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LETTERS

Epistolas

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Epistolas · Letters

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Contents

Epistle LXXVII. 7
Epistle LXXX. 23
CHAPTER FIRST. 27
CHAPTER II. 31
CHAPTER III. 51
CHAPTER IV. 57
CHAPTER V. 63
Epistle XCII. 109
CHAPTER ONE. 117
CHAPTER III. 121
CHAPTER IV. 125
CHAPTER V. 131
CHAPTER VI. 135
CHAPTER VII. 137
CHAPTER VIII. 141
CHAPTER IX. 145
CHAPTER X. 153
CHAPTER XII. 165
CHAPTER XIII. 167
Epistle XCV. 179
Epistle XCIX. 209
Epistle C. 211
SIX QUESTIONS SET FORTH AGAINST THE PAGANS, ONE BOOK, OR EPISTLE CII. 219
FIRST QUESTION. On the Resurrection. 221
SECOND QUESTION. On the time of the Christian religion. 225
Question four. 235
Question five. 241
QUESTION SIX. Concerning the prophet Jonah. 243
Epistle CIV. 257
CHAPTER ONE. 257
CHAPTER II. 261
CHAPTER III. 265
CHAPTER IV. 269
CHAPTER ONE. 275
CHAPTER II. 277
CHAPTER III. 285
CHAPTER IV. 287
CHAPTER V. 291
Epistle CVII. 295
CHAPTER I. 297
CHAPTER II. 299
CHAPTER III. 305
CHAPTER IV. 313

CHAPTER V. 315
CHAPTER VI. 319
CHAPTER VII. 323
EPISTLE CIX. 325
EPISTLE CX. 329
EPISTLE CXI. 335
Epistle CXIII. 349
Epistle CXIV. 351
Epistle CXV. 353
Epistle CXVI. 355
Epistle CXVII. 355
CHAPTER ONE. 357
CHAPTER II. 367
CHAPTER III. 373
Epistle CXX. 405
CHAPTER III. 417
LETTER CXXI. 427
CHAPTER I. 427
CHAPTER II. 433
CHAPTER III. 439

Epistola LXXVII.

Augustinus Felici et Hilarino, ut ne perturbentur obortis in Ecclesia scandalis.

Porro de Bonifacio, qui in nullo apud se crimine deprehensus fuerit, statuere non posse ut ejus nomen de presbyterorum albo expungatur, maxime cum ipsius causam ad Dei judicium transmiserit.

Dominis dilectissimis meritoque honorandis fratribus FELICI et HILARINO , AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

1. Non miror satanam fidelium animos perturbantem: cui resistite, permanentes in spe promissorum Dei qui fallere non potest; qui non solum nobis in se credentibus, et sperantibus, et in ejus charitate usque in finem perseverantibus polliceri praemia aeterna dignatus est, verum etiam temporalia scandala non defutura praedixit, quibus fidem nostram exerceri et probari oporteret: ait enim, Quoniam abundabit iniquitas, refrigescet charitas multorum; sed continuo subjecit, Qui autem perseveraverit usque in finem, hic salvus erit (Matth. XXIV, 12, 13). Quid ergo mirum, si homines servis Dei detrahunt, et quia eorum vitam pervertere non possunt, famam decolorare conantur, cum ipsum Deum et Dominum eorum quotidie blasphemare non cessent, cum eis displicet quidquid contra eorum voluntatem justo et occulto judicio facit? Unde exhortor prudentiam vestram, domini dilectissimi meritoque honorandi fratres, ut Scripturam Dei, quae nobis haec omnia futura praenuntiavit, et adversus ea nos firmos esse debere praemonuit, contra hominum maledica vaniloquia suspicionesque temerarias corde christianissimo cogitetis.

2. Breviter itaque dico Charitati vestrae, Bonifacium presbyterum in nullo crimine apud me fuisse detectum, nequaquam me de illo tale aliquid credidisse vel credere. Quomodo ergo juberem de numero presbyterorum nomen ejus auferri, vehementer terrente Evangelio ubi Dominus ait: In quo judicio judicaveritis, judicabimini (Id. VII, 2)? Cum enim causa quae inter illum et Spem exorta est, sub divino examine pendeat secundum placitum eorum, quod vobis si volueritis poterit recitari;

Epistle LXXVII.

Augustine to Felix and Hilarinus, that they should not be perturbed by scandals arisen in the Church.

Furthermore concerning Boniface, who was caught in no crime among him, he cannot statue that his name be expunged from the white [list] of the presbyters, especially since he transmitted his cause to the judgment of God.

To the most beloved and by merit to be honored brothers FELIX and HILARINUS, AUGUSTINE, health in the Lord.

1. I do not wonder [at] Satan perturbing the minds of the faithful: whom resist, permanent in the hope of the promises of God who cannot deceive; who not only to us believing in him, and hoping, and persevering in his charity even unto the end has deigned to promise eternal rewards, but even has predicted [that] temporal scandals would not be lacking, by which it should behoove our faith to be exercised and proved: for he says, *Since iniquity shall abound, the charity of many shall grow cold;* but he immediately subjoined, *But he who shall have persevered even unto the end, he shall be saved* (Matth. XXIV, 12, 13). What wonder therefore, if men detract from the servants of God, and because they cannot pervert their life, they attempt to discolor [their] reputation, when they do not cease to blaspheme God himself and their Lord daily, when to them whatever he does by a just and hidden judgment against their will displeases? Whence I exhort your prudence, most beloved and by merit to be honored brothers, that you may think with a most Christian heart upon the Scripture of God, which pre-announced all these things future to us, and pre-monished [that] we ought to be firm against them, against the maledicent vain speeches and temerarious suspicions of men.

2. Briefly therefore I say to your Charity, [that] Boniface the presbyter was detected in no crime among me, [and] that I by no means have believed or believe any such thing concerning him. In what manner therefore should I command his name to be taken away from the number of the presbyters, the Gospel vehemently terrifying where the Lord says: *In what judgment you shall have judged, you shall be judged* (Id. VII, 2)? For since the cause which has arisen between him and Spes, should hang under the divine examination according to their agreement, which if you shall have willed can be recited to you;

quis ego sum, ut audeam Dei praevenire sententiam in delendo vel supprimendo ejus nomine, de quo nec suspicari temere mali aliquid episcopus debui, nec dilucide judicare homo de occultis hominum potui, cum in ipsis causis saecularibus, quando ad majorem potestatem refertur arbitrium judicandi, manentibus sicuti erant omnibus rebus, exspectetur illa sententia, unde jam non liceat provocari, ne superiori cognitori fiat injuria, si ejus pendente judicio aliquid fuerit commutatum? Et utique multum interest inter divinam et humanam quamlibet excelsissimam potestatem. Domini Dei nostri misericordia nunquam vos deserat, domini dilectissimi et honorandi fratres.

EPISTOLA LXXVIII . Quidam e monasterio Augustini Spes nomine, accusatus a Bonifacio presbytero, crimen in Bonifacium ipsum transtulit. Cum res evidentibus argumentis cognosci ab Augustino non posset, jussus est uterque adire sepulcrum S. Felicis Nolani, ut miraculo transigeretur judicium. Id clam fieri curarat Augustinus: verum quoniam res eruperat in notitiam hominum, permittit interea ut Bonifacii nomen inter presbyteros non recitetur; hortatur omnes ne temere judicent, neve ob paucorum delicta vel ipsi deficiant a pietate, ve de omnibus male suspicentur; observans nullam fuisse tam felicem sodalitatem, in qua non aliquis flagitiosus extiterit.

Dilectissimis fratribus, clero, senioribus, et universae plebi Ecclesiae Hipponensis, cui servio in dilectione Christi, AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

1. Utinam Scripturae Dei sollicita mente intendentes, in quibusque scandalis adjutorio nostri sermonis non egeretis, et ille vos potius consolaretur, qui consolatur et nos: qui non solum bona, quae sanctis et fidelibus suis est redditurus, verum etiam mala, quibus erat hic mundus abundaturus, ante praedixit, ante conscribenda curavit, ut bona post saeculi finem secutura certiores exspectaremus, quam mala similiter praenuntiata ante saeculi finem praecedentia sentiremus. Unde et Apostolus dicit: Quaecumque enim ante scripta sunt, ut nos doceremur scripta sunt, ut per patientiam et consolationem Scripturarum spem habeamus ad Deum (Rom. XV, 4). Quid autem opus erat ut ipse Dominus Jesus non solum diceret, Tunc justi fulgebunt sicut sol in regno Patris sui (Matth. XIII, 43), quod post saeculi finem futurum est; verum etiam exclamaret, Vae mundo ab scandalis (Id. XVIII, 7): nisi ut nobis non blandiremur venire nos posse ad sedes felicitatis aeternae, nisi temporalibus malis exerciti non defecerimus?

who am I, that I should dare to pre-prevent the sentence of God in deleting or suppressing his name, concerning whom nor as a bishop ought I temerariously suspect anything of evil, nor as a man could I dilucidly judge concerning the hidden things of men, when in those secular causes themselves, when the arbitrament of judging is referred to a greater power, with all things remaining just as they were, that sentence is expected, from which now it may not be licit to be appealed, lest an injury be made to the superior cognitor, if while his judgment is pending something should have been commuted? And certainly much interests between the divine and the human however most excelsior power. May the mercy of the Lord our God never desert you, most beloved and honored brothers.

EPISTLE LXXVIII. A certain one from the monastery of Augustine named Spes, accused by Boniface the presbyter, transferred the crime into Boniface himself. Since the matter could not be known by Augustine by evident arguments, both were ordered to go to the sepulcher of S. Felix of Nola, so that the judgment might be transacted by a miracle. Augustine had taken care that this be made secretly: but since the matter had erupted into the notice of men, he permits in the meantime that the name of Boniface not be recited among the presbyters; he exhorts all not to judge temerariously, nor on account of the delicts of a few to fail from piety themselves, nor to suspect badly concerning all; observing [that] there was no sodality so happy, in which some flagitious one did not exist.

To the most beloved brothers, the clergy, the elders, and the universal common people of the Church of Hippo, whom I serve in the dilection of Christ, AUGUSTINE, health in the Lord.

1. Would that attending with a solicitous mind to the Scriptures of God, you should not need the adjutory of our speech in whatever scandals, and he should rather console you, who consoles also us: who not only the good things, which he is to render to his saints and faithful, but even the evil things, with which this world was to abound, predicted before, took care to be written before, so that we might expect more certain the good things following after the end of the age, than we should feel the evil things similarly pre-announced preceding before the end of the age. Whence also the Apostle says: *For whatever things were written before, were written so that we might be taught, so that through patience and the consolation of the Scriptures we might have hope to God* (Rom. XV, 4). Moreover what was the need that the Lord Jesus himself should not only say, *Then the just shall shine as the sun in the kingdom of their Father* (Matth. XIII, 43), which is future after the end of the age; but even should exclaim, *Woe to the world from scandals* (Id. XVIII, 7): unless so that we should not flatter ourselves [that] we can come to the seats of eternal felicity, unless exercised by temporal evils we shall not have failed?

Quid opus fuit ut diceret, Quoniam abundabit iniquitas, refrigescet charitas multorum; nisi ut illi de quibus continuo locutus adjunxit, Qui perseveraverit usque in finem, hic salvus erit (Id. XXIV, 12, 13), cum hac iniquitatis abundantia refrigescentem charitatem viderent, non perturbarentur, non expavescerent, non quasi rebus insperatis et inopinatis contristati deficerent; sed potius videntes accidere, quae futura praedicta sunt ante finem, patienter perseverarent usque in finem, ut securi mererentur regnare post finem in ea vita quae non habet finem.

2. Proinde, charissimi, in isto scandalo, quo de Bonifacio presbytero nonnulli perturbantur, non vobis dico ut non doleatis: qui enim ista non dolent, non est in eis charitas Christi; qui autem etiam de talibus gaudent, abundat in eis malignitas diaboli. Non quia in memorato presbytero apparuit aliquid, quod dignum damnatione judicaretur; sed quia duo de domo nostra talem habent causam, ut unus eorum sine dubio perditus habeatur, et sit alterius fama apud quosdam mala, apud quosdam dubia, etiamsi non sit maculata conscientia. Dolete ista, quoniam dolenda sunt: non tamen sic ut eo dolore vestra charitas a bene vivendo refrigescat, sed potius ad Dominum deprecandum inardescat; ut si innocens est presbyter vester , quod magis credo, quia cum sensisset alterius motum impudicum et immundum, nec consentire voluit nec tacere, cito eum divina sententia manifestatum ministerio proprio repraesentet: si autem male sibi conscius, quod suspicari non audeo, voluit alterius existimationem laedere, cum ejus pudicitiam contaminare non posset, sicut dicit ipse cum quo habet causam, non eum permittat suam occultare nequitiam, ut quod homines invenire non possunt, de quolibet eorum divino judicio propaletur.

3. Cum enim ista me causa diu cruciasset, nec invenirem quomodo unus e duobus convinceretur, quamvis magis presbytero credidissem; cogitaveram primo sic ambos Deo relinquere, donec in uno eorum qui mihi suspectus erat, aliquid existeret, unde non sine justa et manifesta causa de nostro habitaculo projiceretur. Sed cum promoveri in clericatum sive illic per me, sive alibi per litteras meas vehementissime conaretur, ego autem nullo modo adducerer ei homini, de quo tantum mali existimarem, manus ordinationis imponere, aut per commendationem meam alicui fratri meo eum subintroducere, turbulentius agere coepit, ut si ipse in clericatum non promoveretur, nec presbyter Bonifacius in suo gradu esse permitteretur.

What was the need that he should say, *Since iniquity shall abound, the charity of many shall grow cold;* unless so that those concerning whom he immediately spoke and added, *He who shall have persevered even unto the end, he shall be saved* (Id. XXIV, 12, 13), when they should see charity growing cold with this abundance of iniquity, should not be perturbed, should not be expave-fied, not as if contristated by unhoped and unexpected things should fail; but rather seeing to happen, what things were predicted future before the end, should patiently persevere even unto the end, so that secure they might merit to reign after the end in that life which does not have an end.

2. Therefore, most beloved, in that scandal, by which some are perturbed concerning Boniface the presbyter, I do not say to you that you should not grieve: for they who do not grieve for those things, the charity of Christ is not in them; moreover they who even rejoice concerning such things, the malignity of the devil abounds in them. Not because anything appeared in the mentioned presbyter, which should be judged worthy of damnation; but because two from our house have such a cause, that one of them without doubt is held [as] lost, and the reputation of the other is evil among certain ones, among certain ones doubtful, even if the conscience be not maculated. Grieve for those things, since they are to be grieved: nevertheless not so that by that grief your charity should grow cold from living well, but rather should enkindle to deprecating the Lord; so that if your presbyter is innocent, which I more believe, because when he had sensed the impudic and un-clean motion of the other, nor did he will to consent nor to be silent, quickly may the divine sentence represent him manifested to his own ministry: moreover if he [is] evil to himself conscious, which I do not dare to suspect, he willed to hurt the estimation of the other, when he could not contaminate his pudicity, just as he himself says with whom he has the cause, let him not permit him to hide his own wickedness, so that what men cannot find, may be propaled concerning whichever of them by the divine judgment.

3. For when this cause had long tormented me, nor did I find how one of the two should be convinced, although I had more believed the presbyter; I had first thought thus to leave both to God, until in one of them who was suspect to me, something should exist, whence not without just and manifest cause he should be projected from our habitation. But when he was striving most vehemently to be promoted into the clericate either there through me, or elsewhere through my letters, moreover I was in no way induced to impose the hands of ordination upon that man, concerning whom I should think so much of evil, or to sub-introduce him to any brother of mine through my commendation, he began to act more turbulently, so that if he himself were not promoted into the clericate, neither should the presbyter Boniface be permitted to be in his own grade.

In qua ejus provocatione cum viderem Bonifacium nolle quibuslibet infirmis et ad suspicionem propensis de suae vitae dubitatione scandalum fieri, paratumque esse honoris sui apud homines damnum perpeti, potius quam in ea contentione, in qua non posset ignorantibus et dubitantibus vel ad male suspicandum proclivioribus suam demonstrare conscientiam, usque ad Ecclesiae perturbationem inaniter progredi; elegi aliquid medium, ut certo placito se ambo constringerent ad locum sanctum se perrecturos, ubi terribiliora opera Dei non sanam cujuscumque conscientiam multo facilius aperirent, et ad confessionem vel poena vel timore compellerent. Ubique quidem Deus est, et nullo continetur vel includitur loco qui condidit omnia, et eum a veris adoratoribus in spiritu et veritate oportet adorari (Joan. IV, 24), ut in occulto exaudiens, in occulto etiam justificet et coronet. Verumtamen ad ista quae hominibus visibiliter nota sunt, quis potest ejus consilium perscrutari, quare in aliis locis haec miracula fiant, in aliis non fiant? Multis enim notissima est sanctitas loci, ubi beati Felicis Nolensis corpus conditum est, quo volui ut pergerent; quia inde nobis facilius fideliusque scribi potest quidquid in eorum aliquo divinitus fuerit propalatum. Nam et nos novimus Mediolani apud memoriam sanctorum, ubi mirabiliter et terribiliter daemones confitentur, furem quemdam, qui ad eum locum venerat ut falsum jurando deciperet, compulsum fuisse confiteri furtum, et quod abstulerat reddere: numquid non et Africa sanctorum martyrum corporibus plena est? et tamen nusquam hic scimus talia fieri. Sicut enim, quod Apostolus dicit, non omnes sancti habent dona curationum, nec omnes habent dijudicationem spirituum (I Cor. XII, 30); ita nec in omnibus memoriis sanctorum ista fieri voluit ille, qui dividit propria unicuique prout vult.

4. Quapropter cum ego noluissem hunc gravissimum dolorem cordis mei vobis perferri in notitiam, ne vos atrociter et inaniter contristando turbarem; fortassis ideo Deus noluit vos latere, ut nobiscum orationibus incumbatis, ut quod ipse in hac causa novit, nos autem nosse non possumus, etiam nobis manifestare dignetur. Nomen autem presbyteri propterea non ausus sum de numero collegarum ejus vel supprimere vel delere, ne divinae potestati, sub cujus examine causa adhuc pendet, facere viderer injuriam, si illius judicium meo vellem praejudicio praevenire: quod nec in negotiis saecularibus judices faciunt, quando causae dubitatio ad majorem potestatem refertur, ut pendente relatione aliquid audeant commutare. Et in episcoporum concilio constitutum est, nullum clericum qui nondum convictus sit, suspendi a communione debere, nisi ad causam suam examinandam se non praesentaverit.

In whose provocation when I saw that Boniface willed not that a scandal be made for whichever weak ones and those prone to suspicion concerning the doubt of his own life, and that he was ready to suffer the loss of his own honor among men, rather than in that contention, in which he could not demonstrate his own conscience to those ignorant and doubting or more proclivous to suspecting evil, to proceed vainly even to the perturbation of the Church; I chose something middle, so that by a certain agreement they both should constrain themselves that they would go to a holy place, where the more terrible works of God should much more easily open the not sound conscience of whomsoever, and should compel to confession either by punishment or by fear. Indeed God is everywhere, and is contained or included in no place, He who founded all things, and it behooves Him to be adored in spirit and in truth by true adorers (John 4:24), so that hearing in secret, He may also in secret justify and crown. Nevertheless to those things which are visibly known to men, who can search out His counsel, why in some places these miracles are done, in others they are not done? For to many the holiness of the place is most known, where the body of blessed Felix of Nola is laid, whither I willed that they should go; because thence it can more easily and more faithfully be written to us whatever should have been divinely propaled in any one of them. For we also knew at Milan at the memory of the saints, where demons confess miraculously and terribly, that a certain thief, who had come to that place so that he might deceive by swearing falsely, was compelled to confess the theft, and to restore what he had taken away: is not Africa also full of the bodies of holy martyrs? and yet nowhere here do we know such things to be done. For just as, what the Apostle says, not all the saints have the gifts of healing, nor all have the discernment of spirits (1 Cor. 12:30); so neither in all memories of the saints did He will those things to be done, who divides proper things to each one just as He wills.

4. Wherefore since I had been unwilling that this most heavy grief of my heart should be brought to your notice, lest I should turbulate you atrociously and in vain by saddening; perhaps therefore God willed it not to be hidden from you, so that you may lie upon us with prayers, that what He himself knows in this cause, moreover we cannot know, He may deign also to manifest to us. Moreover for this reason I have not dared either to suppress or to delete the name of the presbyter from the number of his colleagues, lest I should seem to do injury to the divine power, under whose examination the cause still hangs, if I should will to prevent His judgment by my prejudice: which not even judges in secular business do, when a doubt of a cause is referred to a greater power, so that while the report is pending they should dare to commute anything. And in the council of bishops it has been constituted, that no cleric who has not yet been convicted, ought to be suspended from communion, unless he shall not have presented himself to have his cause examined.

Bonifacius tamen hanc humilitatem suscepit, ut nec litteras acciperet, quibus in peregrinatione honorem suum quaereret, ut in eo loco ubi ambo ignoti sunt, circa ambos aequalitas servaretur. Et nunc si vobis placet ut nomen ejus non recitetur, ne iis qui ad Ecclesiam accedere nolunt, sicut ait Apostolus, demus occasionem quaerentibus occasionem (II Cor. XI, 12); non erit nostrum hoc factum, sed eorum quorum causa fuerit factum. Quid enim obest homini, quod ex illa tabula non vult eum recitari humana ignorantia, si de libro vivorum non eum delet iniqua conscientia?

5. Proinde, fratres mei, qui timetis Deum, mementote quod ait Apostolus Petrus: Quoniam adversarius vester diabolus tanquam leo rugiens circumit quaerens quem devoret (II Petr. V, 8). Quem non potest devorare seductum ad nequitiam, famam ipsius inquinare conatur, ut si fieri potest opprobriis hominum et malarum linguarum detractione deficiat, et sic in ejus fauces ruat. Si autem nec famam innocentis maculare potuerit, hoc ei persuadere tentat, ut per malevolas suspiciones de fratre suo judicet, et sic ab illo implicatus absorbeatur. Et quis omnes ejus captiones et circumventiones vel comprehendere vel enumerare sufficiat? Adversus tamen haec tria quae ad causam praesentem pertinent propius, ne mala exempla imitando ad nequitiam seducamini, ita vos per Apostolum alloquitur Deus: Ne sitis jugum ducentes cum infidelibus; quae enim participatio justitiae cum iniquitate, aut quae societas luci ad tenebras (II Cor. VI, 14)? Item alio loco: Nolite, inquit, seduci: Corrumpunt mores bonos colloquia mala. Sobrii estote, justi, et nolite peccare (I Cor. XV, 33, 34). Ut autem linguis detrahentium non deficiatias, sic per Prophetam dicit: Audite me qui scitis judicium, populus meus, in quorum corde lex mea est: opprobrium hominum nolite metuere, et detractione eorum ne superemini, nec quod vos spernant magni duxeritis. Sicut enim vestimentum, ita per tempus absumentur, et sicut lana a tinea comedentur; justitia autem mea in aeternum manet (Isai. LI, 7, 8). Jam vero ne malevolo animo de servis Dei falsa suspicando pereatis, illud Apostolicum recordamini, ubi ait: Nolite ante tempus judicare quidquam, donec veniat Dominus, et illuminet abscondita tenebrarum, et manifestabit cogitationes cordis, et tunc laus erit unicuique a Deo (I Cor. IV, 5). Et item illud quod scriptum est: Quae manifesta sunt, vobis; quae autem occulta, Domino Deo vestro (Ibid., V, 12, 13).

