, cum lectitari instituisset in ecclesia cui praeest, interpretationem tuam, movit quiddam longe aliter abs te positum apud Jonam prophetam (Jonae IV, 6), quam erat omnium sensibus memoriaeque inveteratum, et tot aetatum successionibus decantatum. Factus est tantus tumultus in plebe maxime graecis arguentibus et inclamantibus calumniam falsitatis, ut cogeretur episcopus (Oëa quippe civitas erat) Judaeorum testimonium flagitare. Utrum autem illi imperitia an malitia, hoc esse in hebraeis codicibus responderunt, quod et graeci et latini habebant atque dicebant. Quid plura? Coactus est homo velut mendositatem corrigere, volens, post magnum periculum, non remanere sine plebe. Unde etiam nobis videtur, aliquando te quoque in nonnullis falli potuisse. Et vide hoc quale sit, in eis litteris quae non possunt collatis usitatarum linguarum testimoniis emendari.

CAPUT IV.

6. Proinde non parvas Deo gratias agimus de opere tuo, quo Evangelium ex graeco interpretatus es, quia pene in omnibus nulla offensio est, cum Scripturam graecam contulerimus. Unde, si quisquam veteri falsitati contentiosus faverit, prolatis collatisque codicibus, vel docetur facillime, vel refellitur. Et si quaedam rarissima merito movent, quis tam durus est, qui labori tam utili non facile ignoscat, cui vicem laudis referre non sufficit? Quid tibi autem videatur, cur in multis aliter se habeat hebraeorum codicum auctoritas, aliter graecorum quae dicitur Septuaginta, vellem dignareris aperire. Neque enim parvum pondus habet illa quae sic meruit diffamari, et qua usos Apostolos, non solum res ipsa indicat, sed etiam te attestatum esse memini. Ac per hoc plurimum profueris, si eam graecam Scripturam, quam Septuaginta operati sunt, latinae veritati reddideris: quae in diversis codicibus ita varia est, ut tolerari vix possit; et ita suspecta, ne in graeco aliud inveniatur, ut inde aliquid proferri aut probari dubitetur. Brevem putabam futuram hanc epistolam; sed nescio quomodo ita mihi dulce factum est in ea progredi, ac si tecum loquerer. Sed obsecro te per Dominum, ne te pigeat ad omnia respondere, et praestare mihi, quantum potueris, praesentiam tuam.

5. For a certain brother of ours a bishop, when he had instituted [that] your interpretation be read in the church over which he presides, moved something far otherwise placed by you in the prophet Jonah (Jonah IV, 6), than it was inveterate in the senses and memory of all, and chanted through the successions of so many ages. So great a tumult was made in the people, especially the Greeks arguing and crying out the calumny of falsehood, that the bishop (for the city was Oea) was compelled to demand the testimony of the Jews. Moreover whether they [did so] from unskillfulness or malice, they responded [that] this was in the Hebrew codices, which both the Greeks and Latins had and were saying. Why more? The man was compelled to correct [it] as if a faultiness, willing, after great danger, not to remain without a people. Whence also it seems to us, [that] sometimes you also were able to be deceived in some [things]. And see what kind of thing this is, in those letters which cannot be emended by the collated testimonies of used languages.

CHAPTER IV.

6. Accordingly we act no small thanks to God concerning your work, by which you have interpreted the Gospel from the Greek, because in almost all [things] there is no offense, when we shall have collated the Greek Scripture. Whence, if anyone contentiously shall have favored the old falsehood, the codices having been brought forth and collated, either he is taught most easily, or he is refelled. And if some very rare [things] deservedly move [me], who is so hard, who would not easily pardon so useful a labor, to which it does not suffice to return the turn of praise? Moreover what may seem [good] to you, why in many [things] the authority of the Hebrew codices should have itself otherwise, [and] otherwise the Greek which is called the Seventy, I would that you should deign to open. For neither does that [version] have small weight which thus merited to be spread abroad, and which the Apostles used, not only the thing itself indicates, but even I remember [that] you have attested. And through this you will have profited very much, if you shall have rendered that Greek Scripture, which the Seventy operated, to the Latin truth: which in diverse codices is so varying, that it can scarcely be tolerated; and so suspected, lest in the Greek another thing be found, that from there anything to be brought forth or to be proved is doubted. I was thinking this letter would be brief; but I know not how it was made so sweet to me to proceed in it, as if I were speaking with you. But I obsecrate you by the Lord, let it not irk you to respond to all [things], and to exhibit to me, as much as you shall be able, your presence.

EPISTOLA LXXII . Hieronymus Augustino expostulans de illius epistola per Italiam sparsa, qua taxabatur locus non recte expositus in Epistola ad Galatas. Domino vere sancto et beatissimo papae AUGUSTINO, HIERONYMUS, in Domino salutem.

CAP. PRIMUM. 1. Crebras ad me epistolas dirigis, et saepe compellis ut respondeam cuidam epistolae tuae, cujus ad me, ut ante jam scripsi, per fratrem Sysinnium diaconum exemplaria pervenerant, absque subscriptione tua, et quae primum per fratrem Profuturum, secundo per quemdam alium te misisse significas; et interim Profuturum retractum de itinere, et episcopum constitutum, veloci morte subtractum; illum cujus nomen retices, maris timuisse discrimina, et navigationis mutasse consilium. Quae cum ita sint, satis mirari nequeo quomodo ipsa epistola et Romae et in Italia haberi a plerisque dicatur, et ad me solum non pervenerit, cui soli missa est; praesertim cum idem frater Sysinnius inter caeteros tractatus tuos dixerit eam se non in Africa, non apud te, sed in insula Adriae, ante hoc ferme quinquennium reperisse.

CAPUT II.

3. Ad extremum ne tu jure expostulares et diceres, Quid enim? epistolam meam videras, et notae tibi manus in subscriptione signa deprehenderas, ut tam facile amicum laederes, et alterius malitiam in meam verteres contumeliam? Igitur ut ante jam scripsi, aut mitte eamdem epistolam tua subscriptam manu; aut senem latitantem in cellula lacessere desine. Sin autem tuam vis vel exercere, vel ostentare doctrinam, quaere juvenes, et disertos, et nobiles, quorum Romae dicuntur esse quam plurimi, qui possint et audeant tecum congredi, et in disputatione sanctarum Scripturarum, jugum cum episcopo ducere. Ego quondam miles, nunc veteranus, et tuas et aliorum debeo laudare victorias, non ipse rursus effeto corpore dimicare; ne, si me frequenter ad rescribendum impuleris, illius recorder historiae, quod Annibalem juveniliter exsultantem, Q. Maximus patientia sua fregerit (Tit. Liv. Decadis 3, lib. 2). Omnia fert aetas, animum quoque. Saepe ego longos Cantando puerum memini me condere soles: Nunc oblita mihi tot carmina; vox quoque Moerim Jam fugit ipsa. (Virg. Eccl. 9.) Et, ut magis de Scripturis sanctis loquar, Berzellai ille Galaadites, regis David beneficia omnesque delicias juveni delegans filio (II Reg. XIX, 32-37), ostendit senectutem haec appetere non debere, nec oblata suscipere.

EPISTOLA LXXII. Jerome to Augustine expostulating concerning a letter of his spread through Italy, by which a place not rightly exposed in the Epistle to the Galatians was taxed. To the truly holy and most blessed pope AUGUSTINE, JEROME [sends] greeting in the Lord.

CHAPTER FIRST. 1. You direct frequent letters to me, and often you compel [me] that I should respond to a certain letter of yours, of which to me, as I have already written before, through brother Sysinniuis the deacon copies had arrived, without your subscription, and which first through brother Profuturus, secondly through I know not what other you signify [that] you sent; and in the meantime Profuturus [was] retracted from the journey, and [being] constituted a bishop, [was] subtracted by a swift death; [and] him whose name you keep silent, feared the discriminations of the sea, and changed the counsel of navigation. Which things since they are so, I am not able to wonder enough how the letter itself is said to be had by very many both in Rome and in Italy, and has not arrived to me alone, to whom alone it was sent; especially when the same brother Sysinniuis among your other treatises said [that] he found it not in Africa, not at your [place], but in an island of the Adriatic, almost five years before this.

CHAPTER II.

3. To the last [end] lest you should justly expostulate and say, What for? you had seen my letter, and you had detected the signs of a known hand in the subscription, so that you might so easily hurt a friend, and turn the malice of another into my contumely? Therefore as I have already written before, either send the same letter subscribed by your hand; or cease to provoke an old man hiding in a little cell. But if you wish either to exercise or to show off your doctrine, seek young men, and eloquent, and noble, of whom there are said to be very many in Rome, who can and dare to engage with you, and in the disputation of the holy Scriptures, to draw the yoke with a bishop. I, formerly a soldier, now a veteran, ought to praise both your victories and those of others, [and] not myself again to fight with an exhausted body; lest, if you shall have frequently impelled me to write back, I should remember that history, that Q. Maximus by his patience broke Hannibal exulting youthfully. Age brings all things, the mind also. Often I remember [that] I as a boy hid long suns [days] by singing: now so many songs [are] forgotten by me; the voice also now flees Moeris herself. (Virg. Eccl. 9.) And, that I may speak more from the holy Scriptures, that Barzillai the Gileadite, delegating the benefits and all the delights of king David to his young son, showed [that] old age ought not to appetize these things, nor to receive [them] offered.

4. Quod autem juras te adversum me librum non scripsisse, neque Romam misisse quem non scripseris, sed si forte aliqua in tuis scriptis reperiantur, quae a meo sensu discrepent, non me a te laesum, sed a te scriptum quod tibi rectum videbatur: quaeso ut me patienter audias. Non scripsisti librum; et quomodo mihi reprehensionis a te meae per alios scripta delata sunt? cur habet Italia quod tu non scripsisti? qua ratione poscis ut rescribam ad ea quae scripsisse te denegas? Nec tam hebes sum ut, si diversa senseris, me a te laesum putem. Sed si mea cominus dicta reprehendas, et rationem scriptorum expetas, et quae scripserim emendare compellas, et ad παλινῳδίαν provoces, et oculos mihi reddas; in hoc laeditur amicitia, in hoc necessitudinis jura violantur. Ne videamur certare pueriliter et fautoribus invicem vel detractoribus nostris tribuere materiam contendendi; haec scribo, quia te pure et christiane diligere cupio, nec quidquam in mea mente retinere quod distet a labiis. Non enim convenit ut ab adolescentia usque ad hanc aetatem, in monasteriolo cum sanctis fratribus labore desudans, aliquid contra episcopum communionis meae scribere audeam, et eum episcopum quem ante coepi amare quam nosse, qui me prior ad amicitiam provocavit, quem post me orientem in Scripturarum eruditione laetatus sum. Igitur aut tuum negato librum, si forte non tuus est, et desine flagitare rescriptum ad ea quae non scripsisti; aut si tuus est, ingenue confitere, ut si in defensionem mei aliqua scripsero, in te culpa sit qui provocasti, non in me qui respondere compulsus sum.

CAPUT III.

5. Addis praeterea te paratum esse ut, si quid me in tuis scriptis moverit, aut corrigere voluero, fraterne accipias, et non solum mea in te benevolentia gavisurum, sed ut hoc ipsum faciam, deprecaris. Rursum dico quod sentio: provocas senem, tacentem stimulas, videris jactare doctrinam. Non est autem aetatis meae, putari malevolum erga eum cui magis favorem debeo. Et si in Evangeliis ac Prophetis perversi homines inveniunt quod nitantur reprehendere, miraris si in tuis libris, et maxime in Scripturarum expositione, quae vel obscurissimae sunt, quaedam a recti linea discrepare videantur?

Moreover because you swear that you have not written a book against me, nor sent to Rome [a book] which you have not written, but if perhaps some [things] are found in your writings, which discrepan from my sense, [that] I was not hurt by you, but [that it was] written by you what seemed right to you: I ask that you hear me patiently. You did not write a book; and how were the writings of your reprehension of me brought to me through others? why does Italy have what you have not written? by what reason do you demand that I should write back to those [things] which you deny [that] you have written? Nor am I so dull that, if you shall have felt diverse [things], I should think myself hurt by you. But if you reprehend my words hand to hand, and expect the reason of my writings, and compel [me] to emend those [things] which I have written, and provoke [me] to a palinode (παλινῳδίαν), and render my eyes to me; in this friendship is hurt, in this the laws of necessity are violated. Lest we should seem to strive childishly and to attribute to our favorers or detractors in turn material for contending; I write these [things], because I desire to love you purely and Christianly, nor to retain anything in my mind which is distant from my lips. For it is not convenient that from adolescence even to this age, desudating in labor in a little monastery with holy brothers, I should dare to write anything against a bishop of my communion, and that bishop whom I began to love before I knew [him], who first provoked me to friendship, [and] whom I rejoiced [to see] rising after me in the erudition of the Scriptures. Therefore either deny your book, if perhaps it is not yours, and cease to demand a reply to those [things] which you have not written; or if it is yours, ingenuously confess [it], so that if I shall have written some things in defense of myself, the fault may be in you who provoked, not in me who was compelled to respond.

CHAPTER III.

5. You add furthermore [that] you are prepared so that, if anything in your writings shall have moved me, or I shall have willed to correct [it], you would receive [it] fraternally, and [that you would] not only be about to rejoice in my benevolence toward you, but you deprecate that I should do this itself. Again I say what I feel: you provoke an old man, you stimulate [him] keeping silence, you seem to boast of [your] doctrine. Moreover it is not of my age, to be thought malevolent toward him to whom I rather owe favor. And if in the Gospels and Prophets perverse men find what they may strive to reprehend, do you wonder if in your books, and especially in the exposition of the Scriptures, which are even most obscure, some things seem to discrepate from the line of the right?

Et hoc dico, non quod in operibus tuis quaedam reprehendenda jam censeam. For neither have I ever given work to the reading of them: nor is there a copy of these exemplars among us, except the books of your Soliloquies, and certain Commentaries on the Psalms; which if I willed to discuss, I would not say from me, who am nothing, but I would teach [that they] discrepate from the interpretations of the ancient Greeks. Vale, mi amice, charissime, aetate fili, dignitate parens: et hoc a me rogatus observa, ut quidquid mihi scripseris, ad me primum facias pervenire.

Epistola LXXIII.

Hieronymum litteris suis nonnihil offensum demulcere studet Augustinus.

Apologiam illius contra Ruffinum accepisse se testatur, deplorans tantos inter viros quondam amicissimos tam amarulentam discordiam incidisse. Domino venerando et desideratissimo fratri, compresbytero HIERONYMO, AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

CAP. PRIMUM. 1. Quamvis existimem, antequam istas sumeres, venisse in manus tua, litteras meas, quas per Dei servum, filium nostrum, Cyprianum diaconum misi; quibus certissime agnosceres meam esse epistolam, cujus exemplaria illuc pervenisse commemorasti; unde jam me arbitror rescriptis tuis, velut Entellinis glandibus atque acribus caestibus, tanquam audacem Daretem coepisse pulsari atque versari: nunc tamen eis ipsis respondeo litteris tuis, quas mihi per sanctum filium nostrum Asterium mittere dignatus es; in quibus multa in me comperi tuae benevolentissimae charitatis, et rursus quaedam nonnullius a me tuae offensionis indicia. Itaque, ubi mulcebar legens, ibi continuo feriebar; hoc sane vel maxime admirans, quod cum dicas te exemplaribus litterarum mearum ideo temere non putasse credendum, ne forte te respondente laesus juste expostularem, quod probare ante debuisses meum esse sermonem et sic rescribere, postea jubeas, si mea est epistola, aperte me scribere, aut mittere exemplaria veriora, ut absque ullo rancore stomachi in Scripturarum disputatione versemur. Quo pacto enim possumus in hac disputatione sine rancore versari, si me laedere paras? aut si non paras, quomodo ego, te non laedente, abs te laesus juste expostularem, quod probare ante debuisses, meum esse sermonem, et sic rescribere, hoc est et sic laedere? Nisi enim rescribendo laesisses, ego juste expostulare non possem. Proinde cum ita rescribis, ut laedas, quis locus nobis relinquitur in disputatione Scripturarum sine ullo rancore versandi?

And I say this, not because I already judge some things to be reprehended in your works. For neither have I ever given work to the reading of them: nor is there a copy of these exemplars among us, except the books of your Soliloquies, and certain Commentaries on the Psalms; which if I willed to discuss, I would not say from me, who am nothing, but I would teach [that they] discrepate from the interpretations of the ancient Greeks. Farewell, my friend, most dear, by age a son, by dignity a parent: and having been asked by me observe this, that whatever you shall have written to me, you make [it] arrive first to me.

Epistola LXXIII.

Augustine studies to soothe Jerome somewhat offended by his letters.

He attests that he received his apology against Ruffinus, deploring [that] so bitter a discord had fallen between so great men formerly most friendly. To the lord to be venerated and most longed-for brother, fellow-presbyter JEROME, AUGUSTINE [sends] greeting in the Lord.