Boniface nevertheless took up this humility, that he would not even receive letters, by which in his pilgrimage he might seek his own honor, so that in that place where both are unknown, equality should be served concerning both. And now if it pleases you that his name be not recited, lest to those who will not approach to the Church, just as the Apostle says, we give an occasion to those seeking an occasion (2 Cor. 11:12); this deed will not be ours, but theirs for whose cause it shall have been done. For what does it obstruct a man, that by human ignorance it is not willed that he be recited from that table, if an iniquitous conscience does not delete him from the book of the living?

5. Hence, my brothers, you who fear God, remember what the Apostle Peter says: For your adversary the devil as a roaring lion goes about seeking whom he may devour (2 Pet. 5:8). Whom he cannot devour seduced to wickedness, he endeavors to pollute his reputation, so that if it can be done he may fail by the opprobria of men and the detraction of evil tongues, and thus may rush into his jaws. Moreover if he could not maculate the reputation of the innocent, he attempts to persuade him of this, that he should judge concerning his brother through malevolent suspicions, and thus implicated should be absorbed by him. And who should suffice either to comprehend or to enumerate all his captivities and circumventions? Nevertheless against these three things which pertain more closely to the present cause, lest by imitating evil examples you be seduced to wickedness, thus God addresses you through the Apostle: Be not leading a yoke with the infidels; for what participation of justice with iniquity, or what society of light to darkness (2 Cor. 6:14)? Likewise in another place: Will not, he says, to be seduced: Evil colloquies corrupt good manners. Be sober, just ones, and will not to sin (1 Cor. 15:33, 34). Moreover that you may not fail by the tongues of detractors, thus He says through the Prophet: Hear me you who know judgment, my people, in whose heart is my law: will not to fear the opprobrium of men, and by their detraction be not overcome, nor should you hold it of great weight that they despise you. For just as a garment, so by time they shall be consumed, and just as wool by a moth they shall be eaten; moreover my justice remains in eternity (Isai. 51:7, 8). Now indeed lest by suspecting false things concerning the servants of God with a malevolent mind you should perish, record that Apostolic word, where he says: Will not to judge anything before the time, until the Lord comes, and shall enlighten the hidden things of darkness, and shall manifest the thoughts of the heart, and then there shall be praise to each one from God (1 Cor. 4:5). And likewise that which is written: What things are manifest, [pertain] to you; moreover what things are hidden, to the Lord your God (Deut. 29:29).

6. Manifestum est quidem, quia ista in Ecclesia non accidunt sine gravi tristitia sanctorum atque fidelium; verumtamen consoletur nos qui cuncta praedixit, atque ut abundantia iniquitatis non refrigescamus, sed usque in finem perseveremus, ut salvi esse possimus, admonuit. Nam quantum ad me attinet, si est in me quantulacumque charitas Christi, quis vestrum infirmatur, et ego non infirmor? quis scandalizatur, et ego non uror (II Cor. XI, 29)? Nolite itaque augere cruciatus meos, deficiendo vel in suspicionibus falsis, vel in peccatis alienis. Nolite, obsecro vos, ne dicam de vobis: Et super dolorem vulnerum meorum addiderunt. Nam illi qui gaudent de istis doloribus nostris, de quibus in persona corporis Christi tanto ante praedictum est, Adversus me insultabant qui sedebant in porta, et in me psallebant qui bibebant vinum (Psal. LXVIII, 27, 13), valde tolerabilius sustinentur; pro quibus tamen etiam ipsis orare, et bonum eis velle didicimus. Ad quid enim aliud sedent isti, et quid aliud captant, nisi ut quisquis episcopus, vel clericus, vel monachus, vel sanctimonialis ceciderit, omnes tales esse credant, jactent, contendant, sed non omnes posse manifestari? Et tamen etiam ipsi cum aliqua maritata invenitur adultera, nec projiciunt uxores suas, nec accusant matres suas. Cum autem de aliquibus qui sanctum nomen profitentur, aliquid criminis vel falsi sonuerit, vel veri patuerit, instant, satagunt, ambiunt, ut de omnibus hoc credatur. Hos ergo de nostris doloribus suavitatem suae malae linguae captantes, facile est ut illis canibus comparemus, si forte in malo intelligendi sunt, qui lingebant vulnera pauperis illius, qui ante januam divitis jacebat, et quousque veniret ad requiem sinus Abrahae, laboriosa et indigna omnia tolerabat (Luc. XVI, 21-23).

7. Vos me nolite amplius cruciare, qui aliquam spem habetis ad Deum: vos nolite ipsa vulnera quae illi lingunt, multiplicare; vos pro quibus periclitamur omni hora, habentes foris pugnas, intus timores (II Cor. VII, 5), periculum in civitate, periculum in deserto, periculum ex gentibus, periculum ex falsis fratribus (Id. XI, 26). Scio quia doletis; sed numquid acrius quam ego? Scio quia conturbati estis, et timeo ne inter linguas maledicorum deficiat et pereat infirmus, propter quem Christus mortuus est. Non ex vobis increscat dolor noster, quia non culpa nostra factus est vester. Nam hoc est quod praecavere conatus sum, ut si fieri posset, hoc malum nec vitandum negligeretur, nec in vestram notitiam perferretur, ubi infructuose cruciarentur firmi, et periculose turbarentur infirmi. Sed qui hoc cognito permisit vos tentari, det vobis vires sustinendi, et erudiat vos ex lege sua; doceat vos et mitiget a diebus malignis, donec fodiatur peccatori fovea (Psal. XCIII, 12, 13).

6. It is manifest indeed, because these things do not happen in the Church without the grave grief of the saints and of the faithful; nevertheless let Him console us who foretold all things, and admonished that we should not grow cold by the abundance of iniquity, but should persevere even to the end, that we may be able to be saved. For as much as pertains to me, if there is in me however little a charity of Christ, who of you is weak, and I am not weak? who is scandalized, and I burn not (2 Cor. 11:29)? Do not therefore increase my torments, by failing either in false suspicions, or in the sins of others. Will not, I beseech you, lest I say concerning you: And they have added upon the grief of my wounds. For those who rejoice concerning these our griefs, concerning which in the person of the body of Christ it was foretold so long before: They who sat in the gate insulted against me, and they who drank wine sang against me (Ps. 68:13, 14), are sustained much more tolerably; for whom nevertheless we have learned even to pray for those themselves, and to will good for them. For to what else do those sit, and what else do they catch at, except that whichever bishop, or cleric, or monk, or nun shall have fallen, they should believe, boast, and contend that all are such, but that not all can be manifested? And yet even they themselves when some married woman is found an adulteress, neither do they project their own wives, nor do they accuse their own mothers. Moreover when concerning some who profess a holy name, anything of a crime either has sounded false, or has been opened true, they insist, they bustle, they go about, so that this may be believed concerning all. These therefore catching at the sweetness of their own evil tongue from our griefs, it is easy that we compare to those dogs, if perhaps they are to be understood in evil, who were licking the wounds of that poor man, who was lying before the gate of the rich man, and until he should come to the rest of the bosom of Abraham, was tolerating all things laborious and unworthy (Luke 16:21-23).

7. Will not to torment me further, you who have some hope toward God: will not to multiply those very wounds which they lick; you for whom we are in peril every hour, having fights without, fears within (2 Cor. 7:5), peril in the city, peril in the desert, peril from the gentiles, peril from false brothers (2 Cor. 11:26). I know that you grieve; but [is it] any more sharply than I? I know that you are turbulated, and I fear lest among the tongues of maledictors the weak one should fail and perish, for whom Christ died. Let not our grief increase from you, because it was not by our fault that yours was made. For this is what I have endeavored to take precaution against, so that if it could be done, this evil should neither be neglected to be avoided, nor be brought to your notice, where the firm should be fruitlessly tormented, and the weak should be perilously turbulated. But He who, this being known, permitted you to be tempted, may give you the strengths of sustaining, and may erudite you from His law; may He teach you and mitigate [you] from the evil days, until a pit be dug for the sinner (Ps. 93:12, 13).

8. Audio nonnullos vestrum hinc amplius contristari, quam de lapsu duorum illorum diaconorum qui ex parte Donati venerant, tanquam disciplinae Proculeiani insultaverint, velut gloriantes de nobis, quod ex nostra disciplina nihil tale in clericis exstitisset: quod quicumque fecistis, fateor vobis, non bene fecistis. Ecce docuit vos Deus, ut qui gloriatur, in Domino glorietur (I Cor. I, 31): nec objiciatis haereticis, nisi quia non sunt catholici; ne similes eis sitis, qui non habendo quod in causa suae divisionis defendant, non nisi hominum crimina colligere affectant, et ea ipsa plura falsissime jactant: ut quia ipsam divinae Scripturae veritatem, qua ubique diffusa Christi Ecclesia commendatur, criminari et obscurare non possunt, homines per quos praedicatur adducant in odium; de quibus et fingere quidquid in mentem venerit, possunt. Vos autem non ita didicistis Christum; si tamen illum audistis, et in illo docti estis (Eph. IV, 20, 21). Ipse quippe fideles suos securos fecit etiam de dispensatoribus malis, mala sua facientibus, et bona ejus loquentibus, ubi ait: Quae dicunt facite; quae autem faciunt, facere nolite: dicunt enim, et non faciunt (Matth. XXIII, 3). Orate quidem pro me, ne forte aliis praedicans ipse reprobus inveniar (I Cor. IX, 27); verumtamen cum gloriamini, non in me, sed in Domino gloriamini. Quantumlibet enim vigilet disciplina domus meae, homo sum, et inter homines vivo, nec mihi arrogare audeo ut domus mea melior sit quam arca Noe, ubi tamen inter octo homines reprobus unus inventus est (Gen. IX, 27): aut melior sit quam domus Abrahae, ubi dictum est, Ejice ancillam et filium ejus (Id. XXI, 10): aut melior sit quam domus Isaac, cujus de duobus geminis dictum est, Jacob dilexi, Esau autem odio habui (Malach. I, 2): aut melior sit quam domus ipsius Jacob, ubi lectum patris filius incestavit (Gen. XLIX, 4): aut melior sit quam domus David, cujus filius cum sorore concubuit (II Reg. XIII, 14); cujus alter filius contra patris tam sanctam mansuetudinem rebellavit (Ibid. XV, 12): aut melior quam cohabitatio Pauli apostoli, qui tamen si inter omnes bonos habitaret, non diceret quod superius commemoravi, foris pugnae, intus timores (II Cor. VII, 5); nec diceret cum de sanctitate et fide Timothei loqueretur, Neminem habeo qui germane de vobis sollicitus sit. Omnes enim sua quaerunt, non quae sunt Jesu Christi (Philipp. II, 20, 21): aut melior quam cohabitatione ipsius Domini Christi, in qua undecim boni perfidum et furem Judam toleraverunt: aut melior sit postremo quam coelum, unde Angeli ceciderunt.

8. I hear some of you to be more saddened hence, than concerning the fall of those two deacons who had come from the part of Donatus, as if they should have insulted the discipline of Proculeianus, as if glorying concerning us, because from our discipline nothing such had existed in the clerics: whichever of you have done this, I confess to you, you have not done well. Behold God has taught you, that he who glories, let him glory in the Lord (1 Cor. 1:31): nor should you object to the heretics, except because they are not Catholics; lest you be similar to them, who not having what they may defend in the cause of their division, affect nothing except to collect the crimes of men, and boast those same things more falsely: so that because they cannot criminate and obscure the very truth of divine Scripture, by which the Church of Christ diffused everywhere is commended, they may lead into hatred the men through whom it is preached; concerning whom they can also feign whatever shall have come into the mind. Moreover you have not so learned Christ; if nevertheless you have heard Him, and have been taught in Him (Eph. 4:20, 21). For He Himself made His faithful secure even concerning evil dispensators, doing their own evil things, and speaking His good things, where He says: What things they say, do; moreover what things they do, will not to do: for they say, and do not (Matt. 23:3). Pray indeed for me, lest perhaps preaching to others I myself be found a reprobate (1 Cor. 9:27); nevertheless when you glory, glory not in me, but in the Lord. For however much the discipline of my house may watch, I am a man, and I live among men, nor do I dare to arrogate to myself that my house be better than Noah's ark, where nevertheless among eight men one reprobate was found (Gen. 9:27): or it be better than the house of Abraham, where it was said, Cast out the handmaid and her son (Gen. 21:10): or it be better than the house of Isaac, of whose two twins it was said, Jacob I have loved, but Esau I have had in hatred (Mal. 1:2): or it be better than the house of Jacob himself, where the son incested the father's bed (Gen. 49:4): or it be better than the house of David, whose son lay with his sister (2 Sam. 13:14); whose other son rebelled against the so holy mansuetude of the father (2 Sam. 15:12): or better than the cohabitation of Paul the apostle, who nevertheless if he were dwelling among all good men, would not say what I have commemorated above, fights without, fears within (2 Cor. 7:5); nor would he say when he should speak concerning the holiness and faith of Timothy, I have no one who should be germanely solicitous concerning you. For all seek their own things, not what things are of Jesus Christ (Phil. 2:20, 21): or better than the cohabitation of the Lord Christ himself, in which eleven good ones tolerated the perfidious and thief Judas: or it be better finally than heaven, whence the Angels fell.

9. Simpliciter autem fateor Charitati vestrae coram Domino Deo nostro, qui testis est super animam meam, ex quo Deo servire coepi: quomodo difficile sum expertus meliores quam qui in monasteriis profecerunt; ita non sum expertus pejores quam qui in monasteriis ceciderunt, ita ut hinc arbitrer in Apocalypsi scriptum, Justus justior fiat, et sordidus sordescat adhuc (Apoc. XXII, 11). Quapropter etsi contristamur de aliquibus purgamentis, consolamur tamen etiam de pluribus ornamentis. Nolite ergo propter amurcam qua oculi vestri offenduntur, torcularia detestari, unde apothecae dominicae fructu olei luminosioris implentur, Domini Dei nostri misericordia vos adversus omnes insidias inimici in sua pace custodiat, dilectissimi fratres.

EPISTOLA LXXIX. Augustini episcopi ad presbyterum quemdam Manichaeum, denuntians ut solvat quaestionem in qua praecessor ejus Fortunatus defecerat, vel procul a sua Ecclesia discedat.

Sine causa tergiversaris, cum longe appareat qualis sis. Quid tecum locuti fuerint fratres, indicaverunt mihi. Bene, quia non times mortem; sed eam mortem debes timere, quam tibi ipse facis talia de Deo blasphemando. Et quod intelligis mortem istam visibilem, quam omnes homines norunt, separationem esse mentis a corpore, non est magnum intelligere. Sed quod adjungis de vestro, separationem esse boni a malo: si mens bonum est et corpus malum, qui ea commiscuit non est bonus; dicitis autem quia Deus bonus ista commiscuit: ergo aut malus est, aut malum timebat. Et tu gloriaris, quia non times hominem, cum Deum talem tibi fingas, qui tenebras timuit, ut commisceret bonum et malum? Noli autem extolli animo, sicut scripsisti, quia vos magnos facimus, eo quod impedire volumus venena vestra, ne ad homines pestilentia serpat: non enim Apostolus, quos canes appellat magnos facit, cum dicit, Cavete canes (Philipp. III, 2); aut illos magnos faciebat, quorum sermonem dicebat serpere ut cancrum (II Tim. II, 17). Itaque denuntio tibi in nomine Christi, ut si paratus es, solve quaestionem in qua defecit praecessor tuus Fortunatus. Et ita hinc ierat, ut non rediret, nisi, cum suis disputatione collata, inveniret quid contra respondere posset, disputans cum fratribus. Si autem ad hoc non es paratus; discede hinc, et noli pervertere vias Domini, et illaqueare ut venenis inficere animas infirmas, ne adjuvante dextera Domini nostri, quomodo non putaveras erubescas.

9. Moreover I simply confess to your Charity before the Lord our God, who is witness over my soul, from when I began to serve God: just as I have with difficulty experienced better [ones] than those who have profited in monasteries; so I have not experienced worse than those who have fallen in monasteries, so that hence I think it written in the Apocalypse, Let the just become more just, and the filthy become filthy still (Rev. 22:11). Wherefore although we are saddened concerning some dregs, nevertheless we are consoled also concerning more ornaments. Will not therefore on account of the amurca by which your eyes are offended, detest the oil presses, whence the dominical apothecae are filled with the fruit of a more luminous oil; may the mercy of our Lord God keep you in His peace against all the snares of the enemy, most beloved brothers.

EPISTLE LXXIX. Of bishop Augustine to a certain Manichaean presbyter, denouncing that he should solve the question in which his predecessor Fortunatus had failed, or should depart far from his Church.

Without cause you prevaricate, when it appears from afar of what kind you are. What the brothers have spoken with you, they have indicated to me. Well, because you do not fear death; but you ought to fear that death, which you yourself make for yourself by blaspheming such things concerning God. And that you understand that visible death, which all men know, to be the separation of the mind from the body, is not great to understand. But what you join from your own, that it is the separation of the good from the evil: if the mind is a good and the body an evil, He who mixed them is not good; moreover you say that the good God mixed those things: therefore either He is evil, or He was fearing evil. And do you glory, because you do not fear man, when you feign such a God for yourself, who feared the darkness, so that He mixed the good and the evil? Moreover will not to be extolled in mind, just as you have written, because we make you great, in that we will to impede your poisons, lest the pestilence creep to men: for the Apostle does not make great those whom he calls dogs, when he says, Beware of dogs (Phil. 3:2); or was he making those great, whose speech he was saying to creep as a canker (2 Tim. 2:17). Therefore I denounce to you in the name of Christ, that if you are ready, solve the question in which your predecessor Fortunatus failed. And thus he had gone hence, so that he should not return, unless, having compared the disputation with his own, he should find what he might respond against, disputing with the brothers. Moreover if you are not ready for this; depart hence, and will not to pervert the ways of the Lord, and to ensnare so as to infect weak souls with poisons, lest by the helping right hand of our Lord, in the way you had not thought you should be ashamed.

Epistola LXXX.

Cupit explicari liquidius a Paulino, quonam modo voluntatem Dei, quae nostrae praeferenda est, nosse possimus.

Sanctis et Deo dilectis, merito venerabilibus et multum desiderabilibus fratribus PAULINO et THERASIAE, AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

1. Charissimus frater Celsus cum rescripta repeteret, debitum reddere festinavi; sed vere festinavi. Cum enim eum putarem adhuc aliquot dies nobiscum moraturum, repente comperta occasione navigii, mihi pridianam suam profectionem jam nocte suggessit. Quid facerem cum eum tenere non possem, et quia ad vos, cum quibus ei melius esset, properabat, nec si possem, deberem. Proinde pauca illico haec arripui dictanda atque mittenda, prolixioris epistolae me confitens debitorem, cum post reditum venerabilium fratrum nostrorum collegarum meorum Theasii et Evodii, primum vestri ex parte satiatus fuero. Uberius enim ad nos in eorum pectoribus et oribus vos esse venturos jamjamque, in Christi nomine atque adjutorio speramus. Cum haec scriberem, etiam per unanimem filium nostrum Thagastensis Ecclesiae presbyterum Fortunatianum, Romam navigaturum, aliam epistolam paucis ante diebus jam dederam. Nunc ergo quod soleo rogo, ut quod soletis faciatis. Oretis pro nobis, ut videat Deus humilitatem nostram et laborem nostrum, et dimittat omnia peccata nostra.

2. Colloqui autem vobiscum talia cupio, si dignemini, litteris; qualia colloqui possemus, si coram vestris sensibus adessemus. Ecce illam quaestiunculam, quam nuper proposueram, tanquam si praesens praesenti inter dulces loquelas obderem, plane christiano intellectu et devotione solvisti, sed nimis cursim et breviter; posset quippe ibi aliquanto diutius et uberius habitare gratia oris tui, si cum dixisses ita te in illo, quo feliciter uteris, loco perseverare decrevisse, ut si quid de te aliud Domino placuerit, ejus voluntatem praeferas tuae, idipsum aliquanto apertius explicares. Quonam modo voluntatem Dei, quae nostrae voluntati praeponenda est, noverimus: utrum tantum in ea re, quam propterea volentes perferre debemus, quia et inviti cogeremur. Ibi enim fit quidem quod nolumus: sed ideo nos corrigimus ut velimus, quia ille vult, cujus voluntatis nec excellentiam fas est recusare, nec omnipotentiam licet evitare; sicut Petrum alter cinxit et tulit quo noluerat (Joan. XXI, 18), verumtamen quo nollet iit, et volens mortem subegit asperam.

Epistle LXXX.

He desires it to be explained more clearly by Paulinus, in what way we can know the will of God, which is to be preferred to ours.

To the holy and beloved of God, meritoriously venerable and much desirable brothers PAULINUS and THERASIA, AUGUSTINE, [sends] greeting in the Lord.

1. The most dear brother Celsus when he was seeking again the replies, I hastened to render the debt; but truly I hastened. For when I was thinking that he would stay with us yet for some days, suddenly the occasion of a voyage being comperted, he suggested to me already at night his departure for the following day. What should I do since I could not hold him, and because he was hastening to you, with whom it would be better for him, nor if I could, ought I. Hence I seized these few things there to be dictated and sent, confessing myself a debtor of a more prolix epistle, when after the return of our venerable brothers my colleagues Theasius and Evodius, I shall first have been satiated from your part. For we hope that you are to come to us right now more abundantly in their breasts and mouths, in the name and help of Christ. When I was writing these things, also through our unanimous son the presbyter of the Church of Tagaste, Fortunatianus, who is about to sail to Rome, I had already given another letter a few days before. Now therefore I ask what I am accustomed, that you do what you are accustomed. May you pray for us, so that God may see our humility and our labor, and may dismiss all our sins.

2. Moreover I desire to speak with you of such things, if you should deign, by letters; such as we could speak, if we were present before your senses. Behold that little question, which I had recently proposed, as if I were offering it present to [you] present among sweet discourses, you have solved plainly with Christian understanding and devotion, but too cursorily and briefly; for the grace of your mouth could dwell there somewhat longer and more abundantly, if when you had said that you had thus decreed to persevere in that place, which you use happily, so that if anything else concerning you should please the Lord, you should prefer His will to yours, you should explain that same thing somewhat more openly. In what way we should know the will of God, which is to be preferred to our will: whether only in that thing, which for that reason we ought to endure willing, because even unwilling we would be compelled. For there indeed that happens which we do not will: but therefore we correct ourselves so that we may will, because He wills, whose will it is neither right to refuse [its] excellence, nor is it allowed to avoid [its] omnipotence; just as another girded Peter and bore him where he had not willed (John 21:18), yet he went where he would not will, and willing he subdued the sharp death.

An et ibi ubi est potestas, non mutare sententiam, quamvis aliud occurrat, in quo potius appareat voluntas Dei ad mutandam sententiam nos vocantis, non quia nostra mala erat, sed in qua recte permaneretur, nisi ab illo in alteram vocaremur. Neque enim malum fuit Abrahae nutrire et educare filium, quoad posset, quantum in ipso esset, usque ad finem vitae suae; sed repente jussus occidere, mutavit utique non prius malam sententiam, sed quae mala esset, si post jussum mutata non esset (Gen. XXII, 2, 10): hinc quoque non dubito nihil aliud videri tibi.

3. Sed plerumque non voce de coelo, non per prophetam, non per revelationem vel somnii, vel excessus mentis qui dicitur ecstasis, sed rebus ipsis accidentibus, et ad aliud quam statueramus vocantibus cogimur agnoscere Dei voluntatem esse aliam quam erat nostra: tanquam si proficisci statueremus, et aliquid oriretur quod consulta de officio nostro veritas vetaret deserere, aut decernentibus ibi manere nuntiaretur aliquid, quod eadem veritate consulta nos compelleret proficisci. De hoc tertio genere causarum mutandae sententiae, quid tibi videatur peto mecum plenius et enodatius colloquaris. Saepe nos quippe conturbat, et difficile est non aliquid quod magis faciendum erat omittere, dum illud mutare nolumus in quo prius permanere statueramus, non quidem malum verum, jam ideo malum quia id quod potius agendum est occurrens deseritur; quod si non occurreret, non solum sine vituperatione, sed etiam cum laude, in illo priore perduraretur. Hic non falli difficile est; hic omnino vox prophetica praevalet: Delicta quis intelligit (Psal. XVIII, 13)? Hinc oro, participem me facias cogitationum tuarum, quid in talibus vel facere solcas, vel faciendum esse reperias.

EPISTOLA LXXXI . Hieronymus Augustino, excusans quod ipsius litteris responderit liberius Epistola 75, rogansque ut, omissis contentiosis quaestionibus, deinceps secum invicem amice conferant, et placide versentur in campo sacrarum Scripturarum.

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

Or also there where there is power, not to change the sentence, although something else occurs, in which the will of God rather appears calling us to change the sentence, not because ours was evil, but in which one would rightly remain, unless we were called by Him to another. For it was not an evil for Abraham to nourish and educate his son, as far as he could, as much as was in him, even to the end of his life; but suddenly ordered to kill, he changed certainly not a previously evil sentence, but what would be evil, if it had not been changed after the command (Gen. 22:2, 10): hence also I do not doubt that nothing else seems to you.

3. But for the most part not by a voice from heaven, not through a prophet, not through a revelation either of a dream, or of an excess of mind which is called ecstasy, but by the things themselves happening, and calling to another than what we had established, we are compelled to acknowledge that the will of God is other than was ours: as if we should establish to set out, and something should arise which the truth consulted concerning our office should forbid to desert, or to those decreeing to remain there something should be announced, which the same truth consulted should compel us to set out. Concerning this third kind of causes for changing a sentence, I ask that you speak with me more fully and clearly what seems [best] to you. For often it disturbs us, and it is difficult not to omit something which was rather to be done, while we will not to change that in which we had first established to remain, not indeed a true evil, but already for that reason an evil because that which is rather to be done occurring is deserted; which if it should not occur, not only without blame, but even with praise, one would endure in that prior [one]. Here it is difficult not to be deceived; here entirely the prophetic voice prevails: Who understands sins? (Psalm 18:13). Hence I pray, that you make me a participant of your thoughts, what you either are accustomed to do in such things, or find that it ought to be done.

EPISTLE LXXXI. Jerome to Augustine, excusing that he responded to his letters more freely in Epistle 75, and asking that, contentious questions having been omitted, henceforth they may confer with each other amicably, and may be placidly conversant in the field of the sacred Scriptures.

To the truly holy and most blessed pope AUGUSTINE, JEROME, [sends] greeting in Christ.

Cum a sancto fratre nostro Firmo sollicite quaererem quid ageres, sospitem te laetus audivi. Rursum cum tuas litteras non dico sperarem, sed exigerem; nesciente te, de Africa se profectum esse dixit. Itaque reddo tibi per eum salutationis officia, qui te unico amore complectitur: simulque obsecro ut ignoscas pudori meo, quod diu praecipienti ut rescriberem, negare non potui. Nec ego tibi, sed causae causa respondit. Et si culpa est respondisse, quaeso ut patienter audias, multo major est provocasse. Sed facessant istiusmodi querimoniae: sit inter nos pura germanitas; et deinceps non quaestionum, sed charitatis ad nos scripta mittamus. Sancti fratres, qui nobiscum Domino serviunt, affatim te salutant. Sanctos qui tecum Christi leve trahunt jugum, praecipue sanctum et suscipiendum papam Alypium, ut meo obsequio solutes, precor. Incolumem te et memorem mei, Christus Deus noster tueatur omnipotens, domine vere sancte et beatissime papa.

Si legisti librum Explanationum in Jonam, puto quod ridiculam cucurbitae non recipias quaestionem. Si autem amicus, qui me primus gladio petiit, stilo repulsus est; sit humanitatis tuae atque justitiae, accusantem reprehendere, non respondentem. In Scripturarum campo, si placet, sine nostro invicem dolore ludamus.

EPISTOLA LXXXII . Receptis ab Hieronymo superioribus Epistolis 72, 75 et 81, rescribit accuratius Augustinus de interpretatione loci Epistolae ad Galatas, confirmans quod Petrus merito veraciterque reprehensus fuerit a Paulo. Caeterum deprecatur veniam, si dictis quibusdam incautioribus Hieronymi animum offenderit, excusans quod nulla sua culpa per multorum manus obambularit epistola, priusquam ad eum cui scripta erat, pervenerat.

Domino dilectissimo, et in Christi visceribus honorando, sancto fratri et compresbytero HIERONYMO, AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

CAPUT PRIMUM.

1. Jam pridem tuae Charitati prolixam epistolam misi, respondens illi tuae quam per sanctum filium tuum Asterium, nunc jam non solum fratrem, verum etiam collegam meum, misisse te recolis. Quae utrum in manus tuas pervenire meruerit, adhuc nescio; nisi quod per fratrem sincerissimum Firmum scribis, si ille qui te primum gladio petiit, stilo repulsus est, ut sit humanitatis meae atque justitiae accusantem reprehendere, non respondentem. Hoc solo tenuissimo indicio, utcumque conjicio legisse te illam epistolam meam.

When I was solicitously seeking from our holy brother Firmus what you were doing, I heard with joy that you were safe. Again when I was not [only] hoping for your letters, but exacting [them]; he said that he had set out from Africa without your knowledge. Therefore I render to you through him the offices of salutation, who embraces you with unique love: and at the same time I beseech that you forgive my shame, because I could not deny him who for a long time was prescribing that I should write back. Nor did I respond to you, but the cause responded to the cause. And if it is a fault to have responded, I ask that you hear patiently, it is much greater to have provoked. But let such complaints depart: let there be between us pure brotherhood; and henceforth let us send writings of charity to us, not of questions. The holy brothers, who serve the Lord with us, salute you abundantly. I pray that you salute with my service the saints who draw with you the light yoke of Christ, especially the holy and to-be-received pope Alypius. May Christ our God, the Almighty, protect you safe and mindful of me, truly holy and most blessed pope.

If you have read the book of Explanations on Jonah, I think that you would not receive the ridiculous question of the gourd. Moreover if a friend, who first sought me with a sword, has been repulsed with a pen; let it be of your humanity and justice, to reprehend the one accusing, not the one responding. In the field of Scriptures, if it pleases, let us play without our mutual pain.

EPISTLE LXXXII. The above Epistles 72, 75 and 81 having been received from Jerome, Augustine writes back more accurately concerning the interpretation of the passage of the Epistle to the Galatians, confirming that Peter was deservedly and truly reprehended by Paul. For the rest he prays for pardon, if he should have offended the mind of Jerome by certain more incautious sayings, excusing that by no fault of his had the epistle walked about through the hands of many, before it had arrived to him to whom it had been written.

To the most beloved brother, and to be honored in the bowels of Christ, the holy brother and fellow-presbyter JEROME, AUGUSTINE, [sends] greeting in the Lord.

CHAPTER FIRST.

1. A long time ago I sent a prolix epistle to your Charity, responding to that of yours which you recollect that you sent through your holy son Asterius, now already not only a brother, but even my colleague. Whether it has merited to come into your hands, I still do not know; except that you write through the most sincere brother Firmus, that if he who first sought you with a sword, has been repulsed with a pen, that it should be of my humanity and justice to reprehend the one accusing, not the one responding. By this only most thin indication, I conjecture somehow that you have read that epistle of mine.

In ea quippe deploravi tantam inter vos exstitisse discordiam, de quorum tanta amicitia, quaquaversum eam fama diffuderat, charitas fraterna gaudebat. Quod non feci reprehendendo Germanitatem tuam, cujus in ea re aliquam culpam me cognovisse non ausim dicere; sed dolendo humanam miseriam, cujus in amicitiis mutua charitate retinendis, quantalibet illa sit, incerta permansio est. Verum illud malueram tuis nosse rescriptis, utrum mihi veniam quam poposceram dederis: quod apertius mihi intimari cupio; quamvis hilarior quidam vultus litterarum tuarum, etiam hoc me impetrasse, significare videatur: si tamen post lectam illam missae sunt; quod in eis minime apparet.

2. Petis, vel potius fiducia charitatis jubes, ut in Scripturarum campo sine nostro invicem dolore ludamus. Equidem quantum ad me attinet, serio nos ista, quam ludo, agere mallem. Quod si hoc verbum tibi propter facilitatem ponere placuit; ego fateor, majus aliquid expeto a benignitate virium tuarum, prudentiaque tam docta, et otiosa, annosa, studiosa, ingeniosa diligence; haec tibi non tantum donante, verum etiam dictante Spiritu sancto, ut in magnis et laboriosis quaestionibus, non tanquam ludentem in campo Scripturarum, sed in montibus anhelantem adjuves. Si autem propter hilaritatem quam esse inter charissimos disserentes decet, putasti dicendum esse, Ludamus: sive illud apertum et planum sit, unde colloquimur, sive arduum atque difficile, hoc ipsum edoce, obsecro te, quonam modo assequi valeamus: ut cum forte aliquid nos movet, quod nobis, et si non cautius attendentibus, certe tardius intelligentibus, non probatum est, et quid nobis videatur, contra conamur asserere, si hoc aliquanto securiore libertate dicamus, non incidamus in suspicionem puerilis jactantiae, quasi nostro nomini famam, viros illustres accusando, quaeramus: si autem aliquid asperum, refellendi necessitate, depromptum fuerit; quo tolerabile fiat, leniore circumfundamus eloquio, ne litum melle gladium stringere judicemur. Nisi forte ille modus est, quo utrumque hoc vitium, vel vitii suspicionem caveamus, si cum doctiore amico sic disputemus, ut quidquid dixerit, necesse sit approve, nec quaerendi saltem causa, liceat aliquantulum reluctari.

For in it I deplored that so great a discord had existed between you, of whose so great friendship, wherever fame had diffused it, fraternal charity was rejoicing. Which I did not do by reprehending your Brotherhood, whose some fault in that matter I would not dare to say that I have known; but by grieving at human misery, whose stay in retaining mutual charity in friendships, however great that may be, is uncertain. But I had preferred to know from your replies, whether you had given to me the pardon which I had asked: which I desire to be more openly intimated to me; although a certain more cheerful countenance of your letters seems to signify that I have impetrated even this: if however they were sent after that one was read; which appears least in them.

2. You ask, or rather by the confidence of charity you command, that in the field of Scriptures we should play without our mutual pain. Indeed as much as pertains to me, I would prefer that we should do those things seriously, rather than play. But if it pleased you to put this word because of facility; I confess, I expect something greater from the benignity of your strengths, and a prudence so learned, and a leisure, aged, studious, ingenious diligence; the Holy Spirit not only giving but even dictating these things to you, so that in great and laborious questions, you may help [me] not as if playing in the field of Scriptures, but as if panting in the mountains. Moreover if because of the cheerfulness which it is fitting to be between most dear ones discoursing, you thought it was to be said, Let us play: whether that should be open and plain, whence we speak, or arduous and difficult, teach this very thing, I beseech you, in what way we may be able to attain [it]: so that when by chance something moves us, which has not been approved by us, and if not for those attending more cautiously, certainly for those understanding more slowly, and we endeavor to assert against what seems [best] to us, if we should say this with a somewhat more secure liberty, we should not fall into the suspicion of childish boastfulness, as if we should seek fame for our name by accusing illustrious men: moreover if anything sharp, from the necessity of refuting, should have been brought forth; in order that it may become tolerable, let us surround it with a milder eloquence, lest we be judged to draw a sword smeared with honey. Unless by chance that is the way, by which we may avoid both this vice, and the suspicion of vice, if we should thus dispute with a more learned friend, so that whatever he shall have said, it should be necessary to approve, nor should it be allowed to resist even a little for the sake of seeking.

3. Tum vero sine ullo timore offensionis tanquam in campo luditur; sed mirum si nobis non illuditur. Ego enim fateor Charitati tuae, solis eis Scripturarum libris qui jam canonici appellantur, didici hunc timorem honoremque deferre, ut nullum eorum auctorem scribendo aliquid errasse firmissime credam. Ac si aliquid in eis offendero Litteris, quod videatur contrarium veritati; nihil aliud, quam vel mendosum esse codicem, vel interpretem non assecutum esse quod dictum est, vel me minime intellexisse, non ambigam. Alios autem ita lego, ut quantalibet sanctitate doctrinaque praepolleant, non ideo verum putem, quia ipsi ita senserunt; sed quia mihi vel per illos auctores canonicos, vel probabili ratione, quod a vero non abhorreat, persuadere potuerunt. Nec te, mi frater, sentire aliud existimo: prorsus, inquam, non te arbitror sic legi tuos libros velle, tanquam Prophetarum, vel Apostolorum; de quorum scriptis, quod omni errore careant, dubitare nefarium est. Absit hoc a pia humilitate et veraci de temetipso cogitatione; qua nisi esses praeditus, non utique diceres: Utinam mereremur complexus tuos, et collatione mutua vel doceremus aliqua, vel disceremus.

CAPUT II.

4. Quod si teipsum, consideratione vitae ac morum tuorum, non simulate nec fallaciter dixisse credo; quanto magis aequum est me credere; apostolum Paulum non aliud sensisse quam scripserit, ubi ait de Petro et Barnaba: Cum viderem quia non recte ingrediuntur ad veritatem Evangelii, dixi Petro coram omnibus: Si tu, cum sis Judaeus, gentiliter et non judaice vivis, quomodo Gentes cogis judaizare (Gal. II, 14)? De quo enim certus sim quod me scribendo vel loquendo non fallat, si fallebat Apostolus filios suos, quos iterum parturiebat, donec in eis Christus, id est veritas, formaretur (Id. IV, 19)? Quibus cum praemisisset dicens. Quae autem scribo vobis, ecce coram Deo, quia non mentior (Id. I, 20): non tamen veraciter scribebat, sed nescio qua dispensatoria simulatione fallebat, vidisse se Petrum et Barnabam non recte ad Evangelii veritatem ingredientes, ac Petro in faciem restitisse, non ob aliud nisi quod Gentes cogeret judaizare!

3. Then truly one plays as if in a field without any fear of offense; but it is a wonder if we are not played with. For I confess to your Charity, that I have learned to defer this fear and honor only to those books of the Scriptures which are already called canonical, so that I should most firmly believe that no author of them erred in writing anything. And if I should stumble upon anything in those Letters, which seems contrary to truth; I shall not doubt that it is nothing else, than either the codex is faulty, or the interpreter has not attained what was said, or I have least understood. Moreover I read others in such a way, that with however great holiness and doctrine they may prevail, I do not for that reason think it true, because they themselves have so sensed [it]; but because they were able to persuade me either through those canonical authors, or by probable reason, which does not abhor from the true. Nor do I think that you, my brother, sense otherwise: I say, I entirely do not think that you will your books to be read in such a way, as those of the Prophets, or the Apostles; concerning whose writings, because they are free from all error, it is nefas to doubt. Let this be absent from pious humility and truthful thinking concerning yourself; with which unless you were endowed, you would not certainly say: Would that we might merit your embraces, and by mutual collation we might either teach some things, or learn.

CHAPTER II.

4. But if I believe that you, from the consideration of your life and manners, have said [this] not feignedly nor fallaciously; how much more is it equitable that I should believe that the apostle Paul sensed no other than what he wrote, where he says concerning Peter and Barnabas: When I saw that they walked not uprightly according to the truth of the Gospel, I said to Peter before all: If thou, being a Jew, livest after the manner of Gentiles, and not as do the Jews, why compellest thou the Gentiles to live as do the Jews? (Gal. 2:14). For concerning whom should I be certain that he does not deceive me in writing or speaking, if the Apostle was deceiving his own children, for whom he was again in labor, until Christ, that is, truth, should be formed in them? (Gal. 4:19). To whom when he had premised saying: Now the things which I write to you, behold, before God, I lie not (Gal. 1:20): yet he was not writing truthfully, but by I know not what dispensatory simulation he was deceiving, that he had seen Peter and Barnabas not walking uprightly according to the truth of the Gospel, and had resisted Peter to his face, for no other reason than that he was compelling the Gentiles to judaize!

5. At enim satius est credere, apostolum Paulum aliquid non vere scripsisse, quam apostolum Petrum non recte aliquid egisse. Hoc si ita est, dicamus, quod absit, satius esse credere mentiri Evangelium, quam negatum esse a Petro Christum (Matth. XXVI, 75); et mentiri Regnorum librum, quam tantum prophetam, a Domino Deo tam excellenter electum, et in concupiscenda atque abducenda uxore aliena commisisse adulterium, et in marito ejus necando tam horrendum homicidium (II Reg. XI, 4, 17). Imo vero sanctam Scripturam, in summo et coelesti auctoritatis culmine collocatam, de veritate ejus certus ac securus legam, et in ea homines vel approbatos, vel emendatos, vel damnatos veraciter discam, potiusquam, facta humana dum in quibusdam laudabilis excellentiae personis aliquando credere timeo reprehendenda, ipsa divina eloquia mihi sint ubique suspecta.

6. Manichaei plurima divinarum Scripturarum, quibus eorum nefarius error clarissima sententiarum perspicuitate convincitur, quia in alium sensum detorquere non possunt, falsa esse contendunt; ita tamen, ut eamdem falsitatem non scribentibus Apostolis tribuant, sed nescio quibus codicum corruptoribus. Quod tamen quia nec pluribus sive antiquioribus exemplaribus, nec praecedentis linguae auctoritate, unde latini libri interpretati sunt, probare aliquando potuerunt, notissima omnibus veritate superati confusique discedunt. Itane non intelligit prudentia sancta tua, quanta malitiae illorum patescat occasio, si non ab aliis apostolicas Litteras esse falsatas, sed ipsos Apostolos falsa scripsisse, dicamus?

7. Non est, inquis, credibile, hoc in Petro Paulum, quod ipse Paulus fecerat, arguisse. Non nunc inquiro quid fecerit; quid scripserit quaero: hoc ad quaestionem quam suscepi, maxime pertinet; ut veritas divinarum Scripturarum, ad nostram fidem aedificandam memoriae commendata, non a quibuslibet, sed ab ipsis Apostolis, ac per hoc in canonicum auctoritatis culmen recepta, ex omni parte verax atque indubitanda persistat. Nam si hoc fecit Petrus quod facere debuit, mentitus est Paulus, quod eum viderit non recte ingredientem ad veritatem Evangelii. Quisquis enim hoc facit quod facere debet, recte utique facit. Et ideo falsum de illo dicit, qui dicit eum non recte fecisse quod eum novit facere debuisse. Si autem verum scripsit Paulus, verum est quod Petrus non recte tunc ingrediebatur ad veritatem Evangelii. Id ergo faciebat quod facere non debebat; et si tale aliquid Paulus ipse jam fecerat, correctum potius etiam ipsum credam coapostoli sui correctionem non potuisse negligere, quam mendaciter aliquid in sua Epistola posuisse; et in Epistola qualibet: quanto magis in illa, in qua praelocutus ait, Quae autem scribo vobis, ecce coram Deo quia non mentior (Gal. I, 20)?

5. But forsooth it is better to believe that the apostle Paul wrote something not truly, than that the apostle Peter acted something not uprightly. If this is so, let us say, which be absent [from us], that it is better to believe that the Gospel lies, than that Christ was denied by Peter (Matt. 26:75); and that the book of Kingdoms lies, than that so great a prophet, so excellently chosen by the Lord God, committed adultery in desiring and leading away the wife of another, and so horrendous a homicide in killing her husband (2 Sam. 11:4, 17). Nay truly, let me read the holy Scripture, placed in the highest and celestial summit of authority, certain and secure concerning its truth, and in it let me truthfully learn men either approved, or emended, or damned, rather than, while I fear at some time to believe that human deeds are to be reprehended in certain persons of laudable excellence, the divine words themselves should be suspect to me everywhere.

The Manichaeans contend that very many things of the divine Scriptures, by which their nefarious error is convinced by the clearest perspicuity of sentences, are false, because they cannot distort them into another sense; yet in such a way, that they do not attribute that same falsity to the Apostles writing, but to I know not what corrupters of the codices. Which however because they were never able to prove either by more or more ancient exemplars, nor by the authority of the preceding language, whence the Latin books were interpreted, being overcome and confused by the truth most known to all, they depart. Does not your holy prudence thus understand, how great an occasion of malice would lie open to them, if we should say that the apostolic Letters were not falsified by others, but that the Apostles themselves wrote false things?