CHAPTER FIRST. 1. Although I think [that], before you took these, my letters came into your hand, which I sent through the servant of God, our son, Cyprian the deacon; by which you would most certainly recognize [that] the letter is mine, whose copies you commemorated to have arrived thither; whence already I judge myself to have begun to be struck and turned by your replies, just as by Entelline acorns and sharp caestuses, as an audacious Dares: now nevertheless I respond to those letters of yours themselves, which you deigned to send to me through our holy son Asterius; in which I found many [things] of your most benevolent charity toward me, and again certain indications of some offense of yours from me. Therefore, where I was being soothed reading, there continuously I was being struck; indeed especially admiring this, that when you say [that] you thought the copies of my letters therefore not to be trusted rashly, lest perhaps I being hurt [by you] responding should justly expostulate, because you ought to have proved before [that] the speech was mine and thus to write back, afterwards you command, if the letter is mine, [that] I should write openly, or send truer copies, so that we may be occupied in the disputation of the Scriptures without any rancor of the stomach. For in what way are we able to be occupied in this disputation without rancor, if you prepare to hurt me? or if you do not prepare, how would I, you not hurting [me], justly expostulate [being] hurt by you, because you ought to have proved before, [that] the speech was mine, and thus to write back, that is and thus to hurt? For unless you had hurt [me] by writing back, I would not be able justly to expostulate. Accordingly when you so write back, that you hurt, what place is left to us for being occupied in the disputation of the Scriptures without any rancor?

Ego quidem absit ut laedar, si mihi certa ratione volueris et potueris demonstrare illud ex Epistola Apostoli, vel quid aliud Scripturarum sanctarum te verius intellexisse, quam me: imo vero absit, ut non cum gratiarum actione lucris meis deputem, si fuero te docente instructus, aut emendante correctus.

CAPUT II.

3. Restat igitur ut laedere me rescribendo disponeres, si certo documento meas esse illas litteras nosceres. Atque ita, quia non credo quod injuste me laedendum putares, superest ut agnoscam peccatum meum, quod prior te illis litteris laeserim, quas meas esse negare non possum. Cur itaque eonor contra fluminis tractum, ac non potius veniam peto? Obsecro te ergo per mansuetudinem Christi, ut, si laesi te, dimittas mihi, nec me vicissim laedendo malum pro malo reddas. Laedes autem me, si mihi tacueris errorem meum, quem forte inveneris in factis vel dictis meis. Nam si ea in me reprehenderis quae reprehendenda non sunt, te laedis magis quam me; quod absit a moribus et sancto proposito tuo, ut hoc facias voluntate laedendi, culpans in me aliquid dente maledico, quod mente veridica esse scis non culpandum. Ac per hoc aut benevolo corde arguas, etiamsi caret delicto, quem arguendum putas; aut paterno affectu mulceas quem adjicere nequeas. Potest enim fieri ut tibi aliud videatur quam veritas habet, dum tamen abs te aliud non fiat quam charitas habet: nam et ego amicissimam reprehensionem gratissime accipiam, etiam si reprehendi non meruit quod recte defendi potest; aut agnoscam simul et benevolentiam tuam, et culpam meam, et, quantum Dominus donat, in alio gratus, in alio emendatus inveniar.

4. Quid ergo, fortasse dura, sed certe salubria verba tua, tanquam caestus Entelli, pertimescam? Caedebatur ille, non curabatur; et ideo vincebatur, non sanabatur. Ego autem, si medicinalem correptionem tuam tranquillus accepero, non dolebo: si vero infirmitas, vel humana, vel mea, etiam cum veraciter arguor, non potest nisi aliquantulum contristari, melius tumor capitis dolet, dum curatur, quam dum ei parcitur, non sanatur. Hoc est enim quod acute vidit qui dixit, Utiliores esse plerumque inimicos jurgantes, quam amicos objurgare metuentes.

Far be it from me indeed that I should be hurt, if you shall have willed and been able to demonstrate to me by a certain reason that you have understood that [place] from the Epistle of the Apostle, or anything else of the holy Scriptures more truly than I: nay truly far be it, that I should not with action of thanks depute [it] to my gains, if I shall have been instructed [by you] teaching, or corrected [by you] emending.

CHAPTER II.

3. It remains therefore that you were disposing to hurt me by writing back, if you knew by certain document that those letters were mine. And thus, because I do not believe that you would think [that] I ought to be hurt unjustly, it remains that I should acknowledge my sin, that I first hurt you by those letters, which I am not able to deny to be mine. Why therefore do I strive against the tract of the river, and not rather seek pardon? I beseech you therefore through the mildness of Christ, that, if I have hurt you, you dismiss [it] to me, nor by hurting me in turn render evil for evil. Moreover you will hurt me, if you shall have kept silence to me [concerning] my error, which perhaps you shall have found in my deeds or words. For if you shall have reprehended those [things] in me which are not to be reprehended, you hurt yourself more than me; which far be it from your morals and holy purpose, that you should do this with the will of hurting, blaming in me something with a maledicent tooth, which you know with a veridical mind is not to be blamed. And through this either with a benevolent heart you may argue [against], even if [he] lacks a fault, him whom you think is to be argued [against]; or with paternal affection you may soothe him whom you are not able to adjudge. For it is able to be done that to you another thing may seem than the truth has, while nevertheless by you another thing may not be done than charity has: for I also will most gratefully receive a most friendly reprehension, even if that did not deserve to be reprehended which is able to be rightly defended; or I may acknowledge at once both your benevolence, and my fault, and, as much as the Lord grants, in one [thing] I may be found grateful, in another emended.

4. Why therefore, perhaps hard, but certainly salubrious, should I greatly fear your words, just as the cestuses of Entellus? That [man] was being beaten, not being cured; and therefore he was being conquered, not being healed. Moreover I, if I shall have received your medicinal correction tranquil, will not grieve: if truly infirmity, either human, or mine, even when I am argued [against] veraciously, is not able but to be saddened somewhat, the tumor of the head better grieves while it is being cured, than while it is being spared, it is not healed. For this is what he acutely saw who said, that scolding enemies are for the most part more useful than friends fearing to rebuke.

Illi enim dum rixantur, dicunt aliquando vera quae corrigamus; isti autem minorem quam oportet, exhibent justitiae libertatem, dum amicitiae timent exasperare dulcedinem. Quapropter etsi bos, ut tibi videris, lassus senectute forte corporis, non vigore animi tamen, in area dominica fructuoso labore desudans; ecce sum, si quid perperam dixi, fortius fige pedem. Non mihi esse debet molestum pondus aetatis tuae, dummodo conteratur palea culpae meae.

5. Proinde illud quod in extremo epistolae tuae posuisti, cum magni desiderii suspirio vel lego, vel recolo. Utinam, inquis, mereremur complexus tuos, et collatione mutua vel doceremus aliqua, vel disceremus! Ego autem dico: Utinam saltem propinquis terrarum locis habitaremus; ut, si non possent misceri nostra colloquia, litterae possent esse crebriores! Nunc vero tanto locorum intervallo absumus a sensibus nostris, ut de illis verbis Apostoli ad Galatas, juvenem me ad tuam Sanctitatem scripsisse meminerim, et ecce jam senex, necdum rescripta meruerim, faciliusque ad te exemplaria epistolae meae pervenerint, nescio qua occasione praeveniente, quam ipsa epistola me curante. Homo enim qui eam tunc acceperat, nec ad te pertulerit, nec ad me retulerit. Tantae autem mihi in litteris tuis, quae in manus nostras venire potuerunt, apparent res, ut nihil studiorum meorum mallem, si possem, quam inhaerere lateri tuo. Quod ego quia non possum, aliquem nostrorum in Domino filiorum erudiendum nobis ad te mittere cogito, si etiam de hac re tua rescripta meruero. Nam neque in me tantum scientiae Scripturarum divinarum est, aut esse jam poterit, quantum inesse tibi video. Et si quid in hac re habeo facultatis, utcumque impendo populo Dei. Vacare autem studiis diligentius quam quae populi audiunt instruendis, propter ecclesiasticas occupationes omnino non possum.

CAPUT III.

6. Nescio quae scripta maledica super tuo nomine ad Africam pervenerunt. Accepimus tamen quod dignatus es mittere, illis respondens maledictis. Quo perlecto, fateor, multum dolui inter tam charas familiaresque personas, cunctis pene Ecclesiis notissimo amicitiae vinculo copulatas, tantum malum extitisse discordiae. Et tu quidem quantum tibi modereris, quantumque teneas aculeos indignationis tuae, ne reddas maledictum pro maledicto, satis in tuis litteris eminet.

For those while they quarrel, say sometimes true [things] which we may correct; but these exhibit a lesser liberty than is behooving for justice, while they fear to exasperate the sweetness of friendship. Wherefore although a bull, as you seem to yourself, perhaps weary with the old age of the body, yet not with the vigor of the mind, sweating in the Lord's threshing-floor (area dominica) with fruitful labor; behold I am, if I have said anything perversely, fix [your] foot more strongly. The weight of your age ought not to be troublesome to me, provided that the chaff of my fault be threshed.

5. Accordingly that which you placed in the extreme [part] of your letter, I either read, or recall with the sigh of great desire. "Would that," you say, "we might merit your embraces, and by mutual collation either we might teach some [things], or we might learn!" Moreover I say: Would that at least we dwelt in neighboring places of the lands; so that, if our colloquies were not able to be mixed, letters might be more frequent! Now truly we are absent from our senses by so great an interval of places, that concerning those words of the Apostle to the Galatians, I remember [that] I wrote [as] a youth to your Holiness, and behold now [as] an old man, I have not yet merited replies, and more easily truer copies of my letter arrived to you, I know not by what occasion preventing, than the letter itself by my care. For the man who had then received it, neither carried it to you, nor brought it back to me. Moreover so great things appear to me in your letters, which were able to come into our hands, that I would prefer nothing of my studies, if I were able, than to cling to your side. Which because I am not able, I think to send some one of our sons in the Lord to you to be instructed by us, if I shall have merited your replies also concerning this matter. For neither is there so much of the science of the divine Scriptures in me, or will now be able to be, as much as I see to be in you. And if I have anything of faculty in this matter, I expend [it] in any way [I can] on the people of God. Moreover I am altogether not able to be vacant for studies more diligently than those which the people hear to be instructed, on account of ecclesiastical occupations.

CHAPTER III.

6. I know not what maledicent writings under your name arrived at Africa. We received however what you deigned to send, responding to those maledictions. Which having been read through, I confess, I much grieved that among so dear and familiar persons, joined to almost all the Churches by a most well-known bond of friendship, so great an evil of discord should have stood forth. And indeed how much you moderate yourself, and how much you hold the stings of your indignation, lest you should render malediction for malediction, is sufficiently eminent in your letters.

Verumtamen si eas ipsas cum legissem, contabui dolore, et obrigui timore; quid de me illa facerent quae in te ille scripsit, si in manus meas forte venissent? Vae mundo ab scandalis (Matth. XVIII, 7). Ecce fit, ecce prorsus impletur quod Veritas ait: Quoniam abundabit iniquitas, refrigescet charitas multorum (Id. XXIV, 12). Quae sibi enim jam fida pectora tuto refundantur? in cujus sinum tota se projiciat secura dilectio? quis denique amicus non formidetur quasi futurus inimicus, si potuit inter Hieronymum et Ruffinum hoc quod plangimus exoriri? O misera et miseranda conditio! O infida in voluntatibus amicorum scientia praesentium, ubi nulla est praescientia futurorum! Sed quid hoc alteri de altero gemendum putem, quando nec ipse quidem sibi homo est notus in posterum? Novit enim utcumque, vix forte, nunc qualis sit; qualis autem postea futurus sit, ignorat.

7. Haec porro non tantum scientia, qualis quisque sit, verum etiam praescientia, qualis futurus sit, si est in sanctis et beatis Angelis; et quomodo fuerit diabolus beatus aliquando, cum adhuc angelus bonus esset, sciens futuram iniquitatem suam, et sempiternum supplicium, omnino non video. De qua re, si tamen eam nosse opus est, vellem abs te audire quid sentias. Vide quid faciant terrae ac maria quae nos corporaliter dirimunt. Si haec epistola mea quam legis, ego essem, jam mihi diceres quod quaesivi: nunc vero quando rescribes? quando mittes? quando perveniet? quando accipiam? Et tamen utinam quandoque fiat, quod tam cito fieri non posse, quam volumus, quanta possumus tolerantia sustinemus! Unde recurro ad illa verba epistolae tuae dulcissima, sanctique desiderii tui plenissima, et ea facio vicissim mea: Utinam mereremur complexus tuos; et collatione mutua vel doceremus aliqua, vel disceremus! si tamen esse ullo modo posset quod ego te docerem.

8. In his autem verbis non jam tuis tantum, sed etiam meis, ubi delector et reficior, et ipso quamvis pendente et non attingente utriusque nostrum desiderio, non parva ex parte consolor: ibi rursus acerrimis dolorum stimulis fodior, dum cogito inter vos, quibus Deus hoc ipsum quod uterque nostrum optavit, largum prolixumque concesserat, ut conjunctissimi et familiarissimi mella Scripturarum sanctarum pariter lamberetis, tantae amaritudinis irrepsisse perniciem, quando non, ubi non, cui non homini formidandam; cum eo tempore, quo abjectis jam sarcinis saecularibus, jam expediti Dominum sequebamini, et in ea terra vivebatis simul, in qua Dominus humanis pedibus ambulans, Pacem meam, inquit, do vobis, pacem meam relinquo vobis (Joan. XIV, 27), viris aetate maturis, et in eloquio Domini habitantibus vobis accidere potuit?

Nevertheless when I had read those very [letters], I wasted away with grief, and grew stiff with fear; what would those [writings] do to me which that [man] wrote against you, if by chance they had come into my hands? "Woe to the world from scandals" (Matth. XVIII, 7). Behold it is done, behold that which Truth says is thoroughly fulfilled: "Since iniquity will abound, the charity of many will grow cold" (Id. XXIV, 12). For into what breasts already faithful may [thoughts] safely be poured back? into whose bosom may secure dilection cast itself whole? who finally may not be dreaded [as] a friend just as a future enemy, if this which we bewail was able to arise between Jerome and Ruffinus? O miserable and to-be-miserated condition! O unfaithful science of the present in the wills of friends, where there is no prescience of the future! But why should I think this is to be groaned [over] by one concerning another, when not even to himself indeed is man known for the future? For he knows in any way, hardly perhaps, now of what sort he is; but of what sort he is about to be afterwards, he is ignorant.

7. Furthermore this science, not only of what sort each one is, but truly also the prescience, of what sort he is about to be, if it is in the holy and blessed Angels; and how the devil was once blessed, when as yet he was a good angel, knowing his future iniquity, and sempiternal punishment, I altogether do not see. Concerning which matter, if nevertheless it is needful to know it, I would will to hear from you what you think. See what the lands and seas do which part us corporally. If this my letter which you read were I, you would already say to me what I sought: now truly when will you write back? when will you send? when will it arrive? when will I receive? And yet would that it may at some time be done, which we sustain with what tolerance we are able, [that it] is not able to be done as quickly as we will! Whence I recur to those most sweet words of your letter, and most full of your holy desire, and I in turn make them mine: "Would that we might merit your embraces; and by mutual collation either we might teach some [things], or we might learn!" if nevertheless there could be in any way [that] which I might teach you.

Moreover in these words not now yours only, but also mine, where I am delighted and refreshed, and even though the desire of each of us is pending and not attaining [its end], I am in no small part consoled: there again I am pierced by the most sharp stings of griefs, while I think among you, to whom God had granted this very [thing] which each of us has opted [for], large and prolix, so that most conjoined and most familiar you might lick together the honeys of the holy Scriptures, that the perdition of so great bitterness should have crept in, when not, where not, to what man not to be dreaded; since it was able to happen to you, men mature in age, and dwelling in the eloquence of the Lord, at that time in which, the secular burdens already cast away, now expedited you were following the Lord, and were living together in that land, in which the Lord walking with human feet, said, "My peace I give to you, my peace I leave to you" (John XIV, 27)?

Vere tentatio est vita humana super terram (Job. VII, 1). Heu mihi, qui vos alicubi simul invenire non possum! forte, ut moveor, ut doleo, ut timeo, prociderem ad pedes vestros, flerem quantum valerem, rogarem quantum amarem, nunc unumquemque vestrum pro seipso, nunc utrumque pro alterutro, et pro aliis, et maxime infirmis, pro quibus Christus mortuus est (I Cor. VIII, 11), qui vos tanquam in theatro vitae hujus cum magno sui periculo spectant, ne de vobis ea conscribendo spargatis, quae quandoque concordantes delere non poteritis, qui nunc concordare nolitis; aut quae concordes legere timeatis, ne iterum litigetis.

9. Verum dico charitati tuae, nihil me magis quam hoc exemplum tremuisse, cum quaedam ad me in epistola tua legerem tuae indignationis indicia; non tam illa de Entello et bove lasso, ubi mihi potius hilariter jocari quam iracunde minari visus es, quam illud quod serio te scripsisse satis apparet, unde supra elocutus sum, plus fortasse quam debui, sed non plus quam timui, ubi aisti: Ne forte laesus juste expostulares. Rogo te, si fieri potest, ut inter nos quaeramus et disseramus aliquid, quo sine amaritudine discordiae corda nostra pascantur, fiat. Si autem non possum dicere quid mihi emendandum videatur in scriptis tuis, nec tu in meis, nisi cum suspicione invidiae, aut laesione amicitiae, quiescamus ab his, et nostrae vitae salutique parcamus. Minus certe assequatur illa quae inflat, dum non offendatur illa quae aedificat (I Cor. VIII, 2). Ego me longe esse sentio ab illa perfectione, de qua scriptum est: Si quis in verbo non offendit, hic perfectus est vir (Jacobi III, 2). Sed plane in Dei misericordia puto me posse facile abs te petere veniam, si quid offendi; quod mihi aperire debes, ut, cum te audiero, lucreris fratrem tuum (Matth. XVIII, 15). Neque enim, quia hoc propter longinquitatem terrarum non potes facere inter me et te, propterea debes sinere errare me. Prorsus quod ad ipsas res quas nosse volumus, attinet, si quid veri me tenere vel scio, vel credo, vel puto, in quo tu aliter sentis, quantum dat Dominus sine tua injuria conabor asserere. Quod autem pertinet ad offensionem tuam, cum te indignatum sensero, nihil aliud quam veniam deprecabor.

Truly "human life upon the earth is a temptation" (Job VII, 1). Woe to me, who am not able to find you anywhere together! perhaps, as I am moved, as I grieve, as I fear, I would fall down at your feet, I would weep as much as I were able, I would ask as much as I loved, now each one of you for himself, now both for each other, and for others, and especially the infirm, for whom Christ died (I Cor. VIII, 11), who behold you just as in the theater of this life with great danger to themselves, lest by writing you should scatter those things concerning you, which concordant you will not be able at some time to delete, who now will not to concord; or which concordant you may fear to read, lest you should litigate again.

9. Truly I say to your charity, that I trembled at nothing more than this example, when I read in your letter certain indications of your indignation; not so much those concerning Entellus and the weary bull, where you seemed to me rather to joke hilariously than to threaten irascibly, as that which it appears sufficiently that you wrote seriously, whence I spoke above, perhaps more than I ought, but not more than I feared, where you said: "Lest perhaps having been hurt you should justly expostulate." I ask you, if it is able to be done, that we may seek and discuss something between us, by which our hearts may be fed without the bitterness of discord, let it be done. If however I am not able to say what seems to me to be emended in your writings, nor you in mine, except with the suspicion of envy, or the lesion of friendship, let us rest from these [things], and spare our life and safety. Certainly let that [knowledge] which puffs up attain less, provided that [charity] which edifies be not offended (I Cor. VIII, 2). I feel myself to be far from that perfection, concerning which it is written: "If anyone does not offend in word, this is a perfect man" (James III, 2). But plainly in the mercy of God I think [that] I am able easily to seek pardon from you, if I have offended in anything; which you ought to open to me, so that, when I shall have heard you, you may gain your brother (Matth. XVIII, 15). Nor indeed, because on account of the distance of the lands you are not able to do this between me and you, ought you therefore to allow me to err. Altogether as much as pertains to those very things which we will to know, if I either know, or believe, or think [that] I hold anything of truth, in which you feel otherwise, as much as the Lord gives I will endeavor to assert [it] without your injury. Moreover as much as pertains to your offense, when I shall have sensed you [to be] indignant, I will deprecate nothing else than pardon.

10. Nec omnino arbitror te succensere potuisse, nisi aut hoc dicerem quod non debui, aut non sic dicerem ut debui; quia nec miror minus nos scire invicem, quam scimur a conjunctissimis et familiarissimis nostris. In quorum ego charitatem, fateor, facile me totum projicio, praesertim fatigatum scandalis saeculi; et in ea sine ulla sollicitudine requiesco: Deum quippe illic esse sentio, in quem me securus projicio, et in quo securus requiesco. Nec in hac mea securitate crastinum illud humanae fragilitatis incertum, de quo superius ingemui, omnino formido. Cum enim hominem christiana charitate flagrantem, eaque mihi fidelem amicum factum esse sentio; quidquid ei consiliorum meorum cogitationumque committo, non homini committo, sed illi in quo manet, ut talis sit. Deus enim charitas est; et qui manet in charitate, in Deo manet, et Deus in eo (I Joan. IV, 16): quam si deseruerit, tantum faciat necesse est dolorem, quantum manens fecerat gaudium. Verumtamen ex amico intimo factus inimicus, quaerat sibi potius quod fingat astutus; non inveniat quod prodat iratus. Hoc autem unusquisque facile assequitur, non occultando quod fecerit, sed non faciendo quod occultari velit. Quod misericordia Dei bonis piisque concedit, ut inter amicos quoslibet futuros, liberi securique versentur, aliena peccata sibi commissa non prodant; quae prodi timeant, ipsi nulla committant. Cum enim falsum quid a maledico fingitur; aut omnino non creditur; aut certe integra salute, sola fama vexatur. Cum autem malum perpetratur, hostis est intimus, etiamsi nullius intimi loquacitate aut lite vulgetur. Quapropter quis prudentium non videat, etiam tu quam tolerabiliter feras amicissimi quondam et familiarissimi incredibiles nunc inimicitias, consolante conscientia; et quemadmodum vel quod jactitat, vel quod a quibusdam forsitan creditur, in sinistris armis deputes, quibus non minus quam dextris contra diabolum dimicatur? Verumtamen illum maluerim aliquo modo mitiorem, quam te isto modo armatiorem. Hoc magnum et triste miraculum est, ex amicitiis talibus ad has inimicitias pervenisse; laetum erit, et multo majus ex inimicitiis talibus ad pristinam concordiam revertisse.

EPISTOLA LXXIV.

Augustinus Praesidium rogat ut superiorem epistolam curet Hieronymo reddendam, utque sibi eumdem suis etiam litteris placet.

Domino beatissimo, et merito venerando fratri, et consacerdoti PRAESIDIO, AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

10. Nor do I altogether judge that you could have been incensed, unless I either said this which I ought not, or did not say [it] thus as I ought; because I do not wonder less [that] we know each other, than [that] we are known by our most conjoined and most familiar [friends]. Into whose charity, I confess, I easily cast myself whole, especially fatigued by the scandals of the age; and in it without any solicitude I rest: for there I feel God to be, into whom I secure cast myself, and in whom I secure rest. Nor in this my security do I altogether dread that future uncertainty of human fragility, concerning which I groaned above. For when I feel a man to be burning with Christian charity, and [that] he has become a faithful friend to me by it; whatever of my counsels and thoughts I commit to him, I do not commit to a man, but to Him in whom he remains, that he may be such. For "God is charity; and he who remains in charity, remains in God, and God in him" (I John IV, 16): which if he shall have deserted, it is necessary [that] he should cause so much grief, as much as remaining he had caused joy. Nevertheless having become an enemy from an intimate friend, let him rather seek what the astute [man] may feign; let him not find what the angry [man] may betray. Moreover this each one easily attains, not by hiding what he has done, but by not doing what he would will to be hidden. Which the mercy of God grants to the good and pious, that among any friends future [enemies], they may be conversant free and secure, [and] not betray the sins of others committed to them; which [sins] they may fear to be betrayed, they themselves commit none. For when a maledicent [man] feigns anything false; either it is altogether not believed; or certainly with integrity of safety, the reputation alone is vexed. Moreover when an evil is perpetrated, the enemy is intimate, even if it be not divulged by the talkativeness or litigation of any intimate. Wherefore who of the prudent may not see, even how tolerably you bear the now incredible enmities of a once most friendly and most familiar [man], with conscience consoling [you]; and in what manner either what he boasts, or what is perhaps believed by some, you depute to the left-hand arms, with which no less than with the right-hand [arms] it is fought against the devil? Nevertheless I would have preferred him in some way milder, than you in that way more armed. This is a great and sad miracle, to have arrived from such friendships to these enmities; it will be joyful, and much greater, to have returned from such enmities to the pristine concord.

EPISTLE LXXIV.

Augustine asks Praesidium to take care that the superior letter be rendered to Jerome, and that he may also please him by his own letters.

To the most blessed Lord, and meritously to-be-venerated brother, and fellow-priest (consacerdoti) PRAESIDIUM, AUGUSTINE, [sends] health in the Lord.

1. Sicut praesens rogavi Sinceritatem tuam, nunc quoque commoneo, ut litteras meas sancto fratri et compresbytero nostro Hieronymo mittere non graveris. Ut autem noverit Charitas tua quemadmodum etiam tu illi pro mea causa scribere debeas, misi exemplaria litterarum, et mearum ad ipsum, et ad me ipsius, quibus lectis pro tua sancta prudentia facile videas et modum meum, quem servandum putavi, et motum ejus, quem non frustra timui. Aut si ego quod non debui, vel quomodo non debui, aliquid scripsi; non ad illum de me, sed ad me ipsum potius fraterna dilectione mitte sermonem, quo correctus petam ut ignoscat, si meam culpam ipse cognovero.

EPISTOLA LXXV.

Respondet tandem Hieronymus ad Augustini quaestiones propositas in Epist. 28, 40 et 71, scilicet de titulo libri ecclesiasticos scriptores repraesentantis, de Petro reprehenso a Paulo in Epist. ad Galatas, de translatione veteris Testamenti, ac de hederae vocabulo apud Jonam: defendens acriter scriptiones et interpretationes suas adversus Augustinum.

Domino vere sancto et beatissimo papae AUGUSTINO, HIERONYMUS, in Christo salutem.

CAPUT PRIMUM.

1. Tres simul epistolas, imo libellos breves, per diaconum Cyprianum, tuae Dignationis accepi, diversas, ut tu nominas, quaestiones, ut ego sentio, reprehensiones opusculorum meorum continentes: ad quas si respondere voluero, libri magnitudine opus erit. Tamen conabor, quantum facere possum, modum non egredi longioris epistolae, et festinanti fratri moram non facere, qui ante triduum, quam profecturus erat, a me epistolas flagitavit; ut pene in procinctu haec qualiacumque sunt, effutire compellerer, et tumultuario respondere sermone, non maturitate scribentis, sed dictantis temeritate: quae plerumque non in doctrinam, sed in casum vertitur; ut fortissimos quoque milites subita bella conturbant, et ante coguntur fugere, quam possint arma corripere.

1. Just as I present asked your Sincerity, now also I commonish [you], that you do not be burdened to send my letters to our holy brother and fellow-presbyter (compresbytero) Jerome. Moreover that your Charity may know in what manner you also ought to write to him for my cause, I sent copies of the letters, both of mine to him, and of his to me, which having been read according to your holy prudence you may easily see both my mode, which I thought was to be served, and his motion, which I not in vain feared. Or if I wrote anything which I ought not, or in a manner [in which] I ought not; send [your] speech by fraternal dilection not to him concerning me, but rather to me myself, by which [having been] corrected I may seek that he ignore [it], if I myself shall have known my fault.

EPISTLE LXXV.

Jerome finally responds to the questions of Augustine proposed in Epistles 28, 40 and 71, namely concerning the title of the book representing ecclesiastical writers, concerning Peter reprehended by Paul in the Epistle to the Galatians, concerning the translation of the Old Testament, and concerning the word for ivy in Jonah: defending sharply his writings and interpretations against Augustine.

To the truly holy and most blessed Pope AUGUSTINE, JEROME, [sends] health in Christ.

CHAPTER I.

1. I received through the deacon Cyprian three epistles at once, nay rather brief booklets, of your Dignation, containing diverse questions, as you name [them], [but] as I sense, reprehensions of my small works: to which if I shall have willed to respond, there will be need of the magnitude of a book. Nevertheless I will endeavor, as much as I am able to do, not to egress the mode of a longer epistle, and not to make a delay for the hastening brother, who three days (*triduum*) before he was about to set out, demanded the epistles from me; so that almost in readiness for battle I was compelled to blurt out these of whatever sort they are, and to respond with a tumultuous speech, not with the maturity of one writing, but with the temerity of one dictating: which for the most part is turned not into doctrine, but into chance; just as sudden wars disturb even the strongest soldiers, and they are compelled to flee before they are able to seize [their] arms.

2. Caeterum nostra armatura Christus est, et apostoli Pauli institutio, qui scribit ad Ephesios: «Assumite arma Dei, ut possitis resistere in die malo.» Et rursum: «State succincti lumbos vestros in veritate, et induti loricam justitiae, et calceati pedes in praeparationem Evangelii pacis: super omnia accipientes scutum fidei, in quo possitis universa tela maligni ignita exstinguere; et galeam salutis accipite, et gladium Spiritus, quod est verbum Dei» (Ephes. VI, 13-17). His quondam telis rex David armatus procedebat ad praelium; et quinque lapides de torrente accipiens levigatos, nihil asperitatis et sordium inter hujus saeculi turbines in sensibus suis esse monstrabat, bibens de torrente in via; et idcirco exaltatus caput superbissimum Goliath suo potissimum mucrone truncavit, percutiens in fronte blasphemum (I Reg. XVII, 40-51), et in ea parte corporis vulnerans, in qua et praesumptor sacerdotii Ozias lepra percutitur (II Par. XXVI, 19); et sanctus gloriatur in Domino dicens: «Signatum est super nos lumen vultus tui, Domine» (Psal. IV, 7). Dicamus igitur et nos, «Paratum cor meum, Deus, paratum cor meum; cantabo et psallam in gloria mea. Exsurge psalterium et cithara; exsurgam diluculo» (Psal. LVI, 8, 9): ut in nobis possit impleri, «Aperi os tuum, et ego adimplebo illud» (Psal. LXXX, 11); et, «Dominus dabit verbum evangelizantibus virtute multa» (Psal. LXVII, 12). Te quoque ipsum orare non dubito, ut inter nos contendentes veritas superet. Non enim tuam quaeris gloriam, sed Christi; cumque tu viceris, et ego vincam si meum errorem intellexero; et e contrario me vincente, tu superas, quia non filii parentibus, sed parentes filiis thesaurizant (II Cor. XII, 14). Et in Paralipomenon libro legimus, quod filii Israel ad pugnandum processerint «mente pacifica» (I Paral. XII, 17, 18), inter ipsos quoque gladios et effusiones sanguinis, et cadavera prostratorum, non suam sed pacis victoriam cogitantes. Respondeamus igitur ad omnia, ac multiplices quaestiones, si Christus jusserit, brevi sermone solvamus. Praetermitto salutationis officia, quibus meum demulces caput; taceo de blanditiis, quibus reprehensionem mei niteris consolari: ad ipsas causas veniam.

CAPUT II.

2. But our armor is Christ, and the institution of the apostle Paul, who writes to the Ephesians: "Take up the arms of God, so that you may be able to resist in the evil day." And again: "Stand girt [about] your loins in truth, and put on the breastplate of justice, and [having your] feet shod in the preparation of the Gospel of peace: above all taking up the shield of faith, in which you may be able to extinguish all the ignited darts of the malignant [one]; and take the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God" (Ephes. VI, 13–17). Armed with these darts king David once proceeded to battle; and taking five smooth stones from the torrent, he showed that there was nothing of asperity and filth in his senses among the whirlwinds of this age, drinking from the torrent in the way; and therefore exalted he truncated the most proud head of Goliath with his own very blade, striking the blasphemer in the forehead (I Reg. XVII, 40–51), and wounding [him] in that part of the body in which also Ozias, the presumer of the priesthood, is struck by leprosy (II Par. XXVI, 19); and the saint glories in the Lord saying: "The light of your countenance is signed upon us, Lord" (Psal. IV, 7). Let us say therefore we also, "Prepared [is] my heart, God, prepared [is] my heart; I will sing and play a psalm in my glory. Arise psaltery and cithara; I will arise at dawn" (Psal. LVI, 8, 9): so that in us it may be able to be fulfilled, "Open your mouth, and I will fill it" (Psal. LXXX, 11); and, "The Lord will give the word to those evangelizing with much virtue" (Psal. LXVII, 12). I do not doubt [that] you yourself also pray, that among us contending truth may surpass. For you do not seek your glory, but [that] of Christ; and when you shall have conquered, I also will conquer if I shall have understood my error; and on the contrary me conquering, you surpass, because not children for parents, but parents for children treasure up (II Cor. XII, 14). And in the book of the Paralipomenon we read that the children of Israel proceeded to battle "with a peaceful mind" (I Paral. XII, 17, 18), among the swords themselves also and effusions of blood, and the cadavers of those prostrated, thinking not of their own victory but of the victory of peace. Let us respond therefore to everything, and solve the multiple questions, if Christ shall have commanded, with a brief speech. I pass over the duties of salutation, with which you stroke my head; I am silent concerning the blandishments, with which you endeavor to console the reprehension of me: I will come to the causes themselves.

CHAPTER II.