It is not, you say, credible, that Paul should have argued this in Peter, which Paul himself had done. I do not now inquire what he did; I seek what he wrote: this pertains most to the question which I have undertaken; that the truth of the divine Scriptures, commended to memory for the building of our faith, not by any persons whatsoever, but by the Apostles themselves, and through this received into the canonical summit of authority, should persist in every part truthful and indubitable. For if Peter did this which he ought to have done, Paul lied, in that he saw him not walking uprightly according to the truth of the Gospel. For whoever does this which he ought to do, certainly does uprightly. And therefore he speaks false concerning him, who says that he did not uprightly what he knew he ought to have done. Moreover if Paul wrote the truth, it is true that Peter then was not walking uprightly according to the truth of the Gospel. He therefore doing that which he ought not to have done; and if Paul himself had already done something such, I would rather believe that even he himself, being corrected, could not have neglected the correction of his co-apostle, than that he had placed something mendaciously in his Epistle; and in any Epistle whatever: how much more in that one, in which having spoken before he says: Now the things which I write to you, behold, before God, I lie not (Gal. 1:20)?

8. Ego quidem illud Petrum sic egisse credo, ut Gentes cogeret judaizare. Hoc enim lego scripsisse Paulum, quem mentitum esse non credo. Et ideo non recte agebat hoc Petrus. Erat enim contra Evangelii veritatem, ut putarent qui credebant in Christum, sine illis veteribus sacramentis salvos se esse non posse. Hoc enim contendebant Antiochiae, qui ex circumcisione crediderant: contra quos Paulus perseveranter acriterque confligit. Ipsum vero Paulum non ad hoc id egisse, quod vel Timotheum circumcidit (Act. XVI, 3), vel Cenchreis votum persolvit (Id. XVIII, 18), vel Jerosolymis a Jacobo admonitus, cum eis qui noverant, legitima illa celebranda suscepit (Id. XXI, 26), ut putari videretur, per ea sacramenta etiam christianam salutem dari; sed ne illa quae prioribus, ut congruebat, temporibus in umbris rerum futurarum Deus fieri jusserat, tanquam idololatriam Gentilium damnare crederetur. Hoc est enim quod illi Jacobus ait, auditum de illo esse quod discissionem doceat a Moyse (Ibid., 2). Quod utique nefas est, ut credentes in Christum discindantur a propheta Christi, tanquam ejus doctrinam detestantes atque damnantes; de quo ipse Christus dicit: Si crederetis Moysi, crederetis et mihi; de me enim ille scripsit (Joan. V, 46).

9. Attende enim, obsecro, ipsa verba Jacobi: Vides, inquit, frater, quot millia sunt in Judaea, qui crediderunt in Christum; et hi omnes aemulatores sunt Legis. Audierunt autem de te quia discissionem doces a Moyse eorum, qui per gentes sunt, Judaeorum; dicens non debere circumcidere eos 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, sanctificate cum ipsis, et impende in eos ut radant capita; et scient omnes quia quae de te audierunt falsa sunt, sed sequeris et ipse custodiens legem. De Gentibus autem qui crediderunt, nos mandavimus, judicantes nihil ejusmodi servare illos, nisi ut se observent ab idolis immolato, et a sanguine, et a fornicatione (Act. XXI, 20-25). Non opinor, obscurum est, et Jacobum hoc ideo monuisse, ut scirent falsa esse quae de illo audierant hi, qui cum in Christum ex Judaeis credidissent, tamen aemulatores erant Legis, ne per doctrinam Christi velut sacrilega, nec Deo mandante conscripta damnari putarentur quae per Moysen patribus fuerant ministrata.

8. I indeed believe that Peter acted thus, so that he should compel the Gentiles to judaize. For I read that Paul wrote this, whom I do not believe to have lied. And therefore Peter was not acting this uprightly. For it was against the truth of the Gospel, that they who believed in Christ should think that they could not be safe without those ancient sacraments. For those who had believed from the circumcision were contending this at Antioch: against whom Paul perseveringly and sharply fights. But [I believe] that Paul himself did not act this to this end, in that either he circumcised Timothy (Acts 16:3), or performed a vow at Cenchreae (Id. 18:18), or being admonished by James at Jerusalem, undertook those legitimate [rites] to be celebrated with those who had known [them] (Id. 21:26), so that it should seem to be thought, that through those sacraments even Christian salvation is given; but lest those things which God had ordered to be done in the prior times, as was congruous, in the shadows of future things, should be believed to be damned as the idolatry of the Gentiles. For this is what James says to him, that it has been heard concerning him that he teaches a dissension from Moses (Ibid., 2). Which certainly is nefas, that those believing in Christ should be severed from the prophet of Christ, as if detesting and damning his doctrine; concerning whom Christ himself says: If you believed Moses, you would believe also me; for he wrote concerning me (John 5:46).

9. For attend, I beseech [you], to the very words of James: Thou seest, he says, brother, how many thousands there are in Judea, who have believed in Christ; and all these are zealots of the Law. Moreover they have heard concerning thee that thou teachest a dissension from Moses of those Jews who are among the Gentiles; saying that they ought not to circumcise their sons, nor to walk according to the custom. What is it therefore? Certainly the multitude ought to come together; for they have heard that thou hast come. Do this therefore, which we say to thee. We have four men having a vow upon them; these being taken, sanctify [thyself] with them, and spend upon them that they may shave their heads; and all shall know that those things which they heard concerning thee are false, but thou thyself followest keeping the Law. Moreover concerning the Gentiles who have believed, we have commanded, judging that they should serve nothing of this kind, except that they should observe themselves from what is immolated to idols, and from blood, and from fornication (Acts 21:20-25). I do not suppose it is obscure, that James also for this reason admonished [this], so that they should know that those things were false which they had heard concerning him, those who, although they had believed in Christ from the Jews, yet were zealots of the Law, lest those things which had been ministered to the fathers through Moses should be thought to be damned through the doctrine of Christ as if sacrilegious, nor written by the command of God.

Hoc enim de Paulo jactaverant, non illi qui intelligebant quo animo a Judaeis fidelibus observari tunc ista deberent, propter commendandam scilicet auctoritatem divinam et sacramentorum illorum propheticam sanctitatem, non propter adipiscendam salutem, quae jam in Christo revelabatur, et per Baptismi sacramentum ministrabatur; sed illi hoc de Paulo sparserant, qui sic ea volebant observari, tanquam sine his in Evangelio salus credentibus esse non posset. Ipsum enim senserant vehementissimum gratiae praedicatorem et intentioni eorum maxime adversum, docentem non per illa hominem justificari, sed per gratiam Jesu Christi, cujus praenuntiandae causa illae umbrae in Lege mandatae sunt. Et ideo illi invidiam et persecutionem molientes concitare, tanquam inimicum Legis mandatorumque divinorum criminabantur: cujus falsae criminationis invidiam congruentius devitare non posset, quam ut ea ipse celebraret quae damnare tanquam sacrilega putabatur, atque ita ostenderet, nec Judaeos tunc ab eis tanquam a nefariis prohibendos, nec Gentiles ad ea tanquam ad necessaria compellendos.

10. Nam si revera sic ea reprobaret, quemadmodum de illo auditum erat, et ideo celebranda susciperet, ut actione simulata suam posset occultare sententiam, non ei diceret Jacobus, Et scient omnes; sed diceret, Et putabunt omnes, quoniam quae de te audierunt, falsa sunt: praesertim quia in ipsis Jerosolymis Apostoli jam decreverant, ne quisquam Gentes cogeret judaizare (Act. XV, 28); non autem decreverant, ne quisquam tunc Judaeos judaizare prohiberet, quamvis etiam ipsos jam doctrina christiana non cogeret. Proinde si post Apostolorum decretum Petrus habuit illam in Antiochia simulationem, qua Gentes cogeret judaizare, quod jam nec ipse cogebatur, quamvis propter commendanda eloquia Dei quae Judaeis sunt credita, non prohibebatur; quid mirum, si constringebat eum Paulus libere asserere, quod cum caeteris Apostolis se Jerosolymis decrevisse meminerat?

11. Si autem hoc, quod magis arbitror, ante illud Jerosolymitanum concilium Petrus fecit; nec sic mirum est, quod eum volebat Paulus non timide obtegere, sed fidenter asserere quod eum pariter sentire jam noverat: sive quod cum eo contulerat Evangelium; sive quod in Cornelii centurionis vocatione, etiam divinitus eum de hac re admonitum acceperat; sive quod antequam illi, quod timuerat, venissent Antiochiam, cum gentibus eum convesci viderat. Neque enim negamus in hac sententia fuisse jam Petrum, in qua et Paulus fuit.

For they had boasted this concerning Paul, not those who were understanding with what mind these things ought then to be observed by the faithful Jews, namely for the sake of commending the divine authority and the prophetic holiness of those sacraments, not for the sake of obtaining salvation, which already was being revealed in Christ, and was being ministered through the sacrament of Baptism; but those had spread this concerning Paul, who thus were willing those things to be observed, as if without these in the Gospel salvation could not be for those believing. For they had sensed him [to be] a most vehement preacher of grace and most adverse to their intention, teaching that a man is not justified through those things, but through the grace of Jesus Christ, for the sake of preannouncing which those shadows were commanded in the Law. And therefore they, striving to excite envy and persecution, were accusing [him] as an enemy of the Law and of the divine commands: the envy of which false accusation he could not more congruously avoid, than that he himself should celebrate those things which he was thought to damn as sacrilegious, and thus should show, that neither were the Jews then to be prohibited from them as from nefarious things, nor were the Gentiles to be compelled to them as to necessary things.

10. For if in truth he should so reprobate those things, as it had been heard concerning him, and for that reason should undertake [them] to be celebrated, so that by a simulated action he could hide his own sentence, James would not say to him, And all shall know; but he would say, And all shall think, that those things which they heard concerning thee are false: especially because in Jerusalem itself the Apostles had already decreed, that no one should compel the Gentiles to judaize (Acts 15:28); moreover they had not decreed, that no one then should prohibit the Jews from judaizing, although also the Christian doctrine was no longer compelling them. Hence if after the decree of the Apostles Peter had that simulation in Antioch, by which he should compel the Gentiles to judaize, which he himself was no longer compelled to, although for the sake of commending the utterances of God which were credited to the Jews, he was not prohibited; what wonder, if Paul constrained him freely to assert, what he remembered that he with the rest of the Apostles had decreed in Jerusalem?

11. Moreover if this, which I rather think, Peter did before that Jerusalem council; neither thus is it a wonder, that Paul was willing that he should not timidly cover, but confidently assert what he already had known that he paritally sensed: whether because he had conferred the Gospel with him; or because in the vocation of Cornelius the centurion, he had accepted that he was admonished even divinely concerning this matter; or because before those whom he had feared had come to Antioch, he had seen him eating together with the gentiles. For nor do we deny that Peter was already in this sentence, in which also Paul was.

Non itaque tunc eum quid in ea re verum esse docebat: sed ejus simulationem, qua Gentes judaizare cogebantur, arguebat; non ob aliud, nisi quia sic illa omnia simulatoria gerebantur, tanquam verum esset quod illi dicebant, qui sine circumcisione praeputii atque aliis observationibus quae erant umbrae futurorum, putant credentes salvos esse non posse.

12. Ergo et Timotheum circumcidit propterea, ne Judaeis, et maxime cognationi ejus maternae sic viderentur qui ex Gentibus in Christum crediderant, detestari circumcisionem, sicut idololatria detestanda est; cum illam Deus fieri praeceperit, hanc satanas persuaserit. Et Titum propterea non circumcidit, ne occasionem daret eis qui sine illa circumcisione dicebant credentes salvos esse non posse, et ad deceptionem Gentium hoc etiam Paulum sentire jactarent. Quod ipse satis significat, ubi ait: Sed neque Titus qui mecum erat, cum esset Graecus, compulsus est circumcidi: propter subintroductos autem falsos fratres, qui subintroierant perscrutari libertatem nostram, ut nos in servitutem redigerent, quibus nec ad horam cessimus subjectione, ut veritas Evangelii permaneat ad vos (Gal. II, 3-5). Hic apparet quid eos captare intellexerit, ut non faceret quod in Timotheo fecerat, et quod ea libertate facere poterat, qua ostenderat illa sacramenta nec tanquam necessaria debere appeti, nec tanquam sacrilega debere damnari.

13. Sed cavendum est videlicet in hac disputatione, ne, sicut philosophi, quaedam facta hominum media dicamus inter recte factum et peccatum, quae neque in recte factis, neque in peccatis numerentur; et urgeamur eo quod observare Legis cerimonias non potest esse indifferens, sed aut bonum, aut malum: ut, si bonum dixerimus, eas nos quoque observare cogamur; si autem malum, non vere, sed simulate ab Apostolis observatas esse credamus. Ego vero Apostolis non tam exemplum philosophorum timeo, quando et illi in sua disputatione veri aliquid dicunt, quam forensium advocatorum, quando in alienarum causarum actione mentiuntur. Quorum similitudo si in ipsa expositione Epistolae ad Galatas ad confirmandam simulationem Petri et Pauli putata est decenter induci; quid ego apud te timeam nomen philosophorum, qui non propterea vani sunt, quia omnia falsa dicunt; sed quia et falsis plerisque confidunt, et ubi vera inveniuntur dicere, a Christi gratia, qui est ipsa veritas, alieni sunt?

Therefore he was not then teaching him what in that matter was true: but he was arguing his simulation, by which the Gentiles were compelled to judaize; for no other reason, except because all those things were being done simulatorily, as if it were true what they were saying, who were thinking that without the circumcision of the foreskin and other observations which were shadows of future things, those believing could not be safe.

12. Therefore he also circumcised Timothy for this reason, lest to the Jews, and especially to his maternal kindred, those who had believed from the Gentiles in Christ should thus seem to detest circumcision, just as idolatry is to be detested; since God commanded that to be done, [but] satan persuaded this. And for this reason he did not circumcise Titus, lest he should give an occasion to those who without that circumcision were saying that those believing could not be safe, and for the deception of the Gentiles should boast that even Paul sensed this. Which he himself sufficiently signifies, where he says: But neither Titus who was with me, being a Greek, was compelled to be circumcised: but because of false brothers unawares brought in, who came in privily to spy out our liberty, which we have in Christ Jesus, that they might bring us into bondage, to whom we yielded not in subjection, no, not for an hour, that the truth of the Gospel might continue with you (Gal. 2:3-5). Here it appears what he understood them to be catching at, so that he should not do what he had done in Timothy, and what by that liberty he was able to do, by which he had shown that those sacraments were neither to be sought as if necessary, nor to be damned as if sacrilegious.

13. But it is to be guarded against evidently in this disputation, lest, like the philosophers, we should say that certain deeds of men are middle between a right deed and a sin, which are numbered neither among right deeds nor among sins; and we should be urged by this, that to observe the ceremonies of the Law cannot be indifferent, but [must be] either good or evil: so that, if we should say good, we also should be compelled to observe them; but if evil, we should believe that they were observed by the Apostles not truly, but simulatorily. I truly do not so much fear the example of philosophers for the Apostles, when even they in their disputation say something of truth, as [I fear the example] of forensic advocates, when in the action of the causes of others they lie. Of whom if a similitude was thought to be decently induced in the very exposition of the Epistle to the Galatians to confirm the simulation of Peter and Paul; why should I fear with you the name of philosophers, who are not for that reason vain, because they say all things false; but because they trust also in very many false things, and where they are found to say true things, they are alien from the grace of Christ, who is truth itself?

14. Cur autem non dicam praecepta illa veterum sacramentorum nec bona esse, quia non eis homines justificantur; umbrae enim sunt praenuntiantes gratiam, qua justificamur; nec tamen mala, quia divinitus praecepta sunt, tempori personisque congruentia: cum me adjuvet etiam prophetica sententia, qua dicit Deus se illi populo dedisse praecepta non bona (Ezech. XX, 25)? Forte enim propterea non dixit mala, sed tantum non bona, id est non talia ut illis homines boni fiant, aut sine illis boni non fiant. Vellem me doceret benigna Sinceritas tua, utrum simulate quisquam sanctus orientalis, cum Romam venerit, jejunet sabbato, excepto illo die paschalis vigiliae: quod si malum esse dixerimus; non solum Romanam Ecclesiam, sed etiam multa ei vicina, et aliquanto remotiora damnabimus, ubi mos idem tenetur et manet. Si autem non jejunare sabbato malum putaverimus; tot ecclesias Orientis, et multo majorem orbis christiani partem qua temeritate criminabimur? Placetne tibi, ut medium quiddam esse dicamus, quod tamen acceptabile sit ei qui hoc non simulate, sed congruenti societate atque observantia fecerit? Et tamen nihil inde legimus in canonicis Libris praeceptum esse Christianis. Quanto magis illud malum dicere non audeo, quod Deum praecepisse ipsa christiana fide negare non possum, qua didici non eo me justificari, sed gratia Dei per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum?

15. Dico ergo circumcisionem praeputii et caetera hujusmodi, priori populo per Testamentum quod Vetus dicitur, divinitus data ad significationem futurorum quae per Christum oportebat impleri: quibus advenientibus, remansisse illa Christianis legenda tantum, ad intelligentiam praemissae prophetiae; non autem necessario facienda, quasi adhuc exspectandum esset, ut veniret fidei revelatio quae his significabatur esse ventura. Sed quamvis Gentibus imponenda non essent, non tamen sic debuisse auferri a consuetudine Judaeorum, tanquam detestanda atque damnanda. Sensim proinde atque paulatim fervente sana praedicatione gratiae Christi, qua sola nossent credentes se justificari, salvosque fieri, non illis umbris rerum antea futurarum, tunc jam venientium atque praesentium, ut in illorum Judaeorum vocatione, quos praesentia carnis Domini, et apostolica tempora sic invenerant, omnis illa actio consumeretur umbrarum: hoc eis suffecisse ad commendationem, ut non tanquam detestanda, et similis idololatriae vitaretur; ultra vero non haberet progressum, ne putaretur necessaria tanquam vel ab illa salus esset, vel sine illa esse non posset.

14. Moreover why should I not say that those precepts of the ancient sacraments were neither good, because men are not justified by them; for they are shadows preannouncing the grace by which we are justified; nor yet evil, because they were divinely commanded, congruous to the time and persons: since even the prophetic sentence helps me, by which God says that He gave to that people precepts not good (Ezek. 20:25)? For perhaps for that reason He did not say evil, but only not good, that is, not such that by them men become good, or without them they do not become good. I would that your benign Sincerity would teach me, whether any oriental saint, when he shall have come to Rome, simulatorily fasts on the Sabbath, except on that day of the Paschal vigil: which if we should say to be evil; we shall damn not only the Roman Church, but also many [churches] near to it, and some somewhat more remote, where the same custom is held and remains. Moreover if we should think it evil not to fast on the Sabbath; with what temerity shall we accuse so many churches of the East, and a much greater part of the Christian world? Does it please you, that we should say it is a certain middle [thing], which however is acceptable to him who shall have done this not simulatorily, but with congruous society and observance? And yet we read nothing thence commanded to Christians in the canonical Books. How much more do I not dare to say that that is evil, which I cannot deny by the Christian faith itself that God commanded, by which I have learned that I am not justified by it, but by the grace of God through Jesus Christ our Lord?

15. I say therefore that the circumcision of the foreskin and other [things] of this kind, were divinely given to the prior people through the Testament which is called Old, for the signification of future things which it was fitting to be fulfilled through Christ: which [things] arriving, those [rites] remained to be read only by Christians, for the understanding of the premised prophecy; moreover not necessarily to be done, as if it were yet to be expected, that the revelation of faith should come which was signified by these to be about to come. But although they were not to be imposed upon the Gentiles, yet they ought not thus to have been taken away from the custom of the Jews, as if detestable and to be damned. Hence gradually and by degrees, while the sound preaching of the grace of Christ was fervent, by which alone those believing might know themselves to be justified and made safe, not by those shadows of things formerly future, then already coming and present, so that in the vocation of those Jews, whom the presence of the flesh of the Lord and the apostolic times had thus found, all that action of shadows should be consumed: this sufficed for them for commendation, that it should not be avoided as if detestable and similar to idolatry; but beyond that it should not have progress, lest it should be thought necessary as if either from it there were salvation, or without it it could not be.

Quod putaverunt haeretici, qui dum volunt et Judaei esse et Christiani, nec Judaei nec Christiani esse potuerunt. Quorum sententiam mihi cavendam, quamvis in ea nunquam fuerim, tamen benevolentissime admonere dignatus es. In cujus sententiae non consensionem, sed simulationem Petrus timore inciderat, ut de illo Paulus verissime scriberet, quod eum vidisset non recte ingredientem ad veritatem Evangelii, eique verissime diceret, quod Gentes judaizare cogebat. Quod Paulus utique non cogebat, ob hoc illa vetera veraciter, ubi opus esset, observans, ut damnanda non esse monstraret; praedicans tamen instanter non eis, sed revelata gratia fidei, fideles salvos fieri, ne ad ea quemquam velut necessaria suscipienda compelleret. Sic antem credo apostolum Paulum veraciter cuncta illa gessisse, nec tamen nunc quemquam factum ex Judaeo Christiano, vel cogo, vel sino talia veraciter celebrare; sicut nec tu, cui videtur Paulus ea simulasse, cogis istum, vel sinis talia simulare.

16. An vis, ut etiam ego dicam, hanc esse summam quaestionis, imo sententiae tuae; ut post Evangelium Christi, bene faciant credentes Judaei, si sacrificia offerant, quae obtulit Paulus; si filios circumcidant, si sabbatum observent, ut Paulus in Timotheo, et omnes observavere Judaei, dummodo haec simulate ac fallaciter agant? Hoc si ita est; non jam in haeresim Ebionis, vel eorum quos vulgo Nazaraeos nuncupant, vel quamlibet aliam veterem, sed nescio in quam novam delabimur, quae sit eo perniciosior, quo non errore, sed proposito est ac voluntate fallaci. Quod si respondeas, ut te ab hac purges sententia, tunc Apostolos ista laudabiliter simulasse, ne scandalizarentur infirmi qui ex Judaeis multi crediderant, et ea respuenda nondum intelligebant; nunc vero confirmata per tot gentes doctrina gratiae christianae, confirmata etiam per omnes Christi Ecclesias lectione Legis et Prophetarum, quo modo haec intelligenda, non observanda recitentur, quisquis ea simulando agere voluerit, insanire: cur mihi non licet dicere, apostolum Paulum, et alios recte fidei Christianos, tunc illa vetera sacramenta paululum observando veraciter commendare debuisse, ne putarentur illae propheticae significationis observationes a piissimis patribus custoditae, tanquam sacrilegia diabolica a posteris detestandae? Jam enim cum venisset fides quae prius illis observationibus praenuntiata, post mortem et resurrectionem Domini revelation est, amiserant tanquam vitam officii sui.

Which the heretics thought, who while they will to be both Jews and Christians, were able to be neither Jews nor Christians. Concerning whose sentence you have deigned most benevolently to admonish me to be guarded against, although I have never been in it. Into whose simulation, not consent of sentence, Peter had fallen by fear, so that Paul wrote most truly concerning him, that he had seen him not walking uprightly according to the truth of the Gospel, and most truly said to him, that he was compelling the Gentiles to judaize. Which Paul certainly did not compel, for this reason observing those ancient [rites] truthfully, where there was need, so that he might show that they were not to be damned; yet preaching instantly that not by them, but by the revealed grace of faith, the faithful are made safe, lest he should compel anyone to undertake them as if necessary. Thus moreover I believe that the apostle Paul truthfully managed all those things, nor yet do I now either compel or permit anyone made a Christian from a Jew truthfully to celebrate such things; just as nor do you, to whom Paul seems to have simulated them, compel that one, or permit [him] to simulate such things.