3. Dicis accepisse te librum meum a quodam fratre, qui titulum non haberet, in quo Scriptores ecclesiasticos tam graecos quam latinos enumeraverim; cumque ab eo quaereres, ut tuis verbis utar, cur liminaris pagina non esset inscripta, vel quo censeretur nomine, respondisse, appellari Epitaphium: et argumentaris quod recte sic vocaretur, si eorum tantum vel vitas vel scripta ibi legisses, qui jam defuncti essent; cum vero multorum, et eo tempore quo scribebatur, et nunc usque viventium commemorentur opuscula, mirari te cur ei hunc titulum imposuerim. Puto intelligere prudentiam tuam, quod ex opere ipso titulum potueris intelligere. Legisti enim et graecos et latinos, qui vitas virorum illustrium descripserunt, quod nunquam Epitaphium huic operi scripserint, sed de illustribus viris, verbi gratia, ducibus, philosophicis, oratoribus, historicis, poetis, epicis, tragicis, comicis. Epitaphium autem proprie scribitur mortuorum: quod quidem in dormitione sanctae memoriae Nepotiani presbyteri olim fecisse me novi. Ergo hic liber vel de illustribus viris, vel proprie de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis appellandus est; licet a plerisque emendatoribus imperitis, de auctoribus, dicatur inscriptus.

CAPUT III.

4. Secundo loco quaeris, cur dixerim in commentariis Epistolae ad Galatas, Paulum id in Petro non potuisse reprehendere quod ipse fecerat (Gal. II, 11), nec in alio arguere simulationem cujus ipse tenebatur reus; et asseris, reprehensionem apostolicam non fuisse dispensatoriam, sed veram, et me non debere docere mendacium, sed universa quae scripta sunt, ita sonare ut scripta sunt. Ad quae primum respondeo, debuisse prudentiam tuam praefatiunculae commentariorum meorum meminisse, dicentis ex persona mea: «Quid igitur? ego stultus ac temerarius, qui id pollicear quod ille non potuit? Minime: quin potius in eo, ut mihi videor, cautior atque timidior, quod imbecillitatem virium mearum sentiens, Origenis commentarios secutus sum. Scripsit enim ille vir in Epistolam Pauli ad Galatas quinque proprie volumina, et decimum Stromatum suorum librum commatico super explanatione ejus sermone complevit; tractatus quoque varios, et excerpta, quae sola possent sufficere, composuit.

3. You say that you received my book from a certain brother, which did not have a title, in which I enumerated ecclesiastical writers both Greek and Latin; and when you sought from him, so that I may use your words, why the liminary page was not inscribed, or by what name it was assessed, he responded, that it was called an Epitaph: and you argue that it would be correctly so called, if you had read there only the lives or writings of those who were already deceased; but since the small works of many, both at that time when it was being written, and even now living, are commemorated, you wonder why I imposed this title upon it. I think your Prudence understands that you were able to understand the title from the work itself. For you have read both Greeks and Latins who described the lives of illustrious men, that they never wrote "Epitaph" for this work, but "Concerning Illustrious Men," for example, leaders, philosophers, orators, historians, poets, epic, tragic, comic. An Epitaph however is properly written of the dead: which indeed I know that I once did in the falling asleep of the presbyter Nepotian of holy memory. Therefore this book is to be called either "Concerning Illustrious Men," or properly "Concerning Ecclesiastical Writers"; although by most unskillful emenders it is said to be inscribed "Concerning Authors."

CHAPTER III.

4. In the second place you ask, why I said in the commentaries on the Epistle to the Galatians, that Paul was not able to reprehend that in Peter which he himself had done (Gal. II, 11), nor to argue simulation in another of which he himself was held guilty; and you assert, that the apostolic reprehension was not dispensatory (dispensatoriam), but true, and that I ought not to teach a lie, but all things which are written, to sound just as they are written. To which first I respond, that your Prudence ought to have remembered the little preface of my commentaries, saying in my own person: "What therefore? am I foolish and temerarious, who should promise that which he was not able? By no means: but rather in this, as I seem to myself, more cautious and timid, because sensing the imbecility of my strengths, I followed the commentaries of Origen. For that man wrote specifically five volumes on the Epistle of Paul to the Galatians, and he completed the tenth book of his Stromata with a commatic speech upon the explanation of its discourse; he also composed various treatises, and excerpts, which alone could suffice.

Praetermitto Didymum videntem meum, et Laodicenum, de ecclesia nuper egressum, et Alexandrum veterem haereticum, Eusebium quoque Emisenum, et Theodorum Heracleotem, qui et ipsi nonnullos super hac re commentariolos reliquerunt. E quibus vel si pauca decerperem, fieret aliquid quod non penitus contemneretur. Itaque ut simpliciter fatear, legi haec omnia, et in mente mea plurima coacervans, accito notario, vel mea, vel aliena dictavi, nec ordinis, nec verborum interdum, nec sensuum memor. Jam Domini misericordiae est, ne per imperitiam nostram ab aliis bene dicta dispereant, et non placeant inter extraneos, quae placent inter suos.» Si quid igitur reprehensione dignum putaveras in explanatione nostra, eruditionis tuae fuerat quaerere utrum ea quae scripsimus haberentur in graecis, ut, si illi non dixissent, tunc meam proprie sententiam condemnares; praesertim cum libere in praefatione confessus sim, Origenis commentarios me esse secutum, et vel mea vel aliena dictasse, et in fine ejusdem capituli quod reprehendis, scripserim: «Si cui iste non placet sensus, quo nec Petrus peccasse, nec Paulus procaciter ostenditur arguisse majorem; debet exponere, qua consequentia Paulus in altero reprehendat quod ipse commisit.» Ex quo ostendi, me non ex definito id defendere, quod in graecis legeram, sed ea expressisse quae legeram, ut lectoris arbitrio derelinquerem, utrum probanda essent an improbanda.

5. Tu igitur, ne quod ego petieram faceres, novum argumentum reperisti, ut assereres, Gentiles qui in Christum credidissent, Legis onere liberos; eos autem qui ex Judaeis crederent, Legi esse subjectos: ut per utrorumque personam, et Paulus recte reprehenderet eos qui Legem servarent, quasi doctor Gentium; et Petrus jure reprehenderetur qui princeps circumcisionis (Gal. II, 8) id imperavit Gentibus, quod soli qui ex Judaeis erant, debuerint observare. Hoc si placet, imo quia placet, ut quicumque credunt ex Judaeis debitores sint legis faciendae; tu ut episcopus in toto orbe notissimus, debes hanc promulgare sententiam, et in assensum tuum omnes coepiscopos trahere. Ego in parvo tuguriunculo, cum monachis, id est compeccatoribus meis, de magnis statuere non audeo, nisi hoc ingenue confiteri, me majorum scripta legere, et in commentariis, secundum omnium consuetudinem, varias ponere explanationes, ut e multis sequatur unusquisque quod velit. Quod quidem te puto et in saeculari litteratura, et in divinis Libris legisse, et probasse.

I pass over Didymus my seer (videntem), and the Laodicean, lately gone out from the Church, and Alexander the ancient heretic, Eusebius of Emesa also, and Theodore of Heraclea, who also themselves left some small commentaries upon this matter. From which even if I should cull few things, something would be made which would not be completely despised. Therefore that I may confess simply, I read all these, and coacervating very many things in my mind, having summoned a notary, I dictated either my own things, or those of others, mindful sometimes neither of order, nor of words, nor of senses. Now it is of the mercy of the Lord, lest through our unskillfulness things well said by others should perish, and should not please among strangers, which please among their own." If therefore you had thought anything worthy of reprehension in our explanation, it had been of your erudition to seek whether those things which we wrote were held in the Greek [works], so that, if they had not said [them], then you might properly condemn my opinion; especially since I freely confessed in the preface, that I followed the commentaries of Origen, and dictated either my own or others' things, and at the end of the same chapter which you reprehend, I wrote: "If to anyone that sense does not please, by which neither Peter is shown to have sinned, nor Paul procaciously to have argued [against] a greater; he ought to expound, by what consequence Paul should reprehend in another what he himself committed." From which I showed, that I did not defend that from a definition which I had read in the Greek [works], but I expressed those things which I had read, so that I might leave it to the judgment of the reader, whether they were to be approved or disapproved.

5. You therefore, lest you should do what I had sought, found a new argument, so that you might assert, that the Gentiles who had believed in Christ [were] free from the burden of the Law; but those who believed from the Jews [were] subject to the Law: so that through the person of both, Paul might correctly reprehend those who served the Law, as the teacher of the Gentiles; and Peter might justly be reprehended who, being the leader of the circumcision (Gal. II, 8), commanded that to the Gentiles, which only those who were from the Jews ought to have observed. If this pleases, nay rather because it pleases, that whoever believe from the Jews are debtors of performing the law; you as a bishop most known in the whole world, ought to promulgate this opinion, and draw all [your] fellow-bishops into your assent. I in a small little hut, with monks, that is with my fellow-sinners, do not dare to decree concerning great things, unless to confess this ingenuously, that I read the writings of the elders (majorum), and in the commentaries, according to the custom of all, I place various explanations, so that from many each one may follow what he wills. Which indeed I think you have read, and approved, both in secular literature, and in the divine Books.

6. Hanc autem explanationem, quam primus Origenes in decimo Stromatum libro, ubi Epistolaam Pauli ad Galatas interpretatur, et caeteri deinceps interpretes sunt secuti, illa vel maxime causa subintroducunt, ut Porphyrio respondeant blasphemanti, qui Pauli arguit procacitatem, quod principem Apostolorum Petrum ausus est reprehendere, et arguere in faciem, ac ratione constringere, quod male fecerit, id est, in eo errore fuerit, in quo fuit ipse qui alium arguit delinquentem. Quid dicam de Joanne, qui dudum in pontificali gradu Constantinopolitanam rexit Ecclesiam, et proprie super hoc capitulo latissimum exaravit librum, in quo Origenis et veterum sententiam est secutus? Si igitur me reprehendis errantem, patere me, quaeso, errare cum talibus; et cum me erroris mei multos socios habere perspexeris, tu veritatis tuae saltem unum adstipulatorem proferre debebis. Haec de explanatione unius capituli Epistolae ad Galatas.

7. Sed ne videar adversus rationem tuam niti testium numero, et occasione virorum illustrium subterfugere veritatem, nec manum audere conserere, breviter de Scripturis exempla proponam. In Actibus Apostolorum, vox facta est ad Petrum dicens, «Surge, Petre, occide et manduca», id est, omnia animalia quadrupedum, et serpentium terrae, et volatilium coeli. Quo dicto, ostenditur nullum hominem secundum naturam esse pollutum, sed aequaliter omnes ad Christi Evangelium provocari. Ad quod respondit Petrus: «Absit, quia nunquam manducavi commune et immundum. Et vox ad eum de coelo secundo facta est, dicens: Quae Deus mundavit, tu ne commune dixeris.» Ivit itaque Caesaream, et ingressus ad Cornelium, «aperiens os suum, dixit: In veritate comperi, quia non est personarum acceptor Deus; sed in omni gente, qui timet eum et operatur justitiam, acceptus est illi.» Denique «cecidit Spiritus sanctus super eos, et obstupuerunt ex circumcisione fideles, qui venerant cum Petro, quod et in Nationes gratia Spiritus sancti fuisset effusa. Tunc respondit Petrus: Numquid aquam quis prohibere potest, ut non baptizentur hi qui Spiritum sanctum acceperunt sicut et nos? Et jussit eos in nomine Jesu Christi baptizari (Act. X, 13-48). Audierunt autem Apostoli et fratres qui eraat in Judaea, quia et gentes receperunt verbum Dei. Cum autem ascendisset Petrus Jerosolymam, disceptabant adversus illum qui erant ex circumcisione, dicentes: Quare introisti ad viros praeputium habentes, et manducasti cum illis?» Quibus omni ratione exposita, novissime orationem suam hoc sermone conclusit: «Si ergo eamdem gratiam dedit illis Deus, sicut et nobis qui credidimus in Dominum Jesum Christum; ego quis eram, qui possem prohibere Deum? His auditis, tacuerunt; et glorificaverunt Deum dicentes: Ergo et Gentibus Deus poenitentiam ad vitam dedit» (Ibid. XI, 1-18).

6. Moreover this explanation, which Origen first in the tenth book of the Stromata, where he interprets the Epistle of Paul to the Galatians, and the rest from then on interpreters have followed, they sub-introduce for this cause especially, so that they may respond to the blaspheming Porphyry, who reprehends the procacity of Paul, because he dared to reprehend Peter, the leader of the Apostles, and to argue to [his] face, and to constrain [him] by reason, because he did badly, that is, he was in that error in which he himself was who argued [against] the other delinquent. What shall I say of John, who for some time in the pontifical grade ruled the Church of Constantinople, and specifically upon this chapter plowed out a very broad book, in which he followed the opinion of Origen and of the elders? If therefore you reprehend me erring, suffer me, I seek, to err with such [men]; and when you shall have perceived me to have many companions of my error, you ought to proffer at least one stipulator of your truth. These [things] concerning the explanation of one chapter of the Epistle to the Galatians.

7. But lest I seem to strive against your reason by the number of witnesses, and by the occasion of illustrious men to subterfuge the truth, nor dare to join hand [in battle], I will propose briefly examples from the Scriptures. In the Acts of the Apostles, a voice was made to Peter saying, "Rise, Peter, kill and eat," that is, all animals of quadrupeds, and of serpents of the earth, and of volatiles of heaven. By which said [thing], it is shown [that] no man according to nature is polluted, but all are equally provoked to the Gospel of Christ. To which Peter responded: "Far be it, because I have never eaten [anything] common and unclean. And a voice was made to him from heaven a second time, saying: Those things which God has cleansed, you shall not call common." He went therefore to Caesarea, and having entered to Cornelius, "opening his mouth, he said: In truth I have found, that God is not an acceptor of persons; but in every nation, he who fears him and works justice, is accepted to him." Finally "the Holy Spirit fell upon them, and the faithful from the circumcision, who had come with Peter, were stupefied, because also into the Nations the grace of the Holy Spirit had been poured out. Then Peter responded: Can anyone prohibit water, so that these who have received the Holy Spirit just as we [have] should not be baptized? And he ordered them to be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ (Acts X, 13–48). Moreover the Apostles and the brothers who were in Judea heard, that also the nations received the word of God. But when Peter had ascended to Jerusalem, those who were from the circumcision discepted against him, saying: Why did you enter to men having a prepuce, and eat with them?" To whom having been expounded by every reason, most recently he concluded his speech with this discourse: "If therefore God gave the same grace to them, just as to us who have believed in the Lord Jesus Christ; who was I, who could prohibit God? These [things] having been heard, they were silent; and they glorified God saying: Therefore also to the Nations God has given repentance unto life" (Ibid. XI, 1–18).

Rursum, cum multo post tempore Paulus et Barnabas venissent Antiochiam, et, congregata Ecclesia, retulissent «quanta fecisset Deus cum illis, et quia aperuisset Deus Gentibus ostium fidei (Ibid. XIV, 26); quidam, descendentes de Judaea, docebant fratres atque dicebant: Nisi circumcidamini secundum morem Moysi, non potestis salvi fieri. Commota igitur seditione non minima adversus Paulum et Barnabam, statuerunt ascendere» et ipsi qui accusabantur, et hi qui accusabant, «ad Apostolos et presbyteros Jerosolymam super hac quaestione. Cumque Jerosolymam perrexissent, exsurrexerunt quidam de haeresi Pharisaeorum, qui crediderant in Christum, dicentes: Oportet circumcidi eos, et praecipere illis ut servent Legem Moysi. Et cum magna super hoc verbo oriretur quaestio, Petrus» solita libertate: «Viri,» inquit, «fratres, vos scitis quoniam ab antiquis diebus in nobis elegit Deus per os meum audire Gentes verbum Evangelii et credere; et qui novit corda Deus, testimonium perhibuit, dans illis Spiritum sanctum, sicut et nobis, et nihil discrevit inter nos et illos, fide purificans corda illorum. Nunc autem quid tentatis Deum imponere jugum super cervicem discipulorum, quod neque patres nostri, neque nos portare potuimus? Sed per gratiam Domini nostri Jesu Christi credimus salvari, quemadmodum et illi. Tacuit autem omnis multitudo» (Act. XV, 1-12), et in sententiam ejus Jacobus apostolus, et omnes simul presbyteri transierunt.

8. Haec non debent molesta esse lectori, sed et illi et mihi utilia, ut probemus, ante apostolum Paulum non ignorasse Petrum, imo principem hujus fuisse decreti, Legem post Evangelium non esse servandam. Denique tantae Petrus auctoritatis fuit, ut Paulus in Epistola sua scripserit: «Deinde post annos tres veni Jerosolymam videre Petrum, et mansi apud eum diebus quindecim» (Gal. I, 18). Rursumque in consequentibus: «Post annos quatuordecim ascendi iterum Jerosolymam cum Barnaba, assumpto et Tito. Ascendi autem secundum revelationem, et exposui eis Evangelium quod praedico inter Gentes:» ostendens se non habuisse securitatem Evangelii praedicandi, nisi Petri, et qui cum eo erant, fuisset sententia roboratum. Statimque sequitur: «Separatim autem his qui videbantur aliquid esse, ne forte in vacuum currerem aut cucurrissem.» Quare separatim, et non in publico? Ne forte fidelibus ex numero Judaeorum, qui Legem putabant esse servandam, et sic credendum in Domino Salvatore, fidei scandulum nasceretur.