16. Or do you wish that I also should say that this is the sum of the question, or rather of your opinion; that after the Gospel of Christ, the believing Jews do well if they offer sacrifices which Paul offered; if they circumcise their sons, if they observe the Sabbath, as Paul [did] in Timothy, and all the Jews observed, provided they do these things simulatorily and fallaciously? If this be so; we fall no longer into the heresy of Ebion, or of those whom they commonly call Nazarenes, or any other ancient [heresy], but into I know not what new [heresy], which would be the more pernicious, because it is not by error, but by purpose and a fallacious will. But if you should answer, so as to purge yourself from this opinion, that then the Apostles simulatorily performed those things laudably, lest the weak should be scandalized who from the Jews had believed in great numbers, and did not yet understand that those things were to be rejected; but now, the doctrine of Christian grace being confirmed through so many nations, confirmed also through all the Churches of Christ by the reading of the Law and the Prophets, in what way these are to be understood, not observed, as they are recited, whoever should wish to do those things by simulating, would be insane: why is it not permitted to me to say, that the apostle Paul, and other Christians of the right faith, then ought to have truthfully commended those ancient sacraments by observing them for a little while, lest those observations of prophetic signification kept by the most pious fathers should be thought by posterity to be detested as diabolical sacrileges? For already when the faith had come which was previously preannounced by those observations, [and] was revealed after the death and resurrection of the Lord, they had lost, as it were, the life of their office.

Verumtamen sicut defuncta corpora, necessariorum officiis deducenda erant quodammodo ad sepulturam, nec simulate, sed religiose; non autem deserenda continuo, vel inimicorum obtrectationibus tanquam canum morsibus projicienda. Proinde nunc quisquis Christianorum, quamvis sit ex Judaeis, similiter ea celebrare voluerit, tanquam sopitos cineres eruens, non erit pius deductor vel bajulus corporis, sed impius sepulturae violator.

17. Fateor sane, in eo quod epistola continet mea, quod ideo sacramenta Judaeorum Paulus celebranda susceperat, cum jam Christi esset apostolus, ut doceret non esse perniciosa his qui ea vellent, sicut a parentibus per Legem acceperant, custodire, minus me posuisse, Illo duntaxat tempore, quo primum fidei gratia revelata est: tunc enim hoc non erat perniciosum. Progressu vero temporis illae observationes ab omnibus Christianis desererentur; ne, si tunc fieret, non discerneretur quod Deus populo suo per Moysen praecepit, ab eo quod in templis daemoniorum spiritus immundus instituit. Proinde potius culpanda est negligentia mea, quia hoc non addidi, quam objurgatio tua. Verumtamen longe antequam litteras tuas accepissem, scribens contra Faustum manichaeum quomodo eumdem locum, quamvis breviter explicaverim, et hoc illic non praetermiserim, et legere poterit, si non dedignetur, Benignitas tua, et a charissimis nostris, per quos nunc haec scripta misi, quomodo volueris tibi fides fiet, illud me ante dictasse: mihique de animo meo crede, quod coram Deo loquens, jure charitatis exposco, nunquam mihi visum fuisse, etiam nunc Christianos ex Judaeis factos, sacramenta illa vetera quolibet affectu, quolibet animo celebrare debere, aut eis ullo modo licere; cum illud de Paulo semper ita senserim, ex quo illius mihi Litterae innotuerunt: sicut nec tibi videtur, hoc tempore cuiquam esse simulanda ista, cum hoc fecisse Apostolos credas.

18. Proinde sicut tu e contrario loqueris, et licet reclamante, sicut scribis, mundo, libera voce pronuntias, cerimonias Judaeorum et perniciosas esse et mortiferas Christianis, et quicumque eas observaverit, sive ex Judaeis, sive ex Gentibus, eum in barathrum diaboli devolutum; ita ego hanc vocem tuam omnino confirmo, et addo: Quicumque eas observaverit, sive ex Judaeis, sive ex Gentibus, non solum veraciter, verum etiam simulate, eum in barathrum diaboli devolutum. Quid quaeris amplius? Sed sicut tu simulationem Apostolorum ab hujus temporis ratione secernis: ita ego Pauli apostoli veracem tunc in his omnibus conversationem ab hujus temporis, quamvis minime simulata, cerimoniarum Judaicarum observatione secerno; quoniam tunc fuit approbanda, nunc detestanda.

Nevertheless just as dead bodies, they were to be led out in a certain way to burial by the offices of those near [to them], and that not simulatorily, but religiously; moreover not to be deserted immediately, or to be cast forth to the detractions of enemies as if to the bites of dogs. Hence now whoever of the Christians, although he be from the Jews, should wish similarly to celebrate those things, as if digging up the sleeping ashes, he will not be a pious conductor or bearer of the body, but an impious violator of the burial.

17. I confess indeed, in that which my letter contains, that for this reason Paul had undertaken the celebration of the sacraments of the Jews, when he was already an apostle of Christ, that he might teach that they were not pernicious to those who wished to keep them, as they had received them from their parents through the Law, that I placed too little: *At that time only, when first the grace of faith was revealed:* for then this was not pernicious. Moreover in the progress of time those observations would be deserted by all Christians; lest, if it were done then, that which God commanded to His people through Moses should not be discerned from that which the unclean spirit instituted in the temples of demons. Therefore my negligence is rather to be blamed, because I did not add this, than your objurgation. Nevertheless long before I had received your letters, writing against Faustus the Manichaean how I explained the same place, although briefly, and I did not pass over this there, and your Benignity will be able to read it, if you do not deign [otherwise], and from our most dear [friends], through whom I have now sent these writings, as you shall wish, faith will be made to you, that I dictated that before: and believe me concerning my mind, which speaking before God, I ask by the right of charity, that it never seemed to me, even now that Christians made from Jews, ought to celebrate those ancient sacraments with any affection, with any mind, or that it is in any way permitted to them; since I have always felt thus concerning Paul, from the time his Letters became known to me: just as it does not seem to you, that in this time these things are to be simulated by anyone, since you believe the Apostles to have done this.

18. Therefore just as you on the contrary speak, and although the world reclaims [against it], as you write, you 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 Gentiles, that he is devolved into the pit of the devil; so I altogether confirm this your voice, and add: Whoever shall have observed them, whether from the Jews, or from the Gentiles, not only truthfully, but even simulatorily, that he is devolved into the pit of the devil. What do you seek further? But just as you sever the simulation of the Apostles from the reason of this time: so I sever the truthful conversation of the apostle Paul then in all these things from the observation of the Judaical ceremonies of this time, although in no way simulated; because then it was to be approved, now to be detested.

Ita quamvis legerimus, Lex et Prophetae usque ad Joannem Baptistam (Luc. XVI, 16); et quia propterea quaerebant Judaei Christum interficere, quia non solum solvebat sabbatum, sed et Patrem suum dicebat Deum, aequalem se faciens Deo (Joan. V, 18); et quia gratiam pro gratia accepimus; et quoniam Lex per Moysen data est, Gratia autem et veritas per Jesum Christum facta est (Id. I, 16, 17); et per Jeremiam promissum est, daturum Deum Testamentum novum domui Juda, non secundum Testamentum quod disposuit patribus eorum (Jer. XXXI, 31): non tamen arbitror ipsum Dominum fallaciter a parentibus circumcisum. Aut si hoc propter aetatem minime prohibebat; nec illud arbitror eum dixisse fallaciter leproso, quem certe non illa per Moysen praecepta observatio, sed ipse mandaverat: Vade et offer pro te sacrificium quod praecepit Moyses in testimonium illis (Marc. I, 44). Nec fallaciter ascendit ad diem festum, usque adeo non causa ostentationis coram hominibus, ut non evidenter ascenderit, sed latenter (Joan. VII, 10).

19. At enim dixit idem apostolus: Ecce ego Paulus dico vobis quia si circumcidamini, Christus vobis nihil proderit (Gal. V, 2). Decepit ergo Timotheum, et fecit ei nihil prodesse Christum. An quia hoc fallaciter factum est, ideo non obfuit? At ipse hoc non posuit, nec ait, Si circumcidamini veraciter, sicut nec fallaciter; sed sine ulla exceptione dixit: Si circumcidamini, Christus vobis nihil proderit. Sicut ergo tu vis hic locum dare sententiae tuae, ut velis subintelligi, nisi fallaciter; ita non imprudenter flagito ut etiam nos illic intelligere sinas eis dictum, Si circumcidamini, qui propterea volebant circumcidi, quod aliter se putabant in Christo salvos esse non posse. Hoc ergo animo, hac voluntate, ista intentione quisquis tunc circumcidebatur, Christus ei nihil omnino proderat: Sicut alibi aperte dicit, Nam si per Legem justitia, ergo Christus gratis mortuus est (Gal. II, 21). Hoc declarat et quod ipse commemorasti: Evacuati estis a Christo qui in Lege justificamini; a gratia excidistis. Illos itaque arguit, qui se justificari in Lege credebant, non qui legitima illa in ejus honorem, a quo mandata sunt, observabant, intelligentes et qua praenuntiandae veritatis ratione mandata sint, et quousque debeant perdurare. Unde est illud quod ait, Si spiritu ducimini, non adhuc estis sub Lege (Id. V, 4, 18): unde, velut colligis, apparet qui sub Lege est non dispensative ut nostros putas voluisse majores, sed vere, ut ego intelligo, eum Spiritum sanctum non habere.

Thus although we have read, *The Law and the Prophets [were] until John the Baptist* (Luke 16:16); and because *for that reason the Jews sought to kill Christ, because He not only broke the Sabbath, but also said God was His Father, making Himself equal to God* (John 5:18); and because *we have received grace for grace;* and *since the Law was given through Moses, moreover Grace and truth were made through Jesus Christ* (John 1:16, 17); and through Jeremiah it was promised, that God would give a new Testament to the house of Judah, not according to the Testament which He disposed to their fathers (Jer. 31:31): yet I do not judge that the Lord Himself was fallaciously circumcised by His parents. Or if He by no means prohibited this on account of His age; neither do I judge that He said that fallaciously to the leper, whom certainly He Himself had commanded, not that observation commanded through Moses: *Go and offer for yourself the sacrifice which Moses commanded for a testimony to them* (Mark 1:44). Nor did He fallaciously ascend to the feast day, even so much not for the cause of ostentation before men, that He did not evidently ascend, but secretly (John 7:10).

19. But indeed the same apostle said: *Behold I Paul say to you that if you be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing* (Gal. 5:2). He deceived Timothy, therefore, and made Christ profit him nothing. Or because this was done fallaciously, therefore it did not hurt? But he himself did not place this, nor did he say, If you be circumcised truthfully, as nor fallaciously; but without any exception he said: *If you be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing.* Just as therefore you wish to give place here to your opinion, that you wish it to be sub-understood, unless fallaciously; so not imprudently do I demand that you also allow us there to understand it was said to those, *If you be circumcised,* who for that reason wished to be circumcised, because otherwise they thought themselves not able to be safe in Christ. With this mind, therefore, with this will, with this intention whoever was then circumcised, Christ profited him nothing at all: just as elsewhere he says openly, *For if justice [be] through the Law, then Christ died in vain* (Gal. 2:21). This also that which you yourself commemorated declares: *You are evacuated from Christ who are justified in the Law; you have fallen from grace.* Those therefore he argues against, who believed themselves to be justified in the Law, not those who observed those legitimate [rites] in His honor, by whom they were commanded, understanding both by what reason of preannouncing truth they were commanded, and how long they ought to endure. Whence is that which he says, *If you are led by the spirit, you are not yet under the Law* (Gal. 5:4, 18): whence, as you collect, it appears that he who is under the Law, not dispensatively as you think our elders wished, but truly, as I understand, does not have the Holy Spirit.

20. Magna mihi videtur quaestio, quid sit esse sub Lege sic, quemadmodum Apostolus culpat. Neque enim hoc eum propter circumcisionem arbitror dicere, aut illa sacrificia quae tunc facta a patribus, nunc a Christianis non fiunt, et caetera hujusmodi: sed hoc ipsum etiam quod Lex dicit, Non concupisces (Exod. XX, 17, et Deut. V, 21), quod fatemur certe Christianos debere observare, atque evangelica maxime illustratione praedicari, Legem dicit esse sanctam, et mandatum sanctum, et justum et bonum; deinde subjungit: Quod ergo bonum est, mihi factum est mors? Absit; sed peccatum ut appareat peccatum, per bonum mihi operatum est mortem, ut fiat supra modum peccator aut peccatum, per mandatum (Rom. VII, 12, 13). Quod autem hic dicit, Peccatum per mandatum fieri supra modum, hoc alibi ait, Lex subintravit ut abundaret delictum. Ubi autem abundavit delictum, superabundavit et gratia (Id. V, 20). Et alibi, cum superius de dispensatione gratiae loqueretur, quod ipsa justificet, velut interrogans ait, Quid ergo Lex? atque huic interrogationi continuo respondit, Praevaricationis gratia posita est, donec veniret semen cui promissum est (Gal. III, 19). Hos ergo damnabiliter dicit esse sub Lege, quos reos facit Lex, non implentes Legem, dum non intelligendo gratiae beneficium ad facienda Dei praecepta, quasi de suis viribus superba elatione praesumunt. Plenitudo enim Legis charitas (Rom. XIII, 10). Charitas vero Dei diffusa est in cordibus nostris, non per nos ipsos, sed per Spiritum sanctum qui datus est nobis (Id. V, 5). Sed huic rei quantum satis est explicandae, prolixior fortasse et sui proprii voluminis sermo debetur. Si ergo illud quod Lex ait, Non concupisces (Id. XIII, 9), si humana infirmitas gratia Dei adjuta non fuerit, sub se reum tenet, et praevaricatorem potius damnat, quam liberat peccatorem; quanto magis illa, quae significationis causa praecepta sunt, circumcisio, et caetera, quae revelatione gratiae latius innotescente necesse fuerat aboleri, justificare neminem poterant? Non tamen ideo fuerant tanquam diabolica Gentium sacrilegia fugienda, etiam cum ipsa gratia jam coeperat revelari, quae umbris talibus fuerat praenuntiata; sed permittenda paululum, eis maxime qui ex illo populo, cui data sunt, venerant. Postea vero tanquam cum honore sepulta sunt, a Christianis omnibus irreparabiliter deserenda.

21. Hoc autem, quod dicis, Non dispensative, ut nostri voluere majores; quid sibi vult, oro te? Aut enim hoc est, quod ego appello officiosum mendacium, ut haec dispensatio sit officium velut honeste mentiendi: aut quid aliud sit, omnino non video, nisi forte, addito nomine dispensationis, fit ut mendacium non sit mendacium; quod si absurdum est, cur ergo non aperte dicis, officiosum mendacium defendendum?

20. It seems to me a great question, what it is to be under the Law thus, in the way the Apostle blames. For I do not judge him to say this on account of circumcision, or those sacrifices which then [were] done by the fathers, [and] now are not done by Christians, and other [things] of this kind: but even this itself which the Law says, *You shall not covet* (Exod. 20:17, and Deut. 5:21), which we certainly confess Christians ought to observe, and to be preached especially by evangelical illustration, he says the Law is holy, and the commandment holy, and just and good; then he subjoins: *That which therefore is good, was it made death to me?* Far be it; but sin that it might appear sin, through that which is good worked death to me, that he might become above measure a sinner or sin, through the commandment (Rom. 7:12, 13). Moreover what he says here, that sin becomes above measure through the commandment, this he says elsewhere, *The Law sub-entered that the delict might abound.* Moreover where the delict abounded, grace also super-abounded (Id. 5:20). And elsewhere, when he spoke above concerning the dispensation of grace, that it justifies, as if interrogating he says, *What therefore [is] the Law?* and to this interrogation he immediately answered, *It was placed for the sake of prevarication, until the seed should come to whom it was promised* (Gal. 3:19). Those therefore he says are damnably under the Law, whom the Law makes guilty, not fulfilling the Law, while by not understanding the benefit of grace for doing the precepts of God, they presume as if from their own strengths with proud elation. For *the fullness of the Law [is] charity* (Rom. 13:10). Moreover *the charity of God is diffused in our hearts,* not through ourselves, but *through the Holy Spirit who was given to us* (Id. 5:5). But for explaining this matter as much as is enough, a more prolix discourse and perhaps of its own proper volume is owed. If therefore that which the Law says, *You shall not covet* (Id. 13:9), if human infirmity shall not have been helped by the grace of God, it holds [one] guilty under itself, and damns the prevaricator rather than liberates the sinner; how much more those [things], which were commanded for the sake of signification, circumcision, and the rest, which it was necessary to be abolished by the revelation of grace becoming more widely known, were able to justify no one? Yet they were not therefore to be fled from as the diabolical sacrileges of the Gentiles, even when grace itself had already begun to be revealed, which had been preannounced by such shadows; but to be permitted for a little while, especially to those who had come from that people to whom they were given. Moreover afterwards they were buried as if with honor, to be irreparably deserted by all Christians.

21. Moreover this, which you say, *Not dispensatively, as our elders wished;* what does it mean for itself, I pray you? For either this is that which I call an officious lie, so that this dispensation is the office as if of lying honestly: or what else it may be, I altogether do not see, unless perhaps, the name of dispensation being added, it results that a lie is not a lie; which if it is absurd, why therefore do you not say openly, that an officious lie is to be defended?

nisi forte nomen te movet, quia non tam usitatum est in ecclesiasticis libris vocabulum officii, quod Ambrosius noster non timuit, qui suos quosdam libros utilium praeceptionum plenos, de Officiis voluit appellare. An si officiose mentiatur quisque, culpandus est; si dispensative, approbandus? Rogo te, mentiatur ubi elegerit qui hoc putat: quia et in hoc magna quaestio est, sitne aliquando mentiri viri boni, imo viri christiani, qualibus dictum est, Sit in ore vestro, Est, est, Non, non, ut non sub judicio decidatis (Jacob. V, 12, et Matth. V, 37); et qui cum fide audiunt, Perdes omnes qui loquuntur mendacium (Psal. V, 7).

22. Sed haec, ut dixi, et alia et magna quaestio est; eligat quod voluerit, qui hoc existimat, ubi mentiatur; dum tamen a scribentibus auctoribus sanctarum Scripturarum, et maxime canonicarum, inconcusse credatur, et defendatur omnino abesse mendacium; ne dispensatores Christi, de quibus dictum est, Hic jam quaeritur inter dispensatores, ut fidelis quis inveniatur (I Cor. IV, 2), tanquam magnum aliquid sibi fideliter didicisse videantur, pro veritatis dispensatione mentiri, cum ipsa fides in latino sermone ab eo dicatur appellata, quia fit quod dicitur. Ubi autem fit quod dicitur, mentiendi utique non est locus. Fidelis igitur dispensator apostolus Paulus procul dubio nobis exhibet in scribendo fidem; quia veritatis dispensator erat, non falsitatis. Ac per hoc verum scripsit, vidisse se Petrum non recte ingredientem ad veritatem Evangelii eique in faciem restitisse, quod Gentes cogeret judaizare. Ipse vero Petrus, quod a Paulo fiebat utiliter libertate charitatis, sanctae ac benignae pietate humilitatis accepit: atque ita rarius et sanctius exemplum posteris praebuit, quo non dedignarentur, sicubi forte recti tramitem reliquissent, etiam a posterioribus corrigi; quam Paulus, quo confidenter auderent etiam minores majoribus pro defendenda evangelica veritate, salva fraterna charitate resistere. Nam cum satius sit a tenendo itinere, in nullo quam in aliquo declinare, multo est tamen mirabilius et laudabilius, libenter accipere corrigentem, quam audacter corrigere deviantem. Est laus itaque justae libertatis in Paulo, et sanctae humilitatis in Petro: quae, quantum mihi pro modulo meo videtur, magis fuerat adversus calumniantem Porphyrium defendenda, quam ut ei daretur obtrectandi major occasio; qua multo mordacius criminaretur Christianos fallaciter vel suas litteras scribere, vel Dei sui sacramenta portare.

CAPUT III.

unless perhaps the name moves you, because the word *officium* is not so usual in ecclesiastical books, which our Ambrose did not fear, who wished to call certain of his books full of useful precepts, *Concerning Offices* (*de Officiis*). Or if anyone should lie officiosely, is he to be blamed; if dispensatively, to be approved? I ask you, let him lie where he chooses who thinks this: because also in this is a great question, whether it is sometimes [the part] of a good man, or rather of a christian man, to lie, to such as it was said, *Let there be in your mouth, Yea, yea, Nay, nay, that you fall not under judgment* (James 5:12, and Matt. 5:37); and who with faith hear, *You will destroy all who speak a lie* (Psalm 5:7).

22. But this, as I said, both is another and a great question; let him who thinks this choose what he will, where he may lie; provided however that it be unshakenly believed by the writing authors of the holy Scriptures, and especially the canonical [ones], and be defended that a lie is altogether absent; lest the dispensers of Christ, concerning whom it was said, *Here now it is sought among dispensers, that anyone be found faithful* (1 Cor. 4:2), should seem to themselves to have faithfully learned some great thing, to lie for the dispensation of truth, since faith itself (*fides*) in the Latin speech is said to be named from this, because that which is said is done (*fiat quod dicitur*). Moreover where that which is said is done, there is certainly no place for lying. Therefore the faithful dispenser the apostle Paul without doubt exhibits faith to us in writing; because he was a dispenser of truth, not of falsity. And by this he wrote truly, that he had seen Peter not walking uprightly according to the truth of the Gospel and had resisted him to the face, because he was compelling the Gentiles to judaize. Moreover Peter himself received with the piety of holy and benign humility that which was done usefully by Paul with the liberty of charity: and thus he offered to posterity a rarer and holier example, by which they should not deign [to refuse], if perchance anywhere they should have left the path of right, to be corrected even by juniors; than Paul [did], by which minors might confidently dare to resist seniors for the sake of defending evangelical truth, fraternal charity being safe. For since it is better to decline in nothing than in something from holding the way, yet it is much more admirable and laudable, to receive willingly one correcting, than boldly to correct one deviating. There is therefore the praise of just liberty in Paul, and of holy humility in Peter: which, as much as it seems to me according to my measure, ought rather to have been defended against the calumniating Porphyry, than that a greater occasion of detraction should be given to him; by which he might much more mordaciously accuse Christians of writing their letters fallaciously, or of bearing the sacraments of their God.

CHAPTER III.