Again, when after much time Paul and Barnabas had come to Antioch, and, the Church having been congregated, they had related "how great things God had done with them, and that God had opened to the Nations the door of faith (Ibid. XIV, 26); certain [men], descending from Judea, were teaching the brothers and saying: Unless you are circumcised according to the custom of Moses, you are not able to be saved. A sedition not minimal having been moved therefore against Paul and Barnabas, they determined to ascend" both they themselves who were accused, and these who were accusing, "to the Apostles and presbyters at Jerusalem upon this question. And when they had proceeded to Jerusalem, certain from the heresy of the Pharisees, who had believed in Christ, rose up, saying: It behooves them to be circumcised, and to command them that they serve the Law of Moses. And when a great question arose upon this word, Peter" with [his] accustomed liberty: "Men," he said, "brothers, you know that from ancient days among us God chose by my mouth that the Nations should hear the word of the Gospel and believe; and God who knows the hearts, rendered testimony, giving to them the Holy Spirit, just as to us, and distinguished nothing between us and them, by faith purifying their hearts. Now therefore why do you tempt God to impose a yoke upon the neck of the disciples, which neither our fathers, nor we were able to carry? But by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ we believe to be saved, in the same manner as also they. Moreover the whole multitude was silent" (Acts XV, 1–12), and the apostle James, and all the presbyters together passed over into his opinion.

8. These things ought not to be molesting to the reader, but useful both to him and to me, so that we may prove, that before the apostle Paul, Peter was not ignorant, nay rather was the leader of this decree, that the Law is not to be served after the Gospel. Finally Peter was of such great authority, that Paul wrote in his Epistle: "Then after three years I came to Jerusalem to see Peter, and I remained with him fifteen days" (Gal. I, 18). And again in the following [things]: "After fourteen years I ascended again to Jerusalem with Barnabas, having taken up also Titus. Moreover I ascended according to revelation, and I expounded to them the Gospel which I preach among the Nations:" showing that he had not had the security of preaching the Gospel, unless it had been corroborated by the opinion of Peter, and of those who were with him. And immediately it follows: "Moreover separately to those who seemed to be something, lest perhaps I should run or had run in vain." Why separately, and not in public? Lest perhaps a scandal of faith should be born to the faithful from the number of the Jews, who were thinking that the Law was to be served, and thus [that they ought] to believe in the Lord Savior.

Ergo et eo tempore cum Petrus venisset Antiochiam (licet hoc Apostolorum Acta non scribant, sed affirmanti Paulo credendum sit), in faciem illi Paulus restitisse se scribit, quia reprehensibilis erat. Prius enim quam venirent quidam a Jacobo, cum Gentibus edebat; cum autem venissent, subtrahebat se, et segregabat, timens eos qui ex circumcisione erant. Et consenserunt cum illo caeteri Judaei, ita ut et Barnabas adduceretur ab his in illam simulationem. «Sed cum vidissem,» inquit, «quod non recte ingrediuntur ad veritatem Evangelii, dixi Petro coram omnibus: Si tu, cum sis Judaeus, gentiliter et non judaice vivis; quomodo cogis Gentes judaizare?» (Gal. II, 1, 2, 14.) et caetera. Nulli ergo dubium est quod Petrus apostolus sententiae hujus, cujus nunc praevaricator arguitur, primus auctor extiterit. Causa autem praevaricationis, timor est Judaeorum. Dicit enim Scriptura quod primum edebat cum Gentibus; cum autem venissent quidam a Jacobo, subtrahebat se et segregabat, timens eos qui ex circumcisione erant. Timebat autem Judaeos quorum erat apostolus, ne per occasionem Gentilium a fide Christi recederent, et imitator pastoris boni, perderet gregem sibi creditum.

9. Sicut ergo ostendimus, Petrum bene quidem sensisse de abolitione Legis Mosaicae, sed ad simulationem observandae ejus timore compulsum; videamus an ipse Paulus qui alium arguit, tale quid fecerit. Legimus in eodem libro: «Perambulabat autem Paulus Syriam, et Ciliciam, confirmans Ecclesias: pervenitque in Derben, et Listram; et ecce discipulus quidam erat ibi, nomine Timotheus, filius mulieris viduae fidelis, patre autem gentili. Huic testimonium reddebant qui Listris erant et Iconio fratres. Hunc voluit Paulus secum proficisci; et assumens circumcidit eum propter Judaeos qui erant in illis locis: sciebant enim omnes quod pater ejus gentilis esset» (Act. XV, 41, et XVI, 1-3). O beate apostole Paule, qui in Petro reprehenderas simulationem, qua subtraxit se a Gentilibus propter metum Judaeorum qui a Jacobo venerant; cur Timotheum, filium hominis gentilis, utique et ipsum gentilem (neque enim Judaeus erat, qui non fuerat circumcisus), contra sententiam tuam circumcidere cogeris? Respondebis mihi: Propter Judaeos qui erant in illis locis. Qui igitur tibi ignoscis in circumcisione discipuli venientis ex Gentibus, ignosce et Petro, praecessori tuo, quod aliqua fecerit metu fidelium Judaeorum. Rursum scriptum est: «Paulus vero cum adhuc sustinuisset dies multos, fratribus valedicens, navigavit Syriam, et cum eo Priscilla et Aquila: et totondit sibi in Cenchreis caput; votum enim habuerat» (Ibid. XVIII, 18).

Therefore also at that time when Peter had come to Antioch (although the Acts of the Apostles do not write this, but it is to be believed by the affirming Paul), Paul writes that he resisted him to [his] face, because he was reprehensible. For before certain [men] came from James, he was eating with the Nations; but when they had come, he was withdrawing himself, and segregating [himself], fearing those who were from the circumcision. And the rest of the Jews consented with him, so that also Barnabas was led away by these into that simulation. "But when I had seen," he said, "that they do not correctly walk to the truth of the Gospel, I said to Peter before everyone: If you, since you are a Jew, live in a gentile manner and not in a judicial [manner]; in what way do you compel the Nations to judaize?" (Gal. II, 1, 2, 14.) and the rest. To no one therefore is it a doubt that the apostle Peter was the first author of this opinion, of which he is now argued a prevaricator. Moreover the cause of prevarication is the fear of the Jews. For the Scripture says that at first he was eating with the Nations; but when certain [men] had come from James, he was withdrawing himself and segregating [himself], fearing those who were from the circumcision. Moreover he was fearing the Jews of whom he was the apostle, lest by the occasion of the Gentiles they should recede from the faith of Christ, and he, an imitator of the good shepherd, should lose the flock credited to him.

9. Just as therefore we have shown, that Peter indeed thought well concerning the abolition of the Mosaic Law, but was compelled by fear to the simulation of observing it; let us see whether Paul himself who reprehends the other, did any such thing. We read in the same book: "Moreover Paul was perambulating Syria, and Cilicia, confirming the Churches: and he arrived in Derbe, and Lystra; and behold a certain disciple was there, by name Timothy, the son of a faithful widow woman, but [with] a gentile father. To this [man] the brothers who were at Lystra and Iconium rendered testimony. Paul willed this [man] to set out with him; and taking [him] he circumcised him because of the Jews who were in those places: for they all knew that his father was a gentile" (Acts XV, 41, and XVI, 1–3). O blessed apostle Paul, who had reprehended in Peter the simulation by which he withdrew himself from the Gentiles because of the fear of the Jews who had come from James; why are you compelled to circumcise Timothy, the son of a gentile man, certainly a gentile himself (for he was not a Jew, who had not been circumcised), against your opinion? You will respond to me: Because of the Jews who were in those places. Therefore you who ignore [it] in yourself in the circumcision of a disciple coming from the Gentiles, ignore it also in Peter, your predecessor, that he did some things by fear of the faithful Jews. Again it is written: "Moreover Paul when he had yet sustained many days, saying farewell to the brothers, sailed to Syria, and with him Priscilla and Aquila: and he shaved his head in Cenchreae; for he had had a vow" (Ibid. XVIII, 18).

Esto, ut ibi timore Judaeorum compulsus sit facere quod nolebat; quare comam nutrivit ex voto, et postea eam in Cenchreis totondit ex Lege, quod Nazaraei qui se Deo voverint, juxta praeceptum Moysi facere consueverunt? (Num. VI, 18.)

10. Verum haec ad comparationem ejus rei quae sequitur, parva sunt. Refert Lucas, sacrae historiae scriptor: «Cum venissemus Jerosolymam, libenter susceperunt nos fratres;» et sequenti die Jacobus et omnes seniores qui cum eo erant, «Evangelio illius comprobato, dixerunt ei, Vides, frater, quot millia sunt in Judaea, qui crediderunt in Christum, et hi omnes aemulatores sunt Legis. Audierunt autem de te quod discessionem doceas a Moyse eorum qui per Gentes sunt Judaeorum, dicens non debere eos circumcidere filios suos, neque secundum consuetudinem ingredi. Quid ergo est? Utique oportet convenire multitudinem; audierunt enim te supervenisse. Hoc ergo fac quod tibi dicimus. Sunt nobis viri quatuor votum habentes super se; his assumptis, sanctifica te cum ipsis, et impende in eos ut radant capita; et scient omnes quia quae de te audierunt falsa sunt, sed ambulas et ipse custodiens Legem. Tunc Paulus, assumptis viris, postera die purificatus, cum illis intravit in templum, annuntians expletionem dierum purificationis, donec offerretur pro unoquoque eorum oblatio» (Act. XXI, 17-26). O Paule, et in hoc te rursus interrogo; cur caput raseris, cur nudipedalia exercueris de cerimoniis Judaeorum, cur obtuleris sacrificia, et secundum Legem hostiae pro te fuerint immolatae? Utique respondebis: Ne scandalizarentur qui ex Judaeis crediderant. Simulasti ergo Judaeum ut Judaeos lucrifaceres; et hanc ipsam simulationem Jacobus et caeteri te docuere presbyteri: sed tamen evadere non potuisti. Orta enim seditione cum occidendus esses, raptus es a tribuno, et ab eo missus Caesaream, sub custodia militum diligenti, ne te Judaei quasi simulatorem ac destructorem Legis occiderent; atque unde Romam perveniens, in hospitio quod tibi conduxeras, Christum et Judaeis et Gentibus praedicasti: et sententia tua Neronis gladio confirmata est (Act. XXIII, 23, et XXVIII, 14, 30).

11. Didicimus quod propter metum Judaeorum, et Petrus et Paulus aequaliter finxerint se Legis praecepta servare. Qua igitur fronte, qua audacia Paulus in altero reprehendat quod ipse commisit?

Be it, that there he was compelled by fear of the Jews to do what he was unwilling; why did he nourish [his] hair from a vow, and afterwards shave it in Cenchreae from the Law, which the Nazirites (Nazaraei) who have vowed themselves to God, were accustomed to do according to the precept of Moses? (Num. VI, 18.)

10. But these [things] are small in comparison to that matter which follows. Luke, the writer of the sacred history, relates: "When we had come to Jerusalem, the brothers received us gladly;" and on the following day James and all the elders who were with him, "his Gospel having been approved, said to him, You see, brother, how many thousands there are in Judea, who have believed in Christ, and all these are emulators of the Law. Moreover they have heard concerning you that you teach a secession from Moses of those Jews who are through the Nations, saying they ought not to circumcise their sons, nor to enter according to custom. What is it therefore? Certainly it behooves the multitude to convene; for they have heard that you have arrived. Therefore do this which we say to you. There are to us four men having a vow upon themselves; these having been taken up, sanctify yourself with them, and expend upon them so that they may shave [their] heads; and all will know that those things which they heard concerning you are false, but you yourself walk keeping the Law. Then Paul, the men having been taken up, on the following day having been purified, entered with them into the temple, announcing the completion of the days of purification, until an oblation should be offered for each one of them" (Acts XXI, 17–26). O Paul, and in this I interrogate you again; why would you shave [your] head, why would you exercise the barefooted-processions (nudipedalia) from the ceremonies of the Jews, why would you offer sacrifices, and according to the Law victims were immolated for you? Certainly you will respond: Lest those who had believed from the Jews should be scandalized. Therefore you simulated a Jew so that you might gain the Jews; and this simulation James and the rest of the presbyters taught you: but nevertheless you were not able to evade. For a sedition having arisen when you were to be killed, you were snatched by the tribune, and by him sent to Caesarea, under the diligent custody of soldiers, lest the Jews should kill you as if a simulator and destructor of the Law; and whence arriving at Rome, in the lodging which you had hired for yourself, you preached Christ both to Jews and to Gentiles: and your sentence was confirmed by the sword of Nero (Acts XXIII, 23, and XXVIII, 14, 30).

11. We have learned that because of the fear of the Jews, both Peter and Paul equally feigned that they served the precepts of the Law. Therefore by what forehead, by what audacity should Paul reprehend in another what he himself committed?

Ego, imo alii ante me exposuerunt causam quam putaverant, non officiosum mendacium defendentes, sicut tu scribis, sed docentes honestam dispensationem; ut et Apostolorum prudentiam demonstrarent, et blasphemantis Porphyrii impudentiam coercerent, qui Petrum et Paulum puerili dicit inter se pugnasse certamine; imo exarsisse Paulum in invidiam virtutum Petri, et ea scripsisse jactanter quae vel non fecerit, vel si fecerit, procaciter fecerit, id in alio reprehendens quod ipse commiserit. Interpretati sunt illi ut potuerunt; tu quomodo istum locum edisseres? Utique meliora dicturus, qui veterum sententiam reprobasti.

CAPUT IV.

12. Scribis ad me in epistola tua «Neque enim a me docendus es, quomodo intelligatur quod idem Apostolus dicit, Factus sum Judaeis tanquam Judaeus, ut Judaeos lucrifacerem (I Cor. IX, 20). et caetera, quae ibi dicuntur compassione misericordiae, non simulatione fallaciae. Fit enim tanquam aeger, qui ministrat aegroto; non cum se febres habere mentitur, sed cum animo condolentis cogitat quemadmodum sibi serviri vellet, si ipse aegrotaret. Nam utique Judaeus erat; Christianus autem factus, non Judaeorum sacramenta reliquerat, quae convenienter ille populus, et legitimo tempore quo oportebat, acceperat: ideoque suscepit ea celebranda cum jam Christi esset apostolus, ut doceret non esse perniciosa his qui ea vellent, sicut a parentibus per Legem acceperant, custodire, etiam cum in Christum credidissent; non tamen in eis jam constituerent spem salutis, quoniam per Dominum Jesum salus ipsa quae illis sacramentis significabatur, advenerat.» Totius sermonis tui, quem disputatione longissima protraxisti, hic sensus est ut Petrus non erraverit in eo quod his qui ex Judaeis crediderant, putaverit Legem esse servandam; sed in eo a recti linea deviarit, quod Gentes coegerit judoizare. Coegerit autem non docentis imperio, sed conversationis exemplo. Et Paulus non contraria sit locutus his quae ipse gesserat; sed quare Petrus eos qui ex Gentibus erant, judaizare compelleret.

I, nay rather others before me have expounded the cause which they had thought, not defending an officious lie, as you write, but teaching an honest dispensation; so that they might both demonstrate the prudence of the Apostles, and coerce the impudence of the blaspheming Porphyry, who says [that] Peter and Paul fought among themselves in a childish contest; nay rather [that] Paul flared up into the envy of the virtues of Peter, and wrote boastfully those things which either he did not do, or if he did, he did procaciously, reprehending that in another which he himself committed. They interpreted as they were able; how do you edissertate that place? Certainly [you are] about to say better things, who have reprobated the opinion of the elders.

CHAPTER IV.

12. You write to me in your epistle: "For neither are you to be taught by me, in what manner that is understood which the same Apostle says, I have been made to the Jews as if a Jew, so that I might gain the Jews (I Cor. IX, 20), and the rest, which are said there by the compassion of mercy, not by the simulation of fallacy. For he is made as if sick, who ministers to the sick; not when he lies that he has fevers, but when with the mind of one condoling he thinks in what manner he would will to be served to himself, if he himself were sick. For certainly he was a Jew; but having been made a Christian, he had not left the sacraments of the Jews, which that people appropriately, and in the legitimate time in which it behooved, had received: and therefore he took them up to be celebrated when he was already an apostle of Christ, so that he might teach [that] they are not pernicious to those who should will to keep them, just as they had received through the Law from [their] parents, even when they had believed in Christ; nevertheless they should not yet constitute in them the hope of salvation, since through the Lord Jesus the salvation itself which was signified by those sacraments, had arrived." Of your whole speech, which you protracted by a very long disputation, this is the sense: that Peter did not err in that, that he thought the Law was to be served for those who had believed from the Jews; but in that he deviated from the line of the right, that he compelled the Nations to judaize. Moreover he compelled not by the empire of one teaching, but by the example of conversation. And Paul should not have spoken things contrary to those which he himself had done; but why Peter should compel those who were from the Nations, to judaize.