23. Flagitas a me ut aliquem saltem unum ostendam, cujus in hac re sententiam sim secutus, cum tu tam plures nominatim commemoraveris, qui te in eo quod adstruis praecesserunt; petens ut in eo, si te reprehendo errantem, patiar te errare cum talibus, quorum ego, fateor, neminem legi: sed cum sint ferme sex, vel septem, horum quatuor auctoritatem tu quoque infringis. Nam Laodicenum, cujus nomen taces, de Ecclesia dicis nuper egressum; Alexandrum autem veterem haereticum; Origenem vero ac Didymum reprehensos abs te lego in recentioribus opusculis tuis, et non mediocriter, nec de mediocribus quaestionibus, quamvis Origenem mirabiliter ante laudaveris. Cum iis ergo errare puto quia nec te ipse patieris; quamvis hoc perinde dicatur, ac si in hac sententia non erraverint. Nam quis est qui se velit cum quolibet errare? Tres igitur restant, Eusebius Emisenus, Theodorus Heracleotes, et quem paulo post commemoras Joannes qui dudum in pontificali gradu Constantinopolitanam rexit ecclesiam.

24. Porro, si quaeras vel recolas quid hinc senserit noster Ambrosius, quid noster itidem Cyprianus; invenies fortasse nec nobis defuisse, quos in eo quod asserimus sequeremur. Quanquam, sicut paulo ante dixi, tantummodo Scripturis canonicis hanc ingenuam debeam servitutem, qua eas solas ita sequar, ut conscriptores earum nihil in eis omnino errasse, nihil fallaciter posuisse non dubitem. Proinde, cum quaero tertium, ut tres etiam ego tribus opponam, possem quidem, ut arbitror, facile reperire, si multa legissem; verumtamen ipse mihi pro his omnibus, imo supra hos omnes apostolus Paulus occurrit. Ad ipsum confugio: ad ipsum ab omnibus, qui aliud sentiunt, litterarum ejus tractatoribus provoco; ipsum interrogans interpello et requiro in eo quod scripsit ad Galatas, vidisse se Petrum non recte ingredientem ad veritatem Evangelii, eique in faciem propterea restitisse, quod illa simulatione Gentes judaizare cogebat, utrum verum scripserit, an forte nescio qua dispensativa falsitate mentitus sit. Et audio eum paulo superius in ejusdem narrationis exordio religiosa voce mihi clamantem: Quae autem scribo vobis, ecce coram Deo, quia non mentior (Gal. I, 20).

25. Dent veniam quilibet aliud opinantes; ego magis credo tanto apostolo in suis, et pro suis Litteris juranti, quam cuiquam doctissimo de alienis litteris disputanti. Nec dici timeo, me sic Paulum defendere, quod non simularit errorem Judaeorum, sed vere fuerit in errore.

23. You demand from me that I should show at least some one, whose sentence I have followed in this matter, since you have commemorated so many by name, who preceded you in that which you adduce; asking that in this, if I reprehend you erring, I should suffer you to err with such [men], of whom I confess, I have read no one: but since they are almost six, or seven, the authority of four of these you also infringe. For the Laodicean, whose name you silence, you say recently went out from the Church; moreover Alexander [as] an ancient heretic; and Origen indeed and Didymus I read to be reprehended by you in your more recent little works, and that not moderately, nor concerning moderate questions, although you had previously praised Origen wonderfully. I think therefore that you will not even suffer yourself to err with these; although this may be said just as if they did not err in this sentence. For who is he who would wish to err with anyone? Three therefore remain, Eusebius of Emesa, Theodore of Heraclea, and he whom a little after you commemorate, John, who for some time in the pontifical grade ruled the Church of Constantinople.

24. Furthermore, if you should seek or recall what our Ambrose thought hence, what likewise our Cyprian; you will find perhaps that there was not lacking to us also [those] whom we might follow in that which we assert. Although, as I said a little before, I owe this ingenuous servitude only to the canonical Scriptures, by which I so follow them alone, that I do not doubt their writers to have erred in them in nothing at all, to have placed nothing fallaciously. Therefore, when I seek a third, that I also may oppose three to three, I could indeed, as I judge, easily find [one], if I had read many [books]; nevertheless there occurs to me for all these, or rather above all these, the apostle Paul. To him I fly: to him I provoke from all the treaters of his letters who think otherwise; interrogating him I interpellate and require in that which he wrote to the Galatians, that he had seen Peter not walking uprightly according to the truth of the Gospel, and therefore resisted him to the face, because by that simulation he was compelling the Gentiles to judaize, whether he wrote the truth, or perhaps lied by I know not what dispensative falsity. And I hear him a little above in the exordium of the same narration crying out to me with a religious voice: *But the things which I write to you, behold before God, that I lie not* (Gal. 1:20).

25. Let whoever think otherwise give pardon; I rather believe so great an apostle swearing in his own, and for his own Letters, than any most learned [man] disputing concerning the letters of another. Nor do I fear it to be said, that I so defend Paul, that he did not simulate the error of the Jews, but was truly in error.

Quoniam neque simulabat errorem, qui libertate apostolica, sicut illi tempori congruebat, vetera illa sacramenta, ubi opus erat, agendo commendabat ea, non satanae versutia decipiendis hominibus, sed Dei providentia praenuntiandis rebus futuris prophetice constituta: nec vere fuerat in errore Judaeorum, qui non solum noverat, sed etiam instanter et acriter praedicabat eos errare, qui putabant Gentibus imponenda, vel justificationi quorumcumque fidelium necessaria.

26. Quod autem dixi eum factum Judaeis tanquam Judaeum et tanquam gentilem Gentilibus, non mentientis astu, sed compatientis affectu: quemadmodum dixerim parum mihi visus es attendisse; imo ego fortasse non satis hoc explanare potuerim. Neque enim hoc ideo dixi, quod misericorditer illa simulaverit; sed quia sic non ea simulavit quae faciebat similia Judaeis, quemadmodum nec illa quae faciebat similia Gentibus, quae tu quoque commemorasti; atque in eo me, quod non ingrate fateor, adjuvisti. Cum enim abs te quaesissem in epistola mea, quomodo putetur ideo factus Judaeis tanquam Judaeus, quia fallaciter suscepit sacramenta Judaeorum, cum et Gentibus tanquam gentilis factus sit, nec tamen suscepit fallaciter sacrificia Gentium; tu respondisti, in eo factum Gentibus tanquam gentilem, quod praeputium receperit, quod indifferenter permiserit vesci cibis quos damnant Judaei: ubi ego quaero utrum et hoc simulate fecerit: quod si absurdissimum atque falsissimum est; sic ergo et illa in quibus Judaeorum consuetudini congruebat libertate prudenti, non necessitate servili, aut quod est indignius, dispensatione fallaci potius quam fideli.

27. Fidelibus enim, et iis qui cognoverunt veritatem, sicut ipse testatur, nisi forte et hic fallit, omnis creatura Dei bona est, et nihil abjiciendum quod cum gratiarum actione accipitur (I Tim. IV, 4). Ergo et ipsi Paulo non solum viro, verum etiam dispensatori maxime fideli, non solum cognitori, verum etiam doctori veritatis, omnis utique in cibis creatura Dei non simulate, sed vere bona erat. Cur igitur nihil simulate suscipiendo sacrorum cerimoniarumque Gentilium, sed de cibis et praeputio verum sentiendo ac docendo, tamen tanquam gentilis factus est Gentibus, et non potuit fieri tanquam Judaeus Judaeis, nisi fallaciter suscipiendo sacramenta Judaeorum? Cur oleastro inserto servavit dispensationis veracem fidem; et naturalibus ramis non extra, sed in arbore constitutis, nescio quod dispensatoriae simulationis velamen obtendit?

Since neither was he simulating an error, who with apostolic liberty, just as was congruous to that time, commended those ancient sacraments by doing [them] where there was need, [rites] constituted not by the craftiness of Satan for deceiving men, but by the providence of God for preannouncing future things prophetically: nor had he truly been in the error of the Jews, who not only knew, but even instantly and sharply preached that those erred, who thought they were to be imposed upon the Gentiles, or were necessary for the justification of any of the faithful.

26. Moreover as to that which I said, that he was made a Jew to the Jews as if a Jew, and as if a Gentile to the Gentiles, not by the craft of one lying, but by the affection of one suffering with [them]: how I said [it], you have seemed to me to have attended too little; or rather I perhaps have not been able to explain this enough. For I did not say this for that reason, that he simulatorily performed those things mercifully; but because he so did not simulate those things which he did similar to the Jews, just as nor those which he did similar to the Gentiles, which you also commemorated; and in that you helped me, which I confess not ungratefully. For when I had asked from you in my letter, how he is thought therefore to have been made a Jew to the Jews as if a Jew, because he fallaciously undertook the sacraments of the Jews, since he was also made as if a Gentile to the Gentiles, yet did not fallaciously undertake the sacrifices of the Gentiles; you answered, that in this he was made as if a Gentile to the Gentiles, because he received the foreskin [uncircumcision], because he indifferently permitted them to eat foods which the Jews damn: where I ask whether he did this also simulatorily: which if it is most absurd and most false; so therefore [he did] also those things in which he was congruous to the custom of the Jews with prudent liberty, not servile necessity, or what is more unworthy, with a fallacious rather than a faithful dispensation.

27. For to the faithful, and to those who have known the truth, as he himself witnesses, unless perhaps here also he deceives, *every creature of God is good, and nothing is to be rejected which is received with thanksgiving* (1 Tim. 4:4). Therefore also to Paul himself not only [as] a man, but even especially [as] a faithful dispenser, not only a knower, but even a teacher of truth, every creature of God in foods was certainly not simulatorily, but truly good. Why therefore undertaking nothing simulatorily of the sacred [rites] and ceremonies of the Gentiles, but sensing and teaching the truth concerning foods and the foreskin, yet was he made as if a Gentile to the Gentiles, and was he not able to be made as if a Jew to the Jews, except by undertaking fallaciously the sacraments of the Jews? Why to the engrafted wild olive did he keep the truthful faith of dispensation; and to the natural branches constituted not outside, but in the tree, did he extend I know not what veil of dispensatory simulation?

Cur factus tanquam gentilis Gentibus, quod sentit docet, quod ait sentit; factus autem tanquam Judaeus Judaeis, aliud in pectore claudit, aliud promit in verbis, in factis, in scriptis? Sed absit hoc sapere. Utrisque enim debebat charitatem de corde puro et conscientia bona, et fide non ficta (Id. I, 5). Ac per hoc omnibus omnia factus est, ut omnes lucrifaceret (I Cor. IX, 19-22), non mentientis astu, sed compatientis affectu; id est, non omnia mala hominum fallaciter agendo, sed aliorum omnium malis omnibus, tanquam si sua essent, misericordis medicinae diligentiam procurando.

28. Cum itaque illa Testamenti Veteris sacramenta etiam sibi agenda minime recusabat, non misericorditer fallebat, sed omnino non fallens, atque hoc modo a Domino Deo illa usque ad certi temporis dispensationem jussa esse commendans, a sacrilegis sacris Gentium distinguebat. Tunc autem, non mentientis astu, sed compatientis affectu, Judaeis tanquam Judaeus fiebat, quando eos ab illo errore, quo vel in Christum credere nolebant, vel per vetera sacerdotia sua cerimoniarumque observationes, se a peccatis posse mundari, fierique salvos existimabant, sic liberare cupiebat, tanquam ipse illo errore teneretur; diligens utique proximum tanquam seipsum, et haec aliis faciens, quae sibi ab aliis fieri vellet, si hoc illi opus esset: quod cum Dominus monuisset, adjunxit, Haec est enim Lex et Prophetae (Matth. XXII, 40).

29. Hunc compatientis affectum, in eadem Epistola ad Galatas praecipit, dicens: Si praeoccupatus fuerit homo in aliquo delicto; vos qui spirituales estis, instruite hujusmodi in spiritu lenitatis, intendens teipsum, ne et tu tenteris (Gal. VI, 1). Vide si non dixit: Fiere tanquam ille, ut illum lucrifacias. Non utique ut ipsum dilectum fallaciter ageret, aut se id habere simularet; sed ut in alterius delicto, quid etiam sibi accidere posset, attenderet, atque ita alteri, tanquam sibi ab altero vellet, misericorditer subveniret: hoc est non mentientis astu, sed compatientis affectu. Sic Judaeo, sic gentili, sic cuilibet homini Paulus in errore vel peccato aliquo constituto, non simulando quod non erat, sed compatiendo, quia esse potuisset, tanquam qui se hominem cogitaret, omnibus omnia factus est, ut omnes lucrifaceret.

CAPUT IV.

Why made as if a Gentile to the Gentiles, what he senses he teaches, what he says he senses; moreover made as if a Jew to the Jews, does he close one thing in his breast, [and] bring forth another in words, in deeds, in writings? But far be it to savor this. For to both he owed charity out of a pure heart and a good conscience, and faith unfeigned (Id. 1:5). And by this he was made all things to all, that he might gain all (1 Cor. 9:19-22), not by the craft of one lying, but by the affection of one suffering with [them]; that is, not by fallaciously doing all the evils of men, but by procuring for all the evils of all others, as if they were his own, the diligence of merciful medicine.

Since therefore he by no means refused to perform even for himself those sacraments of the Old Testament, he did not mercifully deceive, but altogether not deceiving, and in this way commending those things to have been commanded by the Lord God until the dispensation of a certain time, he distinguished [them] from the sacrilegious sacred [rites] of the Gentiles. Moreover then, not by the craft of one lying, but by the affection of one suffering with [them], was he made as if a Jew to the Jews, when he desired thus to liberate them from that error, by which either they did not wish to believe in Christ, or they judged themselves to be able to be cleansed from sins and to be made safe through those old priesthoods and observations of ceremonies, as if he himself were held by that error; loving certainly his neighbor as himself, and doing these things to others, which he would wish to be done to himself by others, if he had need of this: which when the Lord had admonished, He added, *For this is the Law and the Prophets* (Matt. 22:40).

29. This affection of one suffering with [another], he prescribes in the same Epistle to the Galatians, saying: *If a man be preoccupied in any delict; you who are spiritual, instruct such a one in the spirit of lenity, considering yourself, lest you also be tempted* (Gal. 6:1). See if he did not say: Be made as that one, that you may gain him. Not certainly that he should fallaciously perform the same delict, or simulate that he had it; but that in the delict of another, he should attend to what also could happen to himself, and thus mercifully subvene to the other, as he would wish to be done for himself by another: this is not by the craft of one lying, but by the affection of one suffering with [him]. Thus to the Jew, thus to the Gentile, thus to any man constituted in some error or sin, Paul, not by simulating what he was not, but by suffering with [them], because he could have been [so], as one who thought himself a man, was made all things to all, that he might gain all.

CHAPTER IV.

30. Teipsum, si placet, obsecro te, paulisper intuere; teipsum, inquam, erga memetipsum, et recole, vel, si habes conscripta, relege verba tua in illa Epistola quam mihi per fratrem nostrum jam collegam meum Cyprianum, breviorem misisti, quam veraci, quam germano, quam pleno charitatis affectu, cum quaedam me in te commisisse expostulasses graviter, subjunxisti: In hoc laeditur amicitia, in hoc necessitudinis jura violantur, ne videamur certare pueriliter, et fautoribus invicem, vel detractoribus nostris tribuere materiam contendendi. Haec abs te verba non solum ex animo dicta sentio, verum etiam benigno animo ad consulendum mihi. Denique addis, quod etiamsi non adderes, appareret, et dicis: Haec scribo, quia pure et christiane diligere te cupio, nec quidquam in mea mente retinere, quod distet a labiis. O vir sancte, mihique, ut Deus videt animam meam, veraci, corde dilecte, hoc ipsum quod posuisti in litteris tuis, quod te mihi exhibuisse non dubito, hoc ipsum omnino apostolum Paulum credo exhibuisse in Litteris suis, non unicuilibet homini, sed Judaeis, et Graecis, et omnibus Gentibus filiis suis, quos in Evangelio genuerat, et quos pariendos parturiebat; et deinde posterorum tot millibus fidelium Christianorum, propter quos illa memoriae mandabatur Epistola, ut nihil in sua mente retineret quod distaret a labiis.

31. Certe factus es etiam tu, tanquam ego, non mentientis astu, sed compatientis affectu, cum cogitares tam me non relinquendum in ea culpa, in quam me prolapsum existimasti, quam nec te velles, si eo modo prolapsus esses. Unde agens gratias benevolae menti erga me tuae, simul posco, ut etiam mihi non succenseas, quod cum in opusculis tuis aliqua me moverent, motum meum intimavi tibi: hoc erga me ab omnibus servari volens, quod erga te ipse servavi, ut quidquid improbandum putant in scriptis meis, nec laudent subdolo pectore, nec ita reprehendant apud alios, ut taceant apud me; hinc potius existimans laedi amicitiam et necessitudinis jura violari. Nescio enim, utrum christianae amicitiae putandae sint, in quibus magis valet vulgare proverbium, Obsequium amicos, veritas odium parit (Terentius in Andr., act. 1, scena 1), quam ecclesiasticum, Fideliora sunt vulnera amici, quam voluntaria oscula inimici (Prov. XXVII, 6).

32. Proinde charissimos nostros, qui nostris laboribus sincerissime favent, hoc potius quanta possumus instantia doceamus, quo sciant fieri posse ut inter charissimos aliquid alterutro sermone contradicatur, nec tamen charitas ipsa minuatur, nec veritas odium pariat, quae debetur amicitiae; sive illud verum sit quod contradicitur, sive corde veraci qualecumque sit dicitur, non retinendo in mente quod distet a labiis.

30. I beseech you, if it pleases you, look at yourself for a little while; at yourself, I say, towards myself, and recall, or, if you have them written down, reread your words in that Epistle which you sent to me through our brother, now my colleague, Cyprian, [which was] shorter, with what truthful, what brotherly, what full affection of charity, when you had expostulated gravely that I had committed certain [things] against you, you subjoined: *In this friendship is hurt, in this the rights of necessity [closeness] are violated, lest we seem to contend childishly, and to give to our favorers in turn, or to our detractors, matter for contending.* These words from you I not only feel were spoken from the soul, but even with a benign mind for counseling me. Finally you add, which even if you did not add, it would appear, and you say: *These things I write, because I desire to love you purely and christianly, nor to retain anything in my mind, which differs from my lips.* O holy man, and to my heart, as God sees my soul, loved with a truthful heart, this very [thing] which you placed in your letters, which I do not doubt you to have exhibited to me, this very [thing] altogether I believe the apostle Paul to have exhibited in his Letters, not to any one man, but to the Jews, and Greeks, and all the Gentiles his sons, whom he had begotten in the Gospel, and for whose birth he was in labor; and then to so many thousands of the faithful Christians of posterity, on account of whom that Epistle was committed to memory, that he should retain nothing in his mind which differed from his lips.

31. Certainly you also were made, as if I [am], not by the craft of one lying, but by the affection of one suffering with [me], when you thought that I was no more to be left in that fault into which you judged me to have fallen, than you would wish for yourself, if you had fallen in that way. Whence giving thanks to your benevolent mind towards me, at the same time I ask, that you also be not incensed with me, because when certain [things] in your little works moved me, I intimated my motion to you: wishing this to be kept towards me by all, which I myself kept towards you, that whatever they think is to be disapproved in my writings, they neither praise with a deceitful breast, nor so reprehend among others, that they are silent before me; judging rather that hence friendship is hurt and the rights of necessity violated. For I know not, whether they are to be thought christian friendships, in which the common proverb prevails more, *Compliance breeds friends, truth breeds hatred* (Terence in Andria, Act 1, Scene 1), than the ecclesiastical [one], *The wounds of a friend are more faithful than the voluntary kisses of an enemy* (Prov. 27:6).

Therefore let us rather teach our most dear [friends], who most sincerely favor our labors, with as much instance as we can, by which they may know it can happen that between most dear [friends] something may be contradicted by the speech of either, nor yet charity itself be diminished, nor truth breed hatred, which is owed to friendship; whether that which is contradicted be true, or however it be it is spoken with a truthful heart, by not retaining in the mind what differs from the lips.

Credant itaque fratres nostri, familiares tui, quibus testimonium perhibes, quod sint vasa Christi, me invito factum, nec mediocrem de hac re dolorem inesse cordi meo, quod litterae meae prius in multorum manus venerunt, quam ad te, ad quem scriptae sunt, pervenire potuerunt. Quo autem modo id acciderit, et longum est narrare, et, nisi fallor, superfluum: cum sufficiat si quid mihi in hoc creditur, non eo factum animo quo putatur; nec omnino meae fuisse voluntatis aut dispositionis, aut consensionis, aut saltem cogitationis, ut fieret. Hoc si non credunt, quod teste Deo loquor, quid amplius faciam non habeo. Ego tamen absit ut eos credam haec tuae Sanctitati malevola mente suggerere ad excitandas inter nos inimicitias; quas misericordia Domini Dei nostri avertat a nobis; sed, sine ullo nocendi animo, facile de homine humana vitia suspicari. Hoc me enim de illis aequum est credere, si vasa sunt Christi, non in contumeliam, sed in honorem facta, et disposita in domo magna a Deo, in opus bonum (II Tim. II, 20, 21). Quod si post hanc attestationem meam, si in notitiam eorum venerit, facere voluerint; quam non recte faciant, et tu vides.

33. Quod sane scripseram, nullum me librum adversus te Romam misisse, ideo scripseram, quia et libri nomen ab illa epistola discernebam, unde omnino nescio quid aliud te audisse existimaveram; et Romam nec ipsam epistolam, sed tibi miseram; et adversus te non esse arbitrabar, quod sinceritate amicitiae sive ad admonendum, sive ad te vel me abs te corrigendum fecisse me noveram. Exceptis autem familiaribus tuis, teipsum obsecro per gratiam qua redempti sumus, ut quaecumque tua bona, quae tibi bonitate Domini concessa sunt, in litteris meis posui, non me existimes insidioso blandiloquio posuisse. Si quid autem in te peccavi, dimittas mihi. Nec illud quod de nescio cujus poetae facto ineptius fortasse quam litteratius a me commemoratum est, amplius quam dixi, ad te trahas: cum continuo subjecerim non hoc ideo me dixisse, ut oculos cordis reciperes, quos absit unquam ut amiseris; sed ut adverteres quos sanos ac vigiles haberes. Propter solam ergo παλινῳδίαν, si aliquid scripserimus quod scripto posteriore destruere debeamus, imitandam, non propter Stesichori caecitatem, quam cordi tuo nec tribui, nec timui, attingendum illud existimavi; atque identidem rogo, ut me fidenter corrigas, ubi mihi hoc opus esse perspexeris. Quanquam enim secundum honorum vocabula quae jam Ecclesiae usus obtinuit, episcopatus presbyterio major sit: tamen in multis rebus Augustinus Hieronymo minor est; licet etiam a minore quolibet non sit refugienda, vel dedignanda correctio.

Therefore let our brothers, your familiars, to whom you bear witness, that they are vessels of Christ, believe that it was done against my will, nor is there moderate grief in my heart concerning this matter, that my letters came into the hands of many, before they were able to reach you, to whom they were written. Moreover in what way it happened, it is both long to narrate, and, unless I am deceived, superfluous: since it suffices if anything is believed to me in this, that it was not done with that mind with which it is thought; nor was it altogether of my will or disposition, or consent, or even thought, that it should be. This if they do not believe, which I speak with God as witness, I have nothing further that I may do. Yet far be it from me that I should believe them to suggest these things to your Holiness with a malevolent mind for exciting enmities between us; which the mercy of the Lord our God may avert from us; but, without any mind of hurting, easily to suspect human vices concerning a man. For it is equitable for me to believe this concerning them, if they are vessels of Christ, made not for contumely, but for honor, and disposed in a great house by God, for a good work (2 Tim. 2:20, 21). Which if after this my attestation, if it shall have come into their notice, they shall wish to do; how not uprightly they do [it], you also see.

33. As to that which I had certainly written, that I had sent no book against you to Rome, I had written for this reason, because I both discerned the name of a book from that epistle, whence I had altogether judged you to have heard I know not what else; and neither [did I send] the epistle itself to Rome, but I had sent it to you; and I did not judge it to be against you, which I knew myself to have done by the sincerity of friendship either for admonishing, or for you or me to be corrected by you. Moreover, your familiars being excepted, I beseech you yourself by the grace by which we are redeemed, that whatever your good [things], which have been conceded to you by the goodness of the Lord, I have placed in my letters, you do not judge me to have placed with insidious blandiloquence. Moreover if I have sinned in anything against you, forgive me. Nor that which was commemorated by me concerning the deed of I know not what poet perhaps more ineptly than literately, should you draw to yourself further than I said: since I immediately subjoined that I did not say this for this reason, that you should receive the eyes of the heart, which far be it that you ever lost; but that you should attend [to those eyes] which you had healthy and vigilant. Only for the sake of the *palinode* therefore, if we should have written anything which we ought to destroy by a later writing, as something to be imitated, not on account of the blindness of Stesichorus, which I neither attributed to your heart, nor feared, did I judge that that was to be touched upon; and likewise I ask, that you confidently correct me, where you shall have perceived this to be needed by me. For although according to the vocabularies of honors which the use of the Church has already obtained, the episcopate is greater than the presbyterate: yet in many things Augustine is less than Jerome; although correction is not to be fled from, or deigned [to be refused], even from any lesser one.

CAPUT V.

34. De interpretatione tua jam mihi persuasisti, qua utilitate Scripturas volueris transferre de Hebraeis, ut scilicet ea, quae a Judaeis praetermissa, vel corrupta sunt, proferres in medium. Sed insinuare digneris peto, a quibus Judaeis, utrum ab eis ipsis qui ante adventum Domini interpretati sunt; et si ita est, quibus vel quonam eorum: an ab istis posterius, qui propterea putari possunt aliqua de codicibus graecis vel subtraxisse, vel in eis corrupisse, ne illis testimoniis de christiana fide convincerentur. Illi autem anteriores cur hoc facere voluerint, non invenio. Deinde nobis mittas, obsecro, interpretationem tuam de Septuaginta, quam te edidisse nesciebam. Librum quoque tuum, cujus mentionem fecisti, de Optimo genere interpretandi, cupio legere, et adhuc nosse quomodo coaequanda sit in interprete peritia linguarum, conjecturis eorum qui Scripturas edisserendo pertractant; quos necesse est, etiamsi rectae atque unius fidei fuerint, varias parere in multorum locorum obscuritate sententias: quamvis nequaquam ipsa varietas ab ejusdem fidei unitate discordet; sicut etiam unus tractator, secundum eamdem fidem aliter atque aliter eumdem locum potest exponere, quia hoc ejus obscuritas patitur.

35. Ideo autem desidero interpretationem tuam de Septuaginta, ut et tanta latinorum interpretum, qui qualescumque hoc ausi sunt, quantum possumus imperitia careamus: et hi qui me invidere putant utilibus laboribus tuis, tandem aliquando, si fieri potest, intelligant, propterea me nolle tuam ex hebraeo interpretationem in ecclesiis legi, ne contra Septuaginta auctoritatem, tanquam novum aliquid proferentes, magno scandalo perturbemus plebes Christi, quarum aures et corda illam interpretationem audire consueverunt, quae etiam ab Apostolis approbata est. Unde et illud apud Jonam virgultum (Jonae IV, 6), si in hebraeo nec hedera est, nec cucurbita, sed nescio quid aliud, quod trunco suo nixum nullis sustentandum adminiculis erigatur; mallem jam in omnibus latinis cucurbitam legi. Non enim frustra hoc puto Septuaginta posuisse, nisi quia et huic simile sciebant.

CHAPTER V.

34. Concerning your translation you have already persuaded me, with what utility you wished to transfer the Scriptures from the Hebrew, namely so that you might bring forth into the midst those [things] which were passed over or corrupted by the Jews. But I ask that you deign to insinuate, by which Jews, whether by those themselves who translated before the advent of the Lord; and if it be so, by which or by which one of them: or by those later, who for that reason can be thought either to have subtracted some things from the Greek codices, or to have corrupted [them] in them, lest they should be convinced by those testimonies concerning the Christian faith. Moreover why those earlier [ones] should have wished to do this, I do not find. Then send to us, I beseech, your translation of the Seventy [Septuagint], which I did not know you to have edited. I also desire to read your book, of which you made mention, *Concerning the Best Kind of Translating*, and yet to know how the skill of languages in a translator is to be co-equated with the conjectures of those who handle the Scriptures by explaining [them]; whom it is necessary, even if they shall have been of a right and single faith, to bring forth various sentences in the obscurity of many places: although that variety by no means discords from the unity of the same faith; just as even one treater, according to the same faith, can expose the same place in one way and another, because its obscurity suffers this.

35. Moreover I desire your translation of the Seventy for this reason, so that we may both lack as much as we can the unskilfulness of so many Latin translators, who of whatever kind have dared [to do] this: and that those who think me to envy your useful labors, may at last at some time, if it can be done, understand, that for this reason I am unwilling for your translation from the Hebrew to be read in the churches, lest against the authority of the Seventy, as if bringing forth something new, we should perturb the peoples of Christ with a great scandal, whose ears and hearts have been accustomed to hear that interpretation, which was also approved by the Apostles. Whence also that shrub in Jonah (Jonah 4:6), if in the Hebrew it is neither ivy, nor a gourd, but I know not what else, which leaning on its own trunk is erected to be sustained by no adminicles; I would already prefer the gourd to be read in all the Latin [versions]. For I do not judge the Seventy to have placed this in vain, unless because they knew [it to be] something similar to this.

36. Satis me, imo fortasse plus quam satis, tribus epistolis tuis, respondisse arbitror; quarum duas per Cyprianum accepi, unam per Firmum. Rescribe quod visum fuerit ad nos vel alios instruendos. Dabo autem operam diligentiorem, quantum me adjuvat Dominus, ut litterae quas ad te scribo, prius ad te perveniant quam ad quemquam, a quo latius dispergantur. Fateor enim, nec mihi hoc fieri velle de tuis ad me, quod de meis ad te factum justissime expostulas. Tamen placeat nobis invicem non tantum charitas, verum etiam libertas amicitiae, ne apud me taceas, vel ego apud te, quod in nostris litteris vicissim nos movet, eo scilicet animo qui oculis Dei in fraterna dilectione non displicet. Quod si inter nos fieri posse sine ipsius dilectionis perniciosa offensione non putas; non fiat. Illa enim charitas quam tecum habere vellem, profecto major est; sed melius haec minor quam nulla est.

EPISTOLA LXXXIII Augustinus Alypio significans aliam se de bonis, quae fuerunt Honorati ex Thagastensi monacho presbyteri Thiavensis, iniisse sententiam, sibique demum satius videri ut ea omnia haereditario veluti jure cedant, non monasterio Thagastensi, sed Thiavensi Ecclesiae. Domino beatissimo et venerabiliter charissimo ac desiderantissimo fratri et coepiscopo ALYPIO, et qui tecum sunt fratribus, AUGUSTINUS, et qui mecum sunt fratres, in Domino salutem.

1. Tristitia Thiavensis Ecclesiae cor meum conquiescere non permittit, donec eos tecum audiam in pristinum animum restitutos; quod cito faciendum est. Si enim de homine uno tantum sategit Apostolus dicens, Ne majore tristitia absorbeatur, qui ejusmodi est; ubi etiam ait, Ut non possideamur a satana; non enim ignoramus mentes ejus (II Cor. II, 7, 11): quanto magis nos oportet vigilanter agere, ne hoc in toto grege plangamus, et maxime in eis qui nunc catholicae paci accesserunt, et quos nullo modo relinquere possum. Sed quia temporis non sivit angustia, ut simul nobis inde diligenter deliberatam liceret eliquare sententiam; quid mihi post digressum nostrum diu cogitanti placuerit, accipiat Sanctitas tua: et si tibi quoque placet, jam litterae quas ad eos communi nomine scripsi, sine dilatione mittantur.

36. I judge that I have answered enough, or rather perhaps more than enough, to your three epistles; of which I received two through Cyprian, [and] one through Firmus. Write back what shall have seemed [good] for instructing us or others. Moreover I will give more diligent labor, as much as the Lord helps me, so that the letters which I write to you, may reach you before anyone [else], by whom they may be more widely dispersed. For I confess, that I do not wish this to be done to me concerning your [letters] to me, which you most justly expostulate was done concerning mine to you. Nevertheless let not only charity, but even the liberty of friendship please us in turn, lest you be silent before me, or I before you, [concerning] that which moves us in turn in our letters, namely with that mind which is not displeasing to the eyes of God in fraternal dilection. Which if you do not think can be done between us without the pernicious offense of dilection itself; let it not be done. For that charity which I would wish to have with you, is certainly greater; but this lesser [charity] is better than none.

EPISTLE LXXXIII. Augustine signifying to Alypius that he has entered upon another sentence concerning the goods which were of Honoratus, [a man] from a monk of Thagaste [made] presbyter of Thiave, and that it seemed better to him at last that all those things should yield as if by hereditary right, not to the monastery of Thagaste, but to the Church of Thiave. To the most blessed and venerably most dear Lord and most desired brother and co-bishop ALYPIUS, and to the brothers who are with you, AUGUSTINE, and the brothers who are with me, [send] greeting in the Lord.

1. The sadness of the Church of Thiave does not permit my heart to rest, until I hear that they have been restored to their former mind with you; which must be done quickly. For if the Apostle was so busy concerning only one man, saying, Lest such a one be swallowed up by overmuch sorrow; where he also says, That we be not possessed by Satan; for we are not ignorant of his minds (2 Cor. 2:7, 11): how much more does it behoove us to act vigilantly, lest we bewail this in the whole flock, and especially in those who have now come to the Catholic peace, and whom I can by no means leave. But because the narrowness of time did not allow that a sentence diligently deliberated by us might be strained out together; let your Holiness receive what has pleased me, thinking for a long time after our departure: and if it also pleases you, let the letters which I have written to them in our common name already be sent without delay.

2. Dixisti ut dimidium habeant, et alterum dimidium eis a me undecumque provideretur. Ego autem puto quia si totum eis auferretur, esset quod diceremur non de pecunia nos, sed de justitia tantopere laborasse. Cum vero dimidium eis concedimus, et eo modo cum eis quandoque componimus, satis apparebit nostram curam nihil aliud quam pecuniariam fuisse; et vides quae pernicies consequatur. Et illis enim videbimur alienam rem dimidiam tulisse; et illi videbuntur nobis inhoneste et inique se passos fuisse, ut adjuvarentur de dimidio, quod totum pauperum fuerat. Nam quod dixisti, Cavendum est, ne cum rem dubiam emendari volumus, majora vulnera faciamus, tantumdem valebit, si eis dimidium concedatur. Propter ipsum quippe dimidium, illi quorum conversioni consulere volumus, ut hoc exemplo secum agatur, rerum suarum venditionem per moras illas excusatorias dilaturi sunt. Deinde mirum si de re dubia est totius plebis tam grande scandalum, cum episcopos suos, quos pro magno habent, sordida avaritia maculatos putant, dum maligna species non vitatur.

3. Nam cum quisque ad monasterium convertitur, si veraci corde convertitur, illud non cogitat, maxime admonitus quantum malum sit. Si autem fallax est, et sua quaerit, non quae Jesu Christi (Philipp. II, 21), non habet utique charitatem. Et quid ei prodest, si distribuerit omnia sua pauperibus, et tradiderit corpus suum ut ardeat (I Cor. XIII, 3)? Huc accedit, quia illud, sicut jam collocuti sumus, deinceps vitari potest, et agi cum eo qui convertitur, si non potest admitti ad societatem fratrum, antequam se omnibus illis impedimentis exuerit, et ex otio tendatur cum ejus res jam esse destiterit. Haec autem mors infirmorum, et tantum impedimentum salutis eorum, pro quibus tantopere laboramus ut eos catholicae paci lucremur, aliter vitari non potest, nisi ut apertissime intelligant, nullo modo nos de pecunia satagere in talibus causis. Quod nullo modo intellecturi sunt, nisi illam rem quam semper presbyteri esse putaverunt, eorum usibus relinquamus; quia etsi ejus non erat, hoc ab initio scire debuerant.

2. You said that they should have half, and that the other half should be provided for them by me from wherever [possible]. But I think that if the whole were taken from them, there would be [reason] that we should be said to have labored so greatly not concerning money, but concerning justice. But when we concede half to them, and in that way compound with them at some time, it will sufficiently appear that our care was nothing else than pecuniary; and you see what destruction follows. For both to them we shall seem to have taken half of another's thing; and they will seem to us to have suffered themselves [to be treated] dishonestly and unjustly, so that they might be helped from the half, which had been wholly the poor's. For as to what you said, Care must be taken, lest while we wish a doubtful thing to be amended, we make greater wounds, it will be of just as much weight if half be conceded to them. For on account of that very half, those for whose conversion we wish to consult, so that it may be dealt with them by this example, are going to delay the sale of their things through those excusatory delays. Then it is a wonder if there is so great a scandal of the whole people concerning a doubtful thing, when they think their bishops, whom they hold for great [men], to be stained by sordid avarice, while the evil appearance is not avoided.

3. For when anyone is converted to a monastery, if he is converted with a true heart, he does not think of that, especially being admonished how great an evil it is. But if he is deceitful, and seeks his own, not the things which are of Jesus Christ (Philip. 2:21), he certainly has not charity. And what does it profit him, if he shall have distributed all his own to the poor, and delivered his body so that it may burn (1 Cor. 13:3)? Hither it is added, that that, as we have already spoken together, can henceforth be avoided, and it be dealt with him who is converted, if he cannot be admitted to the society of the brothers, before he shall have divested himself of all those impediments, and he is tended from leisure when his things shall have already ceased to be. Moreover this death of the weak, and so great an impediment of their salvation, for whom we labor so greatly that we may gain them to the Catholic peace, cannot otherwise be avoided, except that they may most clearly understand, that we by no means busy ourselves concerning money in such causes. Which they are by no means going to understand, unless we leave to their uses that thing which they have always thought to be the priest's; because even if it was not his, they ought to have known this from the beginning.

4. Videtur itaque mihi haec regula esse in rebus hujuscemodi retinenda, ut quidquid eo jure quo talia possidentur, ejus fuerit qui alicubi clericus ordinatur, ad eam pertineat Ecclesiam in qua ordinatur. Usque adeo autem eodem jure presbyteri Honorati est illud unde agitur, ut non solum alibi ordinatus, sed adhuc in Thagastensi monasterio constitutus, si re sua non vendita, nec per manifestam donationem in quempiam translata moreretur, nonnisi haeredes ejus in eam succederent, sicut frater Aemilianus in illos triginta solidos fratri Privato successit. Haec ergo ante praecavenda sunt: si autem praecauta non fuerint, ea jura eis servare oportet, quae talibus habendis vel non habendis secundum civilem societatem sunt instituta; ut ab omni non solum re, sed etiam specie maligna, quantum possumus, nos abstineamus, et bonam famam custodiamus, dispensationi nostrae multum necessariam. Quam vero species maligna sit, advertat sancta prudentia tua. Excepta illorum tristitia quam experti sumus, ne quid forte ipse fallerer, sicut fieri solet, dum in sententiam meam proclivior erro, narravi causam fratri et collegae nostro Samsucio, nondum dicens quod mihi modo videtur, sed illud potius adjungens quod utrique nostrum visum sit, cum illis resisteremus: vehementer exhorruit, et nobis hoc visum esse miratus est; nulla re alia permotus, nisi ipsa specie foeda non nostra, sed cujuslibet vita, ac moribus indignissima.

5. Proinde obsecro te ut epistolam quam eis communi nomine scripsi, subscriptam non differas mittere. Et si forte illic illud justum apertissime pervides, non cogantur infirmi modo discere quod ego nondum intelligo, ut hoc circa eos in hac causa servetur quod Dominus ait: Multa habeo vobis dicere, sed non potestis illa portare modo (Joan. XVI, 12). Tali quippe infirmitati parcens, etiam illud de tributo solvendo, ait, Ergo liberi sunt filii; sed ne scandalizemus eos, et caetera, quando Petrum misit, ut didrachmas quae tunc exigebantur solverent (Matth. XVII, 26). Noverat enim aliud jus, quo nihil tale debebat; sed eo jure tributum ei ille solvebat, quo jure diximus haeredem presbyteri Honorati successurum fuisse, si antequam rem suam vel donaret, vel venderet, moreretur. Quanquam in ipso Ecclesiae jure Paulus apostolus parcit infirmis, et debitum stipendium non exigit, certus conscientia quod rectissime exigeret; sed nihil aliud quam suspicionem devitans, bonum Christi odorem turbantem, et ab illa maligna specie sese abstinens, in eis regionibus, ubi hoc noverat oportere (I Cor. IX, 1-23), et forte antequam tristitiam hominum fuisset expertus. Sed nos tardiores, vel experti corrigamus, quod praevidere debuimus.

4. It seems therefore to me that this rule is to be retained in things of this kind, that whatever shall have been his who is ordained a cleric anywhere, by that right by which such things are possessed, it should belong to that Church in which he is ordained. Moreover, that [property] concerning which it is dealt is so far of the priest Honoratus by the same right, that not only if ordained elsewhere, but while still constituted in the monastery of Thagaste, if he should die, his thing not being sold, nor transferred to anyone by manifest donation, none but his heirs would succeed to it, just as the brother Aemilianus succeeded to those thirty solidi of his brother Privatus. These things, therefore, are to be precauted before: but if they shall not have been precauted, it behooves to keep those rights for them, which are instituted for having or not having such things according to civil society; so that we may abstain ourselves, as much as we can, not only from every [evil] thing, but also from every evil appearance, and guard our good reputation, very necessary for our dispensation. But let your holy prudence advert how evil an appearance it is. Excepting their sadness which we have experienced, lest by chance I myself should be deceived, as is wont to happen while I err [being] more inclined to my own sentence, I narrated the cause to our brother and colleague Samsucius, not yet saying what now seems [best] to me, but rather adding that which seemed to both of us, when we were resisting them: he greatly abhorred [it], and wondered that this had seemed [good] to us; being moved by no other thing, except the foul appearance itself, most unworthy not of our life, but of anyone's life and morals.

5. Therefore I beseech you that you do not delay to send the letter which I have written to them in our common name, being subscribed. And if by chance you most clearly perceive there that which is just, let not the weak be forced to learn now what I do not yet understand, so that this may be observed concerning them in this cause which the Lord says: I have many things to say to you, but you cannot bear them now (John 16:12). For sparing such weakness, also concerning the paying of tribute, He says, Then the children are free; but lest we should scandalize them, and the rest, when He sent Peter, so that they might pay the didrachmas which were then exacted (Matt. 17:26). For He knew another right, by which He owed no such thing; but he paid tribute to him by that right, by which right we said the heir of the priest Honoratus would have succeeded, if he had died before he either gave or sold his thing. Although in the very right of the Church the apostle Paul spares the weak, and does not exact the due stipend, being certain in conscience that he might most rightly exact [it]; but avoiding nothing else than suspicion, disturbing the good odor of Christ, and abstaining himself from that evil appearance, in those regions where he knew this to behoove (1 Cor. 9:1-23), and perhaps before he had experienced the sadness of men. But let us, slower [than he], or having experienced [it], correct what we ought to have foreseen.

6. Postremo quia omnia timeo, et memini in digressu nostro quid proposueris, quod me fratres Thagastenses teneant debitorem in dimidio illius pretii; si hoc justum esse liquido perspicis, ea duntaxat conditione non abnuo, ut cum habuero reddam, id est, cum aliquid tantum obvenerit Hipponensi monasterio, ubi hoc sine angustia fieri possit: ut tanta ibi summa detracta, non minus quam aequalis pro numero cohabitantium pars ad nostros perveniat.

EPISTOLA LXXXIV . Novato episcopo Augustinus, excusans quod ad ipsum non mittat germanum ipsius Lucillum diaconum, quo latinae linguae perito carere non possent Ecclesiae dioecesis Hipponensis. Domino beatissimo et venerable ac desiderabili fratri et consacerdoti NOVATO , et qui tecum sunt fratribus, AUGUSTINUS, et qui mecum sunt fratres, in Domino salutem.

1. Et ego sentio quam durus videar, et meipsum vix fero, quod filium meum diaconum Lucillum germanum tuum Sanctitati tuae non mitto atque permitto. Sed cum ipse quoque aliquos, ex tuis nutrimentis valde charissimos atque dulcissimos, necessitatibus Ecclesiarum longe positarum abs te, concedere coeperis; tunc senties quibus desideriorum stimulis fodiar, quod quidam mihi maxima et dulcissima familiaritate conjuncti, non sunt etiam corporaliter mecum. Nam ut longe mittam cogitationem tuam; quantumlibet valeat germanitas tui sanguinis, non vincit amicitiae vinculum, quo nobis invicem ego et frater Severus inhaeremus: et tamen nosti quam raro cum mihi videre contingat. Atque hoc fecit non utique voluntas vel mea vel illius; sed dum matris Ecclesiae necessitates, propter futurum saeculum, quo nobiscum inseparabiliter convivemus, nostri temporis necessitatibus anteponimus. Quanto ergo aequius te tolerare oportet, pro utilitate ipsius matris Ecclesiae ejus fratris absentiam, cum quo non tamdiu cibum dominicum ruminas, quamdiu ego cum dulcissimo concive meo Severo, qui mecum tamen nunc vix, et interdum per exiguas chartulas loquitur, et eas quidem plures aliarum curarum et negotiorum refertas, quam portantes aliquid nostrorum in Christi suavitate pratorum?