13. Haec ergo summa est quaestionis, imo sententiae tuae, ut post Evangelium Christi, bene faciant Judaei credentes, si Legis mandata custodiant; hoc est si sacrificia offerant quae obtulit Paulus, si filios circumcidant, si sabbatum servent, ut Paulus in Timotheo, et omnes observavere Judaei. Si hoc verum est, in Cerinthi et Ebionis haeresim delabimur, qui credentes in Christum, propter hoc solum a patribus anathematizati sunt, quod Legis cerimonias Christi Evangelio miscuerunt, et sic nova confessi sunt, ut vetera non omitterent. Quid dicam de Ebionitis, qui Christianos esse se simulant? Usque hodie per totas Orientis synagogas inter Judaeos haeresis est, quae dicitur Mineorum, et a Pharisaeis nunc usque damnatur, quos vulgo Nazaraeos nuncupant, qui credunt in Christum Filium Dei, natum de virgine Maria; et eum dicunt esse, qui sub Pontio Pilato passus est, et resurrexit, in quem et nos credimus: sed dum volunt et Judaei esse et Christiani, nec Judaei sunt nec Christiani. Oro ergo te ut, qui nostro vulnusculo medendum putas, quod acu foratum, imo punctum, ut dicitur, hujus sententiae medearis vulneri, quod lancea, et, ut ita dicam, phalaricae mole percussum est. Neque enim ejusdem est criminis in explanatione Scripturarum diversas majorum sententias ponere, et haeresim sceleratissimam rursum in Ecclesiam introducere. Sin autem haec nobis incumbit necessitas, ut Judaeos cum legitimis suis suscipiamus, et licebit eis observare in ecclesiis Christi quod exercuerunt in synagogis satanae, dicam quod sentio: non illi Christiani fient, sed nos Judaeos facient.

14. Quis enim hoc Christianorum patienter audiat, quod in tua epistola continetur: «Judaeus erat Paulus; Christianus autem factus, non Judaeorum sacramenta reliquerat, quae convenienter ille populus, et legitimo tempore quo oportebat, acceperat: ideoque suscepit celebranda ea cum jam Christi esset apostolus, ut doceret non esse perniciosa his qui ea vellent, sicut a parentibus per Legem acceperant, custodire.» Rursum obsecro te, ut pace tua meum dolorem audias.

13. This therefore is the sum of the question, nay rather of your opinion, that after the Gospel of Christ, the believing Jews do well if they keep the mandates of the Law; that is, if they offer sacrifices which Paul offered, if they circumcise [their] sons, if they keep the Sabbath, as Paul [did] in Timothy, and all the Jews observed. If this is true, we fall into the heresy of Cerinthus and Ebion, who believing in Christ, were anathematized by the fathers for this alone, because they mixed the ceremonies of the Law with the Gospel of Christ, and thus they confessed the new things, so that they should not omit the old. What shall I say of the Ebionites, who simulate themselves to be Christians? Even until today through all the synagogues of the Orient among the Jews there is a heresy, which is called of the Mineans (Mineorum), and is damned by the Pharisees even until now, whom they commonly name Nazirites (Nazaraeos), who believe in Christ the Son of God, born of the virgin Mary; and they say he is the one, who suffered under Pontius Pilate, and rose again, in whom we also believe: but while they will to be both Jews and Christians, they are neither Jews nor Christians. I pray you therefore that you, who think our small wound is to be healed, which [was] perforated by a needle, nay rather a puncture, as it is said, should heal the wound of this opinion, which was struck by a lance, and, so that I may say so, by the mass of a phalarica. For it is not of the same crime to place in the explanation of the Scriptures various opinions of the elders, and to introduce again a most wicked heresy into the Church. But if this necessity is incumbent upon us, that we should receive the Jews with their legitimate [observances], and it will be permitted to them to observe in the churches of Christ what they exercised in the synagogues of Satan, I will say what I sense: they will not become Christians, but they will make us Jews.

14. For who of the Christians would patiently hear this, which is contained in your epistle: "Paul was a Jew; but having been made a Christian, he had not left the sacraments of the Jews, which that people appropriately, and in the legitimate time in which it behooved, had received: and therefore he took up those things to be celebrated when he was already an apostle of Christ, so that he might teach [that] they are not pernicious to those who should will to keep them, just as they had received through the Law from [their] parents." Again I beseech you, that by your leave you may hear my grief.

Judaeorum Paulus cerimonias observabat, cum jam Christi esset apostolus, et dicis «eas non esse perniciosas his qui eas vellent, sicut a parentibus acceperant, custodire.» Ego e contrario loquar, et reclamante mundo, libera voce pronuntiem, cerimonias Judaeorum et perniciosas esse, et mortiferas Christianis; et quicumque eas observaverit, sive ex Judaeis, sive ex Gentibus, eum in barathrum diaboli devolutum. «Finis enim Legis Christus, ad justitiam omni credenti, Judaeo scilicet et Gentili» (Rom. X, 4): neque enim omni credenti erit finis ad justitiam, si Judaeus excipitur. Et in Evangelio legimus: «Lex et Prophetae usque ad Joannem Baptistam» (Matth. XI, 13, et Luc. XVI, 16). Et in alio loco: «Propterea ergo magis quaerebant eum Judaei interficere, quia non solum solvebat sabbatum, sed et Patrem suum dicebat esse Deum, aequalem se faciens Deo» (Joan. V, 18). Et iterum: «De plenitudine ejus nos omnes accepimus, et gratiam pro gratia, quia Lex per Moysen data est; Gratia autem et veritas per Jesum Christum facta est» (Ibid. I, 16, 17). Pro Legis gratia quae praeteriit, gratiam Evangelii accepimus permanentem; et pro umbris et imaginibus veteris Instrumenti, veritas per Jesum Christum facta est. Jeremias quoque ex persona Dei vaticinatur: «Ecce dies veniunt, dicit Dominus, et consummabo domui Israel et domui Juda testamentum novum; non secundum testamentum quod disposui patribus eorum, in die quando apprehendi manum eorum, ut educerem eos de terra Aegypti» (Jer. XXXI, 31, 32). Observa quid dicat, quod non populo Gentilium, ei qui ante non receperat Testamentum, sed populo Judaeorum, qui Legem dederat per Moysen, Testamentum novum Evangelii repromittat; ut nequaquam vivant in vetustate litterae, sed in novitate spiritus. Paulus autem, super cujus nomine nunc quaestio ventilatur, crebras hujuscemodi ponit sententias; e quibus, brevitatis studio, pauca subnectam. «Ecce ego Paulus dico vobis quoniam si circumcidamini, Christus vobis nihil prodest.» Et iterum: «Evacuati estis a Christo, qui in Lege justificamini; a gratia excidistis.» Et infra: «Si spiritu ducimini, jam non estis sub Lege» (Gal. V, 2, 4, 18). Ex quo apparet, qui sub Lege est, non dispensative, ut nostri voluere majores, sed vere, ut tu intelligis, eum Spiritum sanctum non habere. Qualia sint autem praecepta legalia, Deo docente discamus. «Ego, inquit, dedi eis praecepta non bona, et justificationes in quibus non vivant in eis» (Ezech. XX, 25).

Paul observed the ceremonies of the Jews, when he was already an apostle of Christ, and you say "that it is not pernicious to those who should will to keep them, just as they had received from [their] parents." I on the contrary shall speak, and with the world crying out against [me], I shall pronounce with a free voice, that the ceremonies of the Jews are both pernicious and deadly to Christians; and whoever shall have observed them, whether from the Jews, or from the Nations, he is rolled down into the abyss of the devil. "For the end of the Law is Christ, unto justice to every one believing, to the Jew namely and to the Gentile" (Rom. X, 4): for the end will not be unto justice to every one believing, if the Jew is excepted. And in the Gospel we read: "The Law and the Prophets [were] until John the Baptist" (Matth. XI, 13, and Luke XVI, 16). And in another place: "Therefore therefore the Jews sought the more to kill him, because he not only did loose the sabbath, but also said [that] God was his Father, making himself equal to God" (John V, 18). And again: "Of his fullness we all have received, and grace for grace, because the Law was given through Moses; but grace and truth was made through Jesus Christ" (Ibid. I, 16, 17). For the grace of the Law which passed away, we have received the permanent grace of the Gospel; and for the shadows and images of the old Instrument, truth was made through Jesus Christ. Jeremiah also prophesies from the person of God: "Behold the days come, says the Lord, and I will consummate for the house of Israel and for the house of Judah a new testament; not according to the testament which I disposed for their fathers, in the day when I apprehended their hand, so that I might lead them out of the land of Egypt" (Jer. XXXI, 31, 32). Observe what he says, that not to the people of the Nations, to him who before had not received the Testament, but to the people of the Jews, to whom he had given the Law through Moses, he promises again the new Testament of the Gospel; so that they may by no means live in the oldness of the letter, but in the newness of the spirit. Moreover Paul, upon whose name the question is now being ventilated, places frequent opinions of this kind; from which, by the study of brevity, I shall subjoin a few. "Behold I Paul say to you that if you be circumcised, Christ profits you nothing." And again: "You are evacuated from Christ, you who are justified in the Law; you have fallen from grace." And below: "If you are led by the spirit, you are no longer under the Law" (Gal. V, 2, 4, 18). From which it appears, [that] he who is under the Law, not dispensatively, as our elders have willed, but truly, as you understand, does not have the Holy Spirit. Moreover of what sort the legal precepts are, let us learn, God teaching. "I, he said, gave to them precepts not good, and justifications in which they should not live in them" (Ezek. XX, 25).

Haec dicimus, non quod Legem juxta Manichaeum et Marcionem destruamus, quam et sanctam et spiritualem juxta Apostolum novimus; sed quia postquam fides venit et temporum plenitudo, misit Deus Filium suum factum ex muliere, factum sub Lege, ut eos qui sub Lege erant redimeret, ut adoptionem filiorum reciperemus (Gal. IV, 4); et nequaquam sub paedagogo, sed sub adulto et Domino haerede vivamus.

«Observationes,» inquies, «Legis, quas more patrio celebrant, sicut ab ipso Paulo celebratae sunt, sine ulla salutis necessitate.»

15. Sequitur in epistola tua: «Non ideo Petrum emendavit, quod paternas traditiones observaret; quod si facere vellet, nec mendaciter, nec incongrue faceret.» Iterum dico: quando episcopus es, Ecclesiarum Christi magister, ut probes verum esse quod asseris, suscipe aliquem Judaeorum, qui factus Christianus, natum sibi filium circumcidat, qui observet sabbatum, qui abstineat a cibis quos Deus creavit ad utendum cum gratiarum actione, qui quarto decimo die mensis primi agnum mactet ad vesperam; et cum hoc feceris, imo non feceris (scio enim te christianum, et rem sacrilegam non esse facturum), velis nolis, tuam sententiam reprobabis; et tunc scies opere difficilius esse confirmare sua quam aliena reprehendere. Ac ne forsitan tibi non crederemus, imo non intelligeremus quid diceres (frequenter enim in longum sermo protractus caret intelligentia; et dum non sentitur, ab imperitis minus reprehenditur), inculcas et replicas: «Hoc ergo Judaeorum Paulus dimiserat, quod malum habebant. Quod est malum Judaeorum, quod Paulus dimiserat? Utique illud quod sequitur: quod ignorantes, inquit, Dei justitiam, et suam volentes constituere, justitiae Dei non sunt subjecti (Rom. X, 3); deinde quod post passionem et resurrectionem Christi, dato ac manifestato Sacramento gratiae, secundum ordinem Melchisedech, adhuc putabant vetera sacramenta non ex consuetudine solemnitatis, sed ex necessitate salutis esse celebranda; quae tamen si nunquam fuissent necessaria, infructuose atque inaniter pro eis Machabai martyres fierent: postremo illud, quod praedicatores gratiae Christianos Judaei, tanquam hostes Legis, persequerentur. Hos atque hujusmodi errores et vitia, dicit se damna et ut stercora arbitratum, ut Christum lucrifaceret (Philipp. III, 8).»

We say these things, not that we should destroy the Law according to Manichaeus and Marcion, which we know [is] both holy and spiritual according to the Apostle; but because after faith came and the fullness of times, God sent his Son made from a woman, made under the Law, so that he might redeem those who were under the Law, so that we might receive the adoption of sons (Gal. IV, 4); and by no means should we live under a pedagogue, but under an adult and the Lord heir.

"Observations," you will say, "of the Law, which they celebrate in the paternal manner, just as they were celebrated by Paul himself, without any necessity of salvation."

15. It follows in your epistle: "He did not therefore emend Peter, because he observed the paternal traditions; which if he should will to do, he should do neither mendaciously, nor incongruously." Again I say: when you are a bishop, a teacher of the churches of Christ, so that you may prove [that] what you assert is true, receive some one of the Jews, who having been made a Christian, should circumcise a son born to him, who should observe the sabbath, who should abstain from foods which God created to be used with the action of thanks, who on the fourteenth day of the first month should slaughter a lamb at evening; and when you shall have done this, nay rather shall not have done [it] (for I know you [are] a Christian, and will not do a sacrilegious thing), will you, nil you, you will reprobate your opinion; and then you will know [that] it is more difficult in work to confirm one's own things than to reprehend another's. And lest by chance we should not believe you, nay rather should not understand what you should say (for frequently a speech protracted into length lacks intelligence; and while it is not sensed, it is less reprehended by the unskilful), you inculcate and replicate: "This therefore of the Jews Paul had dismissed, what they had [of] evil. What is the evil of the Jews, which Paul had dismissed? Certainly that which follows: that being ignorant, he says, of the justice of God, and willing to constitute their own, they are not subject to the justice of God (Rom. X, 3); then that after the passion and resurrection of Christ, the Sacrament of grace having been given and manifested, according to the order of Melchizedek, they yet thought the old sacraments were to be celebrated not from the custom of solemnity, but from the necessity of salvation; which nevertheless if they had never been necessary, the Maccabees would become martyrs for them fruitlessly and in vain: lastly that, the Jews should persecute the preachers of grace as if enemies of the Law. These and errors and vices of this kind, he says [that] he arbitrated [as] losses and as dung, so that he might gain Christ (Philip. III, 8)."

16. Didicimus per te, quae apostolus Paulus mala reliquerit Judaeorum; rursum te docente discamus quae bona eorum tenuerit. Id quid velis dicere, «sine ulla salutis necessitate,» non satis intelligo. Si enim salutem non afferunt, cur observantur? Si autem observanda sunt, utique salutem afferunt; maxime quae observata martyres faciunt. Non enim observarentur, nisi salutem afferrent. Neque enim indifferentia sunt inter bonum et malum, sicut philosophi disputant. Bonum est continentia, malum est luxuria; inter utrumque indifferens, ambulare, digerere alvi stercora, capitis naribus purgamenta projicere, sputis rheumata jacere: hoc nec bonum, nec malum est; sive enim feceris, sive non feceris, nec justitiam habebis, nec injustitiam. Observare autem Legis cerimonias, non potest esse indifferens; sed aut malum est, aut bonum est. Tu dicis bonum; ego assero malum; et malum non solum his qui ex Gentibus, sed et his qui ex Judaico populo crediderunt. In hoc, nisi fallor, loco, dum aliud vitas, in aliud devolveris. Dum enim metuis Porphyrium blasphemantem, in Hebionis incurris laqueos: his qui credunt ex Judaeis, observandam Legem esse decernens. Et qui periculosum intelligis esse quod dicis, rursum illud superfluis verbis temperare conaris: «Sine ulla salutis necessitate, sicut Judaei celebranda putabant, aut fallaci simulatione, quod in Petro reprehenderat Paulus.»

17. Petrus igitur simulavit Legis custodiam; iste autem reprehensor Petri, audacter observavit legitima. Sequitur enim in epistola tua: «Nam si propterea illa sacramenta celebravit, quia simulavit se Judaeum, ut illos lucrifaceret, cur non etiam sacrificavit cum Gentibus, quia et his qui sine Lege erant, tanquam sine Lege factus est, ut eos quoque lucrifaceret (I Cor. IX, 21); nisi quia et illud fecit, ut natura Judaeus, et hoc totum dixit, non ut Paulus se fingeret esse quod non erat, sed ut misericorditer ita subveniendum esse sentiret, ac si ipse in eo errore laboraret; non scilicet mentientis astu, sed compatientis affectu.» Bene defendis Paulum, quod non simulaverit errorem Judaeorum, sed vere fuerit in errore; neque imitari voluerit Petrum mentientem, ut quod erat, metu Judaeorum dissimularet ; sed tota libertate Judaeum se esse diceret. Novam clementiam Apostoli! dum Judaeos Christianos vult facere, ipse Judaeus factus est. Non enim poterat luxuriosos ad frugalitatem reducere, nisi se luxuriosum probasset, et misericorditer, ut ipse dicis, subvenire miseris, nisi se miserum ipse sentiret.

16. We have learned through you, what evils of the Jews the apostle Paul left; again you teaching let us learn what good things of theirs he held. That [which] you will to say, "without any necessity of salvation," I do not sufficiently understand. For if they do not bring salvation, why are they observed? Moreover if they are to be observed, certainly they bring salvation; especially [those] which observed make martyrs. For they would not be observed, unless they brought salvation. For neither are they indifferent between good and evil, just as the philosophers dispute. Good is continence, evil is luxury; indifferent between both, to walk, to digest the dregs of the belly, to project the purgaments of the head through the nostrils, to throw rheums by spits: this is neither good, nor evil; for whether you shall have done [it], or shall not have done [it], you will have neither justice, nor injustice. Moreover to observe the ceremonies of the Law, cannot be indifferent; but it is either evil, or it is good. You say good; I assert evil; and evil not only to those from the Nations, but also to those who from the Jewish people have believed. In this, unless I am deceived, place, while you avoid one thing, you are rolled into another. For while you fear Porphyry blaspheming, you incur the snares of Ebion: decreeing to those who believe from the Jews, [that] the Law is to be observed. And you who understand it is perilous what you say, again you attempt to temper that with superfluous words: "Without any necessity of salvation, just as the Jews thought [them] to be celebrated, or by fallacious simulation, which Paul had reprehended in Peter."

17. Peter therefore simulated the keeping of the Law; but that reprehender of Peter, boldly observed the legitimate [things]. For it follows in your epistle: "For if for that reason he celebrated those sacraments, because he simulated himself a Jew, so that he might gain those, why did he not also sacrifice with the Nations, because also to those who were without the Law, he was made as if without the Law, so that he might also gain them (I Cor. IX, 21); unless because he also did that, as a Jew by nature, and he said this whole thing, not so that Paul should feign himself to be what he was not, but so that he might sense [that it was] thus to be subvened mercifully, as if he himself labored in that error; not certainly by the cunning of one lying, but by the affection of one compatient." You well defend Paul, that he did not simulate the error of the Jews, but truly was in error; nor did he will to imitate Peter lying, so that he should dissimulate what he was, by fear of the Jews; but with all liberty he should say himself to be a Jew. O new clemency of the Apostle! while he wills to make the Jews Christians, he himself was made a Jew. For he could not reduce the luxurious to frugality, unless he had proved himself luxurious, and mercifully, as you say, subvene the miserable, unless he himself felt himself miserable.

Vere enim miselli, et misericorditer deplorandi, qui contentione sua et amore Legis abolitae, apostolum Christi fecere Judaeum. Nec multum interest inter meam et tuam sententiam, quia ego dico et Petrum et Paulum, timore fidelium Judaeorum, Legis exercuisse, imo simulasse mandata; tu autem asseris hoc eos fecisse clementer, «non mentientis astu, sed compatientis affectu:» dummodo illud constet, vel metu, vel misericordia eos simulasse se esse, quod non erant. Illud autem argumentum, quo adversus nos uteris, quod et Gentilibus debuerit gentilis fieri, si Judaeis Judaeus factus est, magis pro nobis facit: sicut enim non fuit vere Judaeus, sic nec vere gentilis erat; et sicut non fuit vere gentilis, sic nec vere Judaeus erat. In eo autem imitator Gentilium est, quia praeputium recipit in fide Christi, et indifferenter permittit vesci cibis quos damnant Judaei; non cultu, ut tu putas, idolorum. In Christo enim Jesu nec circumcisio est aliquid, nec praeputium, sed observatio mandatorum Dei (Gal. V, 6, et VI, 15).

18. Quaeso igitur te, et iterum atque iterum deprecor, ut ignoscas disputatiunculae meae; et quod modum meum egressus sum, tibi imputes qui coegisti ut rescriberem, et mihi cum Stesichoro oculos abstulisti. Nec me putes magistrum esse mendacii, qui sequor Christum dicentem: «Ego sum via, veritas et vita» (Joan. XIV, 6). Nec potest fieri ut veritatis cultor, mendacio colla submittam. Neque mihi imperitorum plebeculam concites, qui te venerantur ut episcopum, et in ecclesia declamantem, sacerdotii honore suspiciunt; me autem, aetatis ultimae, et pene decrepitum, ac monasterii et ruris secreta sectantem, parvipendunt; et quaeras tibi, quos doceas sive reprehendas. Ad nos enim, tantis maris atque terrarum a te divisos spatiis, vix vocis tuae sonus pervenit. Et si forsitan litteras scripseris, ante eas Italia ac Roma suscipient, quam ad me, cui mittendae sunt, deferantur.

CAPUT V.

19. Quod autem in aliis quaeris epistolis, cur mea prior in Libris canonicis interpretatio asteriscos habeat, et virgulas praenotatas, et postea aliam translationem absque his signis ediderim; pace tua dixerim, videris mihi non intelligere quod quaesisti.

For truly [they are] wretched, and mercifully to be deplored, who by their contention and love of the abolished Law, made the apostle of Christ a Jew. Nor does it interest much between my opinion and yours, because I say both Peter and Paul, by fear of the faithful Jews, exercised, nay rather simulated the mandates of the Law; you moreover assert they did this clemently, "not by the cunning of one lying, but by the affection of one compatient:" provided that that be constant, [that] either by fear, or by mercy they simulated themselves to be, what they were not. Moreover that argument, by which you use against us, that he should have been made a gentile also to the Gentles, if he was made a Jew to the Jews, makes the more for us: for just as he was not truly a Jew, so neither was he truly a gentile; and just as he was not truly a gentile, so neither was he truly a Jew. Moreover in that he is an imitator of the Gentiles, because he receives the prepuce in the faith of Christ, and indifferently permits [to] be fed on foods which the Jews damn; not by the worship, as you think, of idols. For in Christ Jesus neither circumcision is anything, nor prepuce, but the observation of the mandates of God (Gal. V, 6, and VI, 15).

18. I ask you therefore, and again and again I deprecate, that you may forgive my small disputation; and that I have egressed my mode, impute [it] to yourself who compelled so that I should rescribe, and with Stesichorus you have taken away my eyes. Nor should you think me to be a master of lie, who follow Christ saying: "I am the way, the truth and the life" (John XIV, 6). Nor can it be made that [as] a cultor of truth, I should submit my necks to lie. Nor should you excite against me the common people of the unskilful, who venerate you as a bishop, and declaiming in the church, look up [at you] by the honor of the priesthood; me moreover, of the last age, and almost decrepit, and following the secrets of the monastery and of the countryside, they value little; and you should seek for yourself, whom you may teach or reprehend. For to us, divided by such great spaces of sea and lands from you, the sound of your voice scarcely arrives. And if by chance you shall have written letters, Italy and Rome will receive them before, than they should be deferred to me, to whom they are to be sent.

CHAPTER V.

19. Moreover as to what you ask in other epistles, why my prior interpretation in the canonical Books has asterisks, and virgules pre-noted, and afterwards I should have edited another translation without these signs; by your leave I may say, you seem to me not to understand what you have asked.

Illa enim interpretatio Septuaginta interpretum est; et ubicumque virgulae, id est obeli sunt, significatur quod Septuaginta plus dixerint quam habetur in hebraeo: ubi autem asterisci, id est stellae praelucentes, ex Theodotionis editione ab Origene additum est; et ibi graeca transtulimus, hic de ipso hebraico, quod intelligebamus expressimus, sensuum potius veritatem quam verborum interdum ordinem conservantes. Et miror quomodo Septuaginta interpretum libros legas non puros, ut ab eis editi sunt, sed ab Origene emendatos, sive corruptos per obelos et asteriscos, et christiani hominis interpretatiunculam non sequaris; praesertim cum ea quae addita sunt, ex hominis Judaei atque blasphemi, post passionem Christi, editione transtulerit. Vis amator esse verus Septuaginta interpretum? Non legas ea quae sub asteriscis sunt: imo rade de voluminibus, ut veterum te fautorem probes. Quod si feceris, omnes Ecclesiarum bibliothecas condemnare cogeris. Vix enim unus aut alter invenietur liber, qui ista non habeat.

CAPUT VI.

20. Porro quod dicis non debuisse me interpretari post veteres, et novo uteris syllogismo: «Aut obscura fuerunt quae interpretati sunt Septuaginta, aut manifesta. Si obscura, te quoque in eis falli potuisse credendum est: si manifesta, illos in eis falli non potuisse, perspicuum est:» tuo tibi sermone respondeo. Omnes veteres tractatores qui nos in Domino praecesserunt, et qui Scripturas sanctas interpretati sunt, aut obscura interpretati sunt, aut manifesta. Si obscura, quomodo tu post eos ausus es disserere, quod illi explanare non potuerunt? si manifesta, superfluum est te voluisse disserere quod illos latere non potuit, maxime in explanatione Psalmorum quos apud Graecos interpretati sunt multis voluminibus, primus Origenes, secundus Eusebius Caesariensis, tertius Theodorus Heracleotes, quartus Asterius Scythopolitanus, quintus Apollinaris Laodicenus, sextus Didymus Alexandrinus. Feruntur et diversorum in paucos psalmos opuscula; sed nunc de integro Psalmorum corpore dicimus. Apud Latinos autem Hilarius Pictaviensis et Eusebius Vercellensis episcopi, Origenem et Eusebium transtulerunt: quorum priorem et noster Ambrosius in quibusdam secutus est. Respondeat mihi prudentia tua, quare tu post tantos et tales interpretes in explanatione Psalmorum diversa senseris? Si enim obscuri sunt Psalmi, te quoque in eis falli potuisse, credendum est.

For that interpretation is of the Seventy interpreters; and wherever [there are] virgules, that is obeli, it is signified what the Seventy said more than is held in the Hebrew: moreover where [there are] asterisks, that is pre-shining stars, it was added by Origen from the edition of Theodotion; and there we translated the Greek things, here from the Hebrew itself, what we understood we expressed, conserving sometimes the truth of the senses rather than the order of the words. And I wonder in what manner you read the books of the Seventy interpreters not pure, as they were edited by them, but emended by Origen, or corrupted through obeli and asterisks, and you should not follow the small interpretation of a Christian man; especially since he [Origen] translated those things which were added, from the edition of a Jewish and blasphemous man, after the passion of Christ. Do you wish to be a true lover of the Seventy interpreters? Do not read those things which are under the asterisks: nay rather scrape [them] from the volumes, so that you may prove yourself a favorer of the ancients. Which if you shall have done, you will be compelled to condemn all the libraries of the Churches. For scarcely one or another book will be found, which does not have those things.

CHAPTER VI.

20. Furthermore as to what you say [that] I ought not to have interpreted after the ancients, and you use a new syllogism: "Either obscure were the things which the Seventy interpreted, or manifest. If obscure, it is to be believed [that] you also could be deceived in them: if manifest, it is perspicuous [that] they could not be deceived in them:" I respond to you by your own speech. All the ancient tractators who preceded us in the Lord, and who interpreted the holy Scriptures, either interpreted obscure things, or manifest. If obscure, in what manner did you dare to disserate after them, what they could not explain? if manifest, it is superfluous [that] you have willed to disserate what could not be hidden to them, especially in the explanation of the Psalms which among the Greeks they have interpreted in many volumes, first Origen, second Eusebius of Caesarea, third Theodore of Heraclea, fourth Asterius of Scythopolis, fifth Apollinaris of Laodicea, sixth Didymus of Alexandria. There are also carried small works of various [authors] on a few psalms; but now we speak of the whole body of the Psalms. Moreover among the Latins Hilary of Poitiers and Eusebius of Vercelli, bishops, translated Origen and Eusebius: whose prior [Hilary] our Ambrose also followed in certain things. Let your prudence respond to me, why you after so many and such great interpreters have sensed diverse things in the explanation of the Psalms? For if the Psalms are obscure, it is to be believed [that] you also could be deceived in them.

Si manifesti, illos in eis falli potuisse non creditur: ac per hoc utroque modo superflua erit interpretatio tua; et hac lege, post priores nullus loqui audebit, et quodcumque alius occupaverit, alius de eo scribendi non habebit licentiam. Quin potius humanitatis tuae est, in quo veniam tibi tribuis, indulgere et caeteris. Ego enim non tam vetera abolere conatus sum, quae linguae meae hominibus emendata de graeco in latinum transtuli, quam ea testimonia quae a Judaeis praetermissa sunt vel corrupta, proferre in medium, ut scirent nostri quid hebraea veritas contineret. Si cui legere non placet, nemo compellit invitum. Bibat vinum vetus cum suavitate, et nostra musta contemnat, quae in explanatione priorum edita sunt, ut sicubi illa non intelliguntur, ex nostris manifestiora fiant. Quod autem genus interpretationis in Scripturis sanctis sequendum sit, liber quem scripsi de Optimo genere interpretandi, et omnes praefatiunculae divinorum voluminum, quas editioni nostrae praeposuimus, explicant; ad illasque prudentem lectorem remittendum puto. Et si me, ut dicis in Novi Testamenti emendatione suscipis, exponisque causam cur suscipias; quia plurimi linguae graecae habentes scientiam, de meo possint opere judicare: eamdem integritatem debueras etiam in Veteri credere Testamento, quod non nostra confinximus, sed ut apud Hebraeos invenimus, divina transtulimus. Sicubi dubitas, Hebraeos interroga.

21. Sed forte dices: Quid si Hebraei aut respondere noluerint, aut mentiri voluerint? Tota frequentia Judaeorum in mea interpretatione reticebit, nullusque invenire poterit, qui hebraeae linguae habeat notionem; aut omnes imitabuntur illos Judaeos, quos dicis in Africae repertos oppidulo in meam conspirasse calumniam? Hujuscemodi enim in epistola tua texis fabulam: «Quidam frater noster episcopus, cum lectitari instituisset in Ecclesia cui praeest, interpretationem tuam, movit quiddam longe aliter a te positam apud Jonam prophetam, quam erat omnium sensibus memoriaeque inveteratum, et tot aetatum successionibus decantatum. Factus est tantus tumultus in plebe, maxime Graecis arguentibus, et inclamantibus calumniam falsitatis, ut cogeretur episcopus, (Oëa quippe civitas erat), Judaeorum testimonium flugitare. Utrum autem illi imperitia an malitia, hoc esse in hebraeis codicibus responderunt, quod et graeci et latini habebant atque dicebant. Quid plura? Coactus est homo velut mendositatem corrigere, volens post magnum periculum non remanere sine plebe. Unde etiam nobis videtur aliquando te quoque in nonnullis falli potuisse.»

If manifest, it is not believed [that] they could be deceived in them: and by this in both ways your interpretation will be superfluous; and by this law, after the prior [interpreters] no one will dare to speak, and whatever another shall have occupied, another will not have the license of writing about it. Nay rather it is of your humanity, in which you attribute pardon to yourself, to indulge also to the rest. For I have not so much attempted to abolish the ancient things, which emended from Greek into Latin I translated for the men of my tongue, as to bring into the medium those testimonies which were omitted or corrupted by the Jews, so that our [people] might know what the Hebrew truth contained. If it does not please any one to read, no one compels the unwilling. Let him drink the old wine with sweetness, and contemn our musts, which were edited in the explanation of the prior things, so that if anywhere those are not understood, they may be made more manifest from ours. Moreover what genus of interpretation is to be followed in the holy Scriptures, the book which I wrote about the Best genus of interpreting, and all the small prefaces of the divine volumes, which we have preposed to our edition, explain; and to those I think the prudent reader is to be remitted. And if you receive me, as you say in the emendation of the New Testament, and you expose the cause why you receive [me]; because very many having the science of the Greek tongue, can judge of my work: you ought to have believed the same integrity also in the Old Testament, because we have not feigned our own things, but as we found among the Hebrews, we translated the divine things. If anywhere you doubt, interrogate the Hebrews.

21. But perhaps you will say: What if the Hebrews either have not willed to respond, or have willed to lie? All the frequency of the Jews will be silent in my interpretation, and no one will be able to find [one], who has the notion of the Hebrew tongue; or all will imitate those Jews, whom you say in a small town of Africa were found to have conspired into a calumny against me? For you weave a fable of this kind in your epistle: "A certain brother of ours, a bishop, when he had instituted that your interpretation be read in the Church which he is over, [there] moved a certain thing placed by you in Jonah the prophet far otherwise than was inveterate in the senses and memory of all, and chanted through the successions of so many ages. So great a tumult was made in the common people, especially with the Greeks arguing, and crying out [at] the calumny of falsity, that the bishop was compelled (for the city was Oea), to flagitate the testimony of the Jews. Moreover whether they [responded] by unskilfulness or malice, they responded [that] this was in the Hebrew codices, which both the Greeks and the Latins had and said. Why more? The man was compelled to correct [it] as if a faultiness, willing after great peril not to remain without the common people. Whence also it seems to us [that] sometimes you also could have been deceived in some things."

CAPUT VII.

22. Dicis me in Jona propheta male quiddam interpretatum, et seditione populi conclamante, propter unius verbi dissonantiam, episcopum pene sacerdotium perdidisse. Et quid sit illud quod male interpretatus sim, subtrahis, auferens mihi occasionem defensionis meae; ne quidquid dixeris, me respondente solvatur: nisi forte, ut ante annos plurimos, cucurbita venit in medium, asserente illius temporis Cornelio et Asinio Pollione , me hederam pro cucurbita transtulisse. Super qua re in commentario Jonae prophetae plenius respondimus. Hoc tantum nunc dixisse contenti, quod in eo loco, ubi Septuaginta interpretes cucurbitam, et Aquila cum reliquis hederam transtulerunt, id est κισσὸν, in hebraeo volumine ciceion scriptum habetur, quam vulgo Syri ciceiam vocant. Est autem genus virgulti lata habens folia, in modum pampini: cumque plantatum fuerit, cito consurgit in arbusculam, absque ullis calamorum et hastilium adminiculis, quibus et cucurbitae et hederae indigent, suo trunco se sustinens.