2. Hic forsitan dicas: Quid enim? et apud nos germanus meus Ecclesiae non erit utilis, aut propter aliud eum mecum habere desidero? Plane si tantum tibi quantum hic mihi, ejus praesentia lucrandis vel regendis ovibus Domini utilis videretur, non dico duritiam sed iniquitatem meam nemo non jure culparet. Sed cum latina lingua , cujus inopia in nostris regionibus evangelica dispensatio multum laborat, illic autem ejusdem linguae usus omnino sit; itane censes nos saluti plebium Domini oportere consulere, ut hanc facultatem illuc mittamus, et hinc auferamus, ubi eam magno cordis aestu requirimus?

6. Lastly, because I fear all things, and I remember in our departure what you proposed, that the brothers of Thagaste hold me a debtor for half of that price; if you clearly perceive this to be just, I do not refuse it on that condition at least, that I may restore [it] when I shall have [it], that is, when something so great shall have come to the monastery of Hippo, where this can be done without narrowness: so that so great a sum being subtracted there, a part not less than equal for the number of those cohabiting may reach to our [brothers].

EPISTLE LXXXIV. To Bishop Novatus, Augustine excusing that he does not send to him his own brother Lucillus the deacon, of which [one] skilled in the Latin tongue the Churches of the diocese of Hippo could not lack. To the most blessed and venerable and desirable brother and fellow-priest NOVATUS, and to the brothers who are with you, AUGUSTINE, and the brothers who are with me, [send] greeting in the Lord.

1. And I feel how hard I seem, and I scarcely bear myself, that I do not send and permit to your Holiness my son the deacon Lucillus, your brother. But when you also shall have begun to concede some from your nourishment, very dear and sweet [to you], to the necessities of Churches placed far from you; then you will feel by what stings of desires I am pricked, because some joined to me by the greatest and sweetest familiarity, are not also corporally with me. For that I may send your thought far; howsoever much the brotherhood of your blood may avail, it does not overcome the bond of friendship, by which we inhere in each other, I and brother Severus: and yet you know how rarely it happens to me to see [him]. And this not indeed my will or his has made; but while we postpone the necessities of our time to the necessities of Mother Church, on account of the future world, in which we shall live together inseparably. How much more equitably, therefore, does it behoove you to tolerate, for the utility of the same Mother Church, the absence of your brother, with whom you do not ruminate the dominical food for so long, as I [do] with my sweetest fellow-citizen Severus, who nevertheless now speaks with me scarcely, and sometimes through very small papers, and those indeed full of many other cares and businesses, than carrying anything of our [things] in the sweetness of the meadows of Christ?

2. Here perhaps you may say: What then? will my brother not be useful to the Church among us also, or do I desire to have him with me for something else? Clearly, if his presence seemed to you as useful for gaining or ruling the sheep of the Lord there as it does to me here, no one would not justly blame not [only] my hardness but my iniquity. But since the Latin tongue, through the lack of which in our regions the evangelical dispensation labors much, whereas there the use of the same tongue is altogether [common]; do you so judge that we ought to consult for the salvation of the peoples of the Lord, so that we should send this faculty thither, and take [it] away from here, where we require it with great heat of heart?

Da itaque veniam, quod non solum contra tuum desiderium, sed etiam contra sensum meum facio, quod me facere, sarcinae nostrae cura constringit. Dabit tibi Dominus, in quo posuisti cor tuum, ut tales sint labores tui, ut pro isto beneficio remunereris; sic enim regionum nostrarum ardentissimae siti, diaconum Lucillum tu potius concessisti. Neque enim parum praestabis, cum de hac re nulla petitione me ulterius onerabis; ne nihil aliud quam durior appaream, venerabili mihi et sanctae Benevolentiae tuae.

EPISTOLA LXXXV . Augustinus Paulum quemdam episcopum objurgat, qui Ecclesiam levitate sua graviter offendebat, ut ad frugem et episcopo dignam vitam redeat. Domino sinceriter dilectissimo et votis omnibus beatificando fratri et consacerdoti PAULO , AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

1. Tam inexorabilem me non vocares, nisi etiam mendacem putares. Quid enim aliud de animo meo credis, quando mihi talia scribis, nisi me tenere adversus te naevum discordiae et odium detestandum: quasi in re manifesta non caveam, ne aliis praedicans, ipse reprobus inveniar (I Cor. IX, 27); aut ita velim ejicere stipulam de oculo tuo, ut in meo trabem nutriam (Matth. VII, 4)? Non est quod putas. Ecce iterum dico et testor Deum, quia si tu tibi ea velles quae tibi ego volo, jam olim securus in Christo viveres, et in nominis ejus gloria totam ejus Ecclesiam laetificares. Ecce jam scripsi non tantum te esse fratrem meum, sed etiam collegam meum. Neque enim fieri potest, ut non sit collega meus quilibet episcopus Ecclesiae catholicae, qualiscumque sit, nullo ecclesiastico judicio damnatus. Sed ut tibi non communicem, nulla causa est, nisi quia tibi adulari non possum. Tibi enim maxime debeo, quia in Christo Jesu per Evangelium ego te genui, salubrem mordacitatem charitatis veraciter objurgando. Nec ita gaudeo multos in Ecclesiam catholicam adjuvante Domino per te esse collectos, ut non debeam plangere plures inde dispergi. Sic enim vulnerasti Ecclesiam Hipponensem, ut nisi te Dominus omnibus curis et sarcinis saecularibus expeditum, ad veram episcopalem vitam victumque revocaverit, tale vulnus sanari non possit.

2. Cum autem tu magis magisque implicare te non cesses, ut etiam rebus quibus renuntiasti, te post renuntiationem inserueris, quod nec apud humanas ipsas leges ullo modo defendi potest; et in ea professione vivere dicaris, cui frugalitas Ecclesiae tuae sufficere non possit: utquid quaeris communionem meam, cum audire nunquam volueris admonitionem meam? An ut quidquid facis mihi imputent homines, quorum querelas sustinere non possum? Frustra autem suspicaris eos esse obtrectatores tuos, qui tibi semper et in vita priore adversati sunt. Non est ita; nec mirum quod multa te latent.

Give therefore pardon, that I do not only against your desire, but also against my own sense, [that] which the care of our burden constrains me to do. The Lord will give to you, in whom you have placed your heart, that your labors may be such, that you may be remunerated for that benefit; for so you rather conceded the deacon Lucillus to the most ardent thirst of our regions. Nor will you provide little, when you shall burden me no further with any petition concerning this thing; lest I should appear nothing else than harder, to your venerable and holy Benevolence.

EPISTLE LXXXV. Augustine rebukes a certain Paul, a bishop, who was gravely offending the Church by his levity, so that he may return to fruit and a life worthy of a bishop. To the brother and fellow-priest PAUL, most sincerely beloved and to be beatified by all prayers, AUGUSTINE, [sends] greeting in the Lord.

1. You would not call me so inexorable, unless you also thought [me] mendacious. For what else do you believe concerning my mind, when you write such [things] to me, except that I hold against you a blemish of discord and detestable hatred: as if in a manifest thing I should not beware, lest preaching to others, I myself should be found reprobate (1 Cor. 9:27); or [as if] I should so wish to cast out the mote from your eye, that I should nourish the beam in mine (Matt. 7:4)? It is not as you think. Behold again I say and witness God, that if you wished for yourself those [things] which I wish for you, already for a long time you would live secure in Christ, and in the glory of His name you would gladden His whole Church. Behold already I have written that you are not only my brother, but also my colleague. For it cannot be, that any bishop of the Catholic Church, of whatever kind he may be, damned by no ecclesiastical judgment, should not be my colleague. But that I do not communicate with you, there is no cause, except because I cannot flatter you. For I owe [it] to you especially, because in Christ Jesus through the Gospel I begot you, by truly rebuking with the salutary mordacity of charity. Nor do I so rejoice that many have been collected into the Catholic Church through you, the Lord helping, that I ought not to bewail that more are dispersed thence. For you have so wounded the Church of Hippo, that unless the Lord shall have recalled you, disentangled from all secular cares and burdens, to a true episcopal life and way of living, such a wound cannot be healed.

2. But since you do not cease more and more to involve yourself, so that even in those things which you renounced, you have inserted yourself after the renunciation, which cannot be defended in any way even among human laws themselves; and you are said to live in that profession, for which the frugalilty of your Church cannot suffice: why do you seek my communion, when you have never wished to hear my admonition? Or [is it] so that men may impute to me whatever you do, whose complaints I cannot sustain? But in vain do you suspect those to be your detractors, who have always opposed you even in your prior life. It is not so; nor is it a wonder that many [things] are hidden from you.

Sed etiamsi hoc verum esset, nihil in tuis moribus invenire debuerunt, quod recte reprehenderent, et unde Ecclesiam blasphemarent. Adhuc me putas fortasse ideo ista dicere, quia non accepi satisfactionem tuam. Imo propterea dico, ne ipse non possim satis Deo facere de peccatis meis, si haec tibi tacuero. Novi quia cor habes, sed et tardum securum est, quando in coelo est; et acutum cor nihil est, quando in terra est. Non est episcopatus artificium transigendae vitae fallacis. Docebit te quod dico Dominus Deus, qui tibi interclusit omnes vias, ad quas illo uti voluisti, ut dirigat te, si intelligas, in illam viam, propter quam ambulandam tibi tam sancta sarcina imposita est.

EPISTOLA LXXXVI . Augustinus Caeciliano praesidi, ut suo edicto Donatistas in regione Hipponensi et in vicinis locis coerceat. Domino eximio, et in Christi charitate vere meritoque honorabili ac suspiciendo filio CAECILIANO, AUGUSTINUS episcopus, in Domino salutem.

Administrationis tuae claritas et fama virtutum, pietatis quoque christianae laudanda diligentia et fida sinceritas, quae tibi divina munera eo donante gaudes tributa, a quo speras promittente potiora, excitaverunt me, ut hoc epistolari alloquio aestus causarum mearum cum Excellentia partirer tua . Quantum enim per alias Africae terras te unitati catholicae mirabili efficacia consuluisse gaudemus, tantum dolemus regionem Hipponensium-Regiorum et ei vicinas partes confines Numidiae, praesidiali edicti tui vigore nondum adjuvari meruisse, domine eximie, et in Christe charitate vere meritoque honorabilis ac suspiciende fili. Quod ne meae potius negligentiae deputetur, qui episcopalem sarcinam Hippone sustineo, tuae Magnificentiae non tacendum putavi. Quantum etiam in campo Hipponensi haeretica praesumat audacia, si ex fratribus et collegis meis, qui haec tuae Sublimitati narrare poterunt, vel ex presbytero quem cum litteris misi, fueris audire dignatus, adjuvante Domino Deo nostro, procul dubio providebis ut tumor sacrilegae vanitatis terrendo sanetur potius quam ulciscendo resecetur.

EPISTOLA LXXXVII . Augustinus Emerito donatistae, adhortans ut attendat et respondeat, qua justa causa schisma moverint. Desiderabili et dilecto fratri EMERITO , AUGUSTINUS.

But even if this were true, they ought to have found nothing in your morals, which they might rightly reprehend, and whence they might blaspheme the Church. Do you perhaps still think me to say those [things] for this reason, because I have not received your satisfaction? Rather I say [them] for this reason, lest I myself may not be able to satisfy God concerning my sins, if I shall be silent to you [concerning] these [things]. I know that you have a heart, but also a slow [one] is secure, when it is in heaven; and an acute heart is nothing, when it is on earth. The episcopate is not a craft for transacting a deceitful life. The Lord God, who has shut up to you all the ways which you wished to use for that [purpose], will teach you what I say, so that He may direct you, if you understand, into that way for the walking of which so holy a burden has been imposed on you.

EPISTLE LXXXVI. Augustine to the governor Caecilian, that by his edict he may coerce the Donatists in the region of Hippo and in the neighboring places. To the eminent Lord, and in the charity of Christ truly and worthily honorable and to be respected son CAECILIAN, AUGUSTINE the bishop, [sends] greeting in the Lord.

The brightness of your administration and the fame of your virtues, also the laudable diligence of Christian piety and faithful sincerity, which you rejoice were given as divine gifts to you by His donation, from whom you hope for better [things] by His promising, have excited me, so that I might part the heat of my causes with your Excellency by this epistolary address. For as much as we rejoice that you have consulted for Catholic unity with wonderful efficacy through other lands of Africa, so much do we grieve that the region of the Hippo-Regians and the parts neighboring it bordering Numidia, have not yet merited to be helped by the presidential vigor of your edict, eminent Lord, and truly and worthily honorable and respected son in the charity of Christ. Lest this should be deputed rather to my negligence, who sustain the episcopal burden at Hippo, I thought it not to be silent to your Magnificence. Also how much heretical audacity presumes in the field of Hippo, if you shall have deigned to hear from my brothers and colleagues, who will be able to narrate these [things] to your Sublimity, or from the priest whom I sent with the letters, without a doubt you will provide, the Lord our God helping, that the tumor of sacrilegious vanity may be healed rather by terrifying than cut away by avenging.

EPISTLE LXXXVII. Augustine to Emeritus the Donatist, exhorting that he should attend and answer, for what just cause they moved the schism. To the desirable and beloved brother EMERITUS, AUGUSTINE.

1. Ego cum audio quemquam bono ingenio praeditum, doctrinisque liberalibus eruditum, quanquam non ibi salus animae constituta sit, tamen in quaestione facillima, sentire aliud quam veritas postulat, quo magis miror, eo magis exardesco nosse hominem, et cum eo colloqui: vel si id non possim, saltem litteris quae longissime volant, attingere mentem ejus, atque ab eo vicissim attingi desidero. Sicut te esse audio talem virum, et ab Ecclesia catholica, quae sicut sancto Spiritu praenuntiata est, toto orbe diffunditur, discerptum doleo atque seclusum; quam ob causam nescio. Nam certum est magnae parti Romani orbis, ne dicam etiam barbaris gentibus, quibus quoque debitorem se dicebat Apostolus (Rom. I, 14), quorum christianae fidei communio nostra contexitur, ignotam esse partem Donati; nec eos omnino scire vel quando vel quibus causis exorta sit ista dissensio. Quos utique omnes Christianos ab eis criminibus quae Afris objicitis, nisi innocentes esse fatearis, cogeris dicere, omnium malis factis obnoxios, cum apud vos perditi, ut mitius dixerim, latent, vos omnes esse pollutos. Non enim neminem de vestra communione pellitis; aut tunc primum pellitis, cum primum illud, unde pellendus est, fecerit. An non aliquanto tempore latentem, et postea proditum convictumque damnatis? Quaero igitur utrum vos contaminaverit eo tempore quo latebat? Respondebis: Nullo modo. Nullo ergo tempore contaminaret, etiamsi semper id lateret; nam et mortuorum nonnulla saepe commissa produntur, nec fraudi est Christianis, qui eis communicavere viventibus. Cur ergo vos tam temeraria atque sacrilega diremptione praecidistis a communione innumerabilium Ecclesiarum Orientalium, quas semper latuit, et adhuc latet quod in Africa gestum esse aut docetis aut fingitis?

2. Alia enim quaestio est, utrum illa vera dicatis, quae quidem nos multo probabilioribus documentis falsa esse convincimus, et in vestris magis ea ipsa quae objicitis, tunc probata declaramus. Sed haec, ut dixi, alia quaestio est, tunc aggredienda et discutienda, cum opus fuerit. Illud nunc attendat vigilantia mentis tuae, neminem contaminari posse ignotorum ignotis criminibus. Unde manifestum est a communione orbis, cui seu falsa seu vera crimina quae Afris intenditis, prorsus ignota sunt et ignota semper fuerunt, sacrilego schismate vos esse separatos: quanquam et illud non est tacendum, etiam cognitos malos bonis non obesse in Ecclesia, si eos a communione prohibendi aut potestas desit, aut aliqua ratio conservandae pacis impediat.

1. When I hear anyone endowed with good genius, and erudite in liberal doctrines, although the salvation of the soul is not constituted there, nevertheless in a most easy question, to feel otherwise than truth requires, the more I wonder, the more I burn to know the man, and to talk with him: or if I cannot [do] that, at least to reach his mind by letters which fly very far, and I desire to be reached by him in turn. As I hear you to be such a man, and I grieve that you are torn and secluded from the Catholic Church, which as it was foretold by the Holy Spirit, is diffused in the whole world; for what cause I know not. For it is certain that to a great part of the Roman world, let me not say also to the barbarian nations, to whom also the Apostle said himself to be a debtor (Rom. 1:14), of whom the communion of our Christian faith is woven, the party of Donatus is unknown; nor do they know altogether either when or for what causes that dissension arose. All which Christians unless you confess to be innocent of those crimes which you object to the Africans, you are forced to say, that being obnoxious to the evil deeds of all, since among you lost [men], that I may say [it] more mildly, lie hid, you are all polluted. For you expel no one from your communion; or then first you expel [him], when first he shall have done that, whence he is to be expelled. Or do you not damn him lying hid for some time, and afterwards produced and convicted? I ask therefore whether he contaminated you in that time in which he lay hid? You will answer: By no means. In no time therefore would he contaminate, even if he always lay hid; for also some deeds of the dead are often produced, nor is it for a fraud to the Christians, who communicated with them living. Why therefore have you cut yourselves off by so rash and sacrilegious a disruption from the communion of innumerable Oriental Churches, from which it has always been hidden, and is yet hidden, what you either teach or feign was done in Africa?

2. For it is another question, whether you say those [things] true, which indeed we convict to be false by much more probable documents, and we declare those very [things] which you object proved then in your own [people]. But these, as I said, is another question, then to be approached and discussed, when there shall be need. Let the vigilance of your mind now attend to that, that no one can be contaminated by the unknown crimes of unknown [men]. Whence it is manifest that from the communion of the world, to which either false or true crimes which you intend for the Africans, are altogether unknown and have always been unknown, you are separated by a sacrilegious schism: although also that is not to be silent [about], that even known evil [men] do not hinder the good in the Church, if the power of prohibiting them from communion be lacking, or some reason of preserving peace should impede.

Qui sunt enim, qui apud prophetam Ezechielem, et ante vastationem perditorum signari meruerunt, et cum illi vastarentur evadere illaesi (Ezech. IX, 4-6), nisi, ut ibi manifestissime ostenditur, qui moerent et gemunt peccata et iniquitates populi Dei, quae fiunt in medio eorum? quis autem quod ignorat, gemit et moeret? Ex eadem ratione etiam Paulus Apostolus falsos fratres tolerat. Non enim de incognitis ait: Omnes enim sua quaerunt, non quae Jesu Christi (Philipp. II, 21); quos tamen secum fuisse manifestat. Ex quo autem genere sunt, qui vel thurificare idolis, vel Codices divinos tradere, quam morer maluerunt, nisi ex eorum qui sua quaerunt, non Jesu Christi?

3. Multa testimonia Scripturarum praetereo, ne longiorem quam necesse est epistolam faciam, et eruditioni tuae plura per teipsum consideranda permitto. Quod tamen satis est, vide obsecro: si tam multi iniqui in uno populo Dei, eos qui secum versabantur non fecerunt tales, quales ipsi erant, si multitudo illa falsorum fratrum apostolum Paulum, in una cum eis Ecclesia constitutum, non fecit sua quaerentem, non quae Jesu Christi; manifestum est non hoc effici hominem, quod est malus quisquam, cum quo ad altare Christi acceditur, etiamsi non sit incognitus, si tantum non approbetur, et a bona conscientia displicendo separetur. Manifestum est igitur non esse aliud cum fure concurrere, nisi vel furari cum eo, vel furtum ejus cordis placito accipere. Hoc nos dicimus, ut quaestiones infinitas atque superfluas de factis hominum, quae rationem nostram nihil impediunt, auferamus.

4. Sed et vos, nisi hoc sentiatis, tales eritis omnes, qualis Optatus in vestra communione vobis non ignorantibus fuit: quod absit ab Emeriti moribus, aliorumque talium, quales apud vos esse non dubito longe a factis illius alienos. Neque enim vobis objicimus, nisi schismatis crimen, quam etiam haeresim male perseverando fecistis. Quanti autem divino judicio pendatur hoc facinus, lege quod te legisse non ambigo. Invenies Dathan et Abiron hiatu terrae devoratos, caeterosque omnes, qui eis consenserant, igne de medio eorum existente consumptos (Num. XVI, 31-35).

For who are they, who with the prophet Ezekiel, and before the vastation of the lost, merited to be signed, and when those were vastated to escape unhurt (Ezek. 9:4-6), unless, as it is most clearly shown there, they who mourn and groan for the sins and iniquities of the people of God, which are done in the midst of them? but who groans and mourns for that which he knows not? From the same reason also the apostle Paul tolerates false brothers. For he does not say concerning unknown [ones]: For all seek their own, not the things which are of Jesus Christ (Philip. 2:21); whom nevertheless he manifests to have been with him. Moreover from what kind are they, who preferred either to offer incense to idols, or to deliver the divine Codices, than to die, except from those who seek their own, not of Jesus Christ?

3. I pass over many testimonies of the Scriptures, lest I should make a longer epistle than is necessary, and I permit more [things] to be considered by yourself for your erudition. Nevertheless what is enough, behold I beseech: if so many unjust [men] in one people of God, did not make those who were conversant with them such as they themselves were, if that multitude of false brothers did not make the apostle Paul, constituted in one Church with them, seeking his own, not the things which are of Jesus Christ; it is manifest that a man is not made this, which anyone evil is, with whom he approaches to the altar of Christ, even if he be not unknown, if only he be not approved, and be separated from a good conscience by displeasing. It is manifest therefore that to run with a thief is nothing else, except either to steal with him, or to receive his theft by the pleasure of the heart. This we say, so that we may take away infinite and superfluous questions concerning the deeds of men, which hinder our reason nothing.

4. But also you, unless you should feel this, will all be such, as Optatus was in your communion, you not being ignorant: which may it be absent from the morals of Emeritus, and of other such, whom I do not doubt to be among you far alien from his deeds. For we do not object to you, except the crime of schism, which also you made a heresy by evilly persevering. Moreover by how much divine judgment this fact is weighed, read what I do not doubt you to have read. You will find Dathan and Abiron devoured by the gap of the earth, and all the others, who had consented to them, consumed by fire existing in the midst of them (Num. 16:31-35).

Illud ergo scelus ad exemplum devitandi Dominus Deus praesenti supplicio denotavit, ut cum talibus patientissime parcit, quale ultimo judicio reservet, ostenderet. Neque enim reprehendimus rationes vestras, si eo tempore quo vesana potentia furere jactabatur Optatus, cum ejus accusator esset totius Africae gemitus congemiscentibus vobis, si tamen talis es, qualem te praedicat fama, quod scit Deus me et credere et velle: non ergo reprehendimus si eo tempore, ne multos secum excommunicatus traheret, et communionem vestram schismatis furore praecideret, eum excommunicare noluistis. Sed hoc ipsum