Hoc ergo verbum de verbo edisserens, si ciceion transferre voluissem, nullus intelligeret; si cucurbitam, id dicerem quod in hebraico non habetur: hederam posui, ut caeteris interpretibus consentirem. Sin autem Judaei vestri, ut ipse asseris, malitia, vel imperitia hoc dixerunt esse in voluminibus Hebraeorum, quod in graecis et latini codicibus continetur; manifestum est eos aut hebraeas ignorare litteras, aut ad irridendos cucurbitarios voluisse mentiri. Peto in fine epistolae, ut quiescentem senem, olimque veteranum, militare non cogas, et rursum de vita periclitari. Tu qui juvenis es, et in pontificali culmine constitutus, doceto populos; et novis Africae frugibus Romana tecta locupleta. Mihi sufficit, cum auditore et lectore pauperculo in angulo monasterii susurrare.

Epistola LXXVI.

Sub persona Ecclesiae catholicae cohortatur omnes Donatistas, ut resipiscentes redeant ad catholicam communionem.

1. Vobis, Donatistae, catholica Ecclesia dicit: Filii hominum, usquequo graves corde? Utquid diligitis vanitatem et quaeritis mendacium? (Psal. IV, 3.) Utquid vos a totius orbis unitate nefario schismatis sacrilegio divisistis? Attenditis falsa quae vobis dicuntur ab hominibus, aut mentientibus, aut errantibus, de traditione Codicum divinorum, ut in haeretica separatione moriamini; et non attenditis quod vobis ipsi Codices dicunt, ut in catholica pace vivatis

CHAPTER VII.

22. You say [that] I interpreted something badly in Jonah the prophet, and with the sedition of the people crying out, on account of the dissonance of one word, the bishop almost lost [his] priesthood. And what that is which I interpreted badly, you subtract, taking away from me the occasion of my defense; lest whatever you shall have said, be loosed [by] me responding: unless perhaps, as many years before, the gourd (*cucurbita*) came into the medium, with Cornelius and Asinius Pollio of that time asserting [it], [that] I translated ivy (*hederam*) for the gourd. Upon which matter we have responded more fully in the commentary on Jonah the prophet. Content now to have said this much, that in that place, where the Seventy interpreters translated gourd, and Aquila with the rest translated ivy, that is ϰissòn, in the Hebrew volume *ciceion* is found written, which the Syrians commonly call *ciceia*. It is moreover a genus of shrub having broad leaves, in the manner of a vine-shoot: and when it shall have been planted, it quickly rises into a small tree, without any supports of reeds and poles, which both gourds and ivies need, sustaining itself by its own trunk.

Therefore disserating this word for word, if I had willed to transfer *ciceion*, no one would understand; if gourd, I would say that which is not held in the Hebrew: I placed ivy, so that I might consent with the rest of the interpreters. But if your Jews, as you yourself assert, by malice, or unskilfulness have said this to be in the volumes of the Hebrews, which is contained in the Greek and Latin codices; it is manifest [that] they either ignore the Hebrew letters, or have willed to lie for the purpose of mocking the gourd-lovers (*cucurbitarios*). I ask in the end of the epistle, that you may not compel a resting old man, and long ago a veteran, to militate, and again to be in peril concerning life. You who are young, and constituted in the pontifical height, teach the peoples; and enrich the Roman roofs with the new fruits of Africa. To me it suffices, to whisper with a poor little hearer and reader in a corner of the monastery.

EPISTLE LXXVI.

Under the person of the Catholic Church he exhorts all the Donatists, that resipiscing they may return to the Catholic communion.

1. To you, Donatists, the Catholic Church says: *Sons of men, how long are you heavy of heart? Why do you love vanity and seek a lie?* (Psal. IV, 3.) Why have you divided yourselves from the unity of the whole world by the nefarious sacrilege of schism? You attend to the false things which are said to you by men, either lying, or erring, concerning the tradition of the divine Codices, so that you may die in heretical separation; and you do not attend to what the Codices themselves say to you, so that you may live in Catholic peace.

Quare aperitis sures ad sermonem hominum dicentium quod nunquam probare potuerunt, et surdi estis ad sermonem Dei dicentis: Dominus dixit ad me, Filius meus es tu, ego hodie genui te: postula a me et dabo tibi gentes haereditatem tuam, et possessionem tuam terminos terrae? (Psal. II, 7.) Abrahae dictae sunt promissiones et semini ejus. Non dicit, Et seminibus, tanquam in multis, sed tanquam in uno; Et semini tuo, quod est Christus (Gal. III, 16). In semine, inquit, tuo benedicentur omnes gentes (Gen. XXII, 18). Erigite oculos cordis, et considerate totum orbem terrarum, quomodo in semine Abrahae benedicuntur omnes gentes. Tunc ab uno credebatur quod nondum videbatur; jam vos videtis, et adhuc invidetis. Passio Domini pretium est orbis terrarum; ille totum orbem redemit: et vos cum toto orbe ad lucrum vestrum non concordatis, sed potius in damnum vestrum in parte litigatis, ut totum perdatis. Audite in Psalmo, quo pretio redempti sumus: Foderunt, inquit, manus meas et pedes, dinumeraverunt omnia ossa mea. Ipsi vero consideraverunt et conspexerunt me; diviserunt sibi vestimenta mea, et super vestimentum meum miserunt sortem (Psal. XXI, 18, 19). Quare divisores vestimentorum Domini esse vultis, et tunicam illam charitatis desuper textam, quam nec persecutores ejus diviserunt, tenere cum toto orbe non vultis? In Psalmo ipso legitur quia totus orbis eam tenet: Commemorabuntur, inquit, et convertentur ad Dominum universi fines terrae; et adorabunt in conspectu ejus universae patriae gentium, quoniam ipsius est regnum, et ipse dominabitur gentium (Ib., 28, 29). Aperite aures cordis et audite quia Deus deorum Dominus locutus est, et vocavit terram a solis ortu usque ad occasum; ex Sion species decoris ejus (Psal. XLIX, 1, 2). Si hoc non vultis intelligere, audite Evangelium, jam per os proprium loquente ipso Domino et dicente: Quia oportebat de Christo compleri omnia quae de illo scripta sunt in Lege et Prophetis et Psalmis, et praedicavi in nomine ejus poenitentiam et remissionem peccatorum, per omnes gentes incipiens ab Jerusalem (Luc. XXIV, 44, 47). Quod in Psalmo dixit, vocavit terram a solis ortu usque ad occasum; hoc in Evangelio, per omnes gentes: et quod in Psalmo dixit, ex Sion species decoris ejus; hoc in Evangelio dixit, incipiens ab Jerusalem.

Why do you open [your] ears to the speech of men saying what they could never prove, and you are deaf to the speech of God saying: *The Lord said to me, You are my Son, I today have begotten you: ask of me and I will give to you the nations [for] your inheritance, and [for] your possession the terms of the earth?* (Psal. II, 7.) To Abraham the promises were said and to his seed. He does not say, And to seeds, as if in many, but as if in one; And to your seed, which is Christ (Gal. III, 16). In your seed, he said, all nations shall be blessed (Gen. XXII, 18). Erect the eyes of [your] heart, and consider the whole orb of the lands, in what manner in the seed of Abraham all nations are blessed. Then it was believed by one what was not yet seen; now you see, and still you envy. The passion of the Lord is the price of the orb of the lands; he redeemed the whole orb: and you do not concord with the whole orb for your gain, but rather you litigate in part for your loss, so that you may lose the whole. Hear in the Psalm, at what price we have been redeemed: *They have dug,* he says, *my hands and feet, they have numbered all my bones.* They moreover considered and looked upon me; they divided to themselves my garments, and upon my garment they cast a lot (Psal. XXI, 18, 19). Why do you will to be dividers of the garments of the Lord, and that tunic of charity woven from above, which nor his persecutors divided, do you not will to hold with the whole orb? In the Psalm itself it is read that the whole orb holds it: *All the ends of the earth shall be commemorated,* he says, *and shall be converted to the Lord; and all the paternal lands of the nations shall adore in his sight, since the kingdom is his, and he himself shall dominate the nations* (Ib., 28, 29). Open the ears of [your] heart and hear that *the God of gods the Lord has spoken, and has called the earth from the rising of the sun even to the setting; from Sion is the species of his beauty* (Psal. XLIX, 1, 2). If you do not will to understand this, hear the Gospel, now through [his] own mouth the Lord himself speaking and saying: *That it behooved that all things be fulfilled concerning Christ which were written concerning him in the Law and the Prophets and the Psalms, and I have preached in his name penance and the remission of sins, through all nations beginning from Jerusalem* (Luke XXIV, 44, 47). What he said in the Psalm, *he called the earth from the rising of the sun even to the setting;* this in the Gospel, *through all nations:* and what he said in the Psalm, *from Sion is the species of his beauty;* this in the Gospel he said, *beginning from Jerusalem.*

2. Fingitis vos ante tempus messis fugere permixta zizania, quia vos estis sola zizania. Nam si frumenta essetis, permixta zizania toleraretis, et a segete Christi non vos divideretis. De zizaniis quidem dictum est, Quoniam abundabit iniquitas, refrigescet charitas multorum: sed et de tritico dictum est, Qui perseveraverit usque in finem, hic salvus erit (Matth. XXIV, 12, 13). Quare creditis crevisse zizania et mundum replevisse, triticum autem decrevisse et in sola Africa mansisse? Christianos vos dicitis, et Christo contradicitis. Ipse dixit, Sinite utraque crescere usque ad messem; non dixit, Crescant zizania, decrescant frumenta. Ipse dixit, Ager est hic mundus; non dixit, Ager est Africa. Ipse dixit, Messis est finis saeculi; non dixit, messis est tempus Donati. Ipse dixit, Messores Angeli sunt (Matth. XIII, 30, 38, 39); non dixit, Messores principes Circumcellionum sunt. Sed quia pro zizaniis triticum accusastis, vos esse zizania demonstrastis, et quod est gravius, ante tempus vos a tritico separastis. Majores enim vestri in quorum sacrilega praecisione perseveratis, quidam Gestis municipalibus Codices sanctos et instrumenta Ecclesiae persecutoribus tradiderunt, quidam eos fatentes dimiserunt et eis communicaverunt, et utrique Carthaginem furiosa factione convenerunt, de crimine traditionis de quo ipsi inter se jam consenserant, inauditos damnaverunt, episcopum contra episcopum ordinaverunt, altare contra altare erexerunt. Postea litteras ad imperatorem Constantinum, ut inter Afros episcopi transmarini judicarent, miserunt; datis judicibus quos postulaverant et Romae judicantibus non obtemperaverunt, episcopos apud Imperatorem tanquam male judicaverint arguerunt. Ab aliis rursus episcopis ad Arelatum missis ad ipsum Imperatorem appellaverunt; ab ipso auditi et calumniatores inventi, in eodem scelere permanserunt. Evigilate ad salutem, amate pacem, redite ad unitatem. Haec vobis quemadmodum gesta sint, quando vultis, omnia recitamus.

3. Ille communicat malis, qui consentit factis malorum, non qui tolerat in agro dominico zizania usque ad messem, vel paleam usque ad ultimam ventilationem. Si malos odistis, vos ipsi mutamini ab scelere schismatis. Si malorum permixtionem timeretis, Optatum inter vos in apertissima iniquitate viventem per tot annos non teneretis. Quem cum modo martyrem dicitis, superest ut eum, propter quem mortuus est, Christum dicatis.

2. You feign [that] you flee the mixed cockle (*zizania*) before the time of the harvest, because you are the cockle alone. For if you were wheat (*frumenta*), you would tolerate the mixed cockle, and from the crop of Christ you would not divide yourselves. Concerning the cockle indeed it was said, *Since iniquity shall abound, the charity of many shall grow cold:* but also concerning the wheat it was said, *He who shall have persevered even unto the end, he shall be saved* (Matth. XXIV, 12, 13). Why do you believe the cockle to have grown and to have replenished the world, moreover the wheat to have decreased and to have remained in Africa alone? Christians you call yourselves, and you contradict Christ. He himself said, *Suffer both to grow even until the harvest;* he did not say, Let the cockle grow, let the wheat decrease. He himself said, *The field is this world;* he did not say, The field is Africa. He himself said, *The harvest is the end of the age;* he did not say, the harvest is the time of Donatus. He himself said, *The reapers are the Angels* (Matth. XIII, 30, 38, 39); he did not say, The reapers are the princes of the Circumcellions. But because for the cockle you have accused the wheat, you have demonstrated yourselves to be cockle, and what is more grave, before the time you have separated yourselves from the wheat. For your elders in whose sacrilegious precision you persevere, certain ones by the municipal Acts (*Gestis*) delivered the holy Codices and the instruments of the Church to the persecutors, certain ones dismissed them confessing [this] and communicated with them, and both convened to Carthage by a furious faction, concerning the crime of tradition [delivery] concerning which they themselves among themselves had already consented, they condemned the unheard [ones], they ordained a bishop against a bishop, they erected an altar against an altar. Afterwards they sent letters to the emperor Constantine, so that among the Africans transmarine bishops might judge; the judges having been given whom they had postulated and judging at Rome, they did not obey, they argued the bishops before the Emperor as if they had judged badly. From other bishops again sent to Arles they appealed to the Emperor himself; heard by him and found [to be] calumniators, they remained in the same crime. Vigilate unto salvation, love peace, return to unity. These things, in what manner they were done, when you will, we recite all.

3. He communicates with the evil, who consents to the deeds of the evil, not who tolerates in the field of the Lord the cockle even until the harvest, or the chaff even until the last ventilation. If you have hated the evil, you yourselves be changed from the crime of schism. If you should fear the mixture of the evil, you would not have held Optatus living among you in the most open iniquity through so many years. Whom since now you call a martyr, it remains that him, on account of whom he died, you call Christ.

Postremo quid vos offendit orbis christianus, a quo vos nefario furore praecidistis? et quid vos promeruerunt Maximianistae, quos a vobis damnatos et per judicia publica de basilicis proturbatos, in suo rursus honore recepistis? Quid vos offendit pax Christi, contra quam vos dividitis ab eis quos infamatis? et quid vos promeruit pax Donati, pro qua suscipitis quos damnatis? Felicianus Mustitanus modo vobiscum est. Legimus eum prius in vestro concilio damnatum, et a vobis postea in judicio proconsulis accusatum, et in Mustitana civitate Gestis municipalibus oppugnatum.

4. Si traditio Codicum scelerata est, quam Deus in regem qui Jeremiae librum incendit, morte bellica vindicavit (Jer. XXXVI, 23, 30), quanto sceleratius est sacrilegium schismatis, cujus auctores, quibus Maximianistas comparastis, aperta terra vivos absorbuit (Num. XVI, 31-33)! Quomodo ergo crimen traditionis nobis objicitis, quod non probatis, et schismaticos vestros et damnatis et acceptatis? Si propterea justi estis, quia persecutionem per Imperatores passi estis, justiores vobis sunt ipsi Maximianistae, quos per judices ab Imperatoribus catholicis missos vos ipsi persecuti estis. Si Baptismum vos soli habetis, quid apud vos facit baptismus Maximianistarum in eis quos baptizavit Felicianus damnatus, cum quibus est ad vos postea revocatus? Vel vobis laicis ad ista respondeant episcopi vestri, si nobiscum loqui nolunt; et cogitate pro salute vestra, quale sit hoc ipsum quod nobiscum loqui nolunt. Si lupi concilium fecerunt, ut pastoribus non respondeant, quare oves concilium perdiderunt, ut ad luporum speluncas accedant?

Lastly what has the Christian orb offended you, from which you have cut yourselves off by nefarious fury? and what have the Maximianists deserved of you, whom condemned by you and proturbated from the basilicas through public judgments, you received again into their honor? What has the peace of Christ offended you, against which you divide yourselves from those whom you infame? and what has the peace of Donatus deserved of you, for which you receive those whom you condemn? Felicianus of Musti is now with you. We have read him before condemned in your council, and by you afterwards accused in the judgment of the proconsul, and in the Mustitan city oppugned by municipal Acts.

4. If the tradition [delivery] of the Codices is wicked, which God vindicated in the king who burned the book of Jeremiah, by a bellicose death (Jer. XXXVI, 23, 30), how much more wicked is the sacrilege of schism, whose authors, to whom you have compared the Maximianists, the open earth absorbed alive (Num. XVI, 31-33)! In what manner therefore do you object the crime of tradition to us, which you do not prove, and you both condemn and accept your schismatics? If for that reason you are just, because you have suffered persecution through the Emperors, more just than you are the Maximianists themselves, whom through judges sent by Catholic Emperors you yourselves have persecuted. If you alone have Baptism, what does the baptism of the Maximianists do among you in those whom the condemned Felicianus baptized, with whom he was afterwards recalled to you? Or let your bishops respond to these things to you laics, if they are unwilling to speak with us; and think for your salvation, of what sort this very thing is, that they are unwilling to speak with us. If the wolves have made a council, so that they should not respond to the shepherds, why have the sheep lost the council, so that they approach the dens of the wolves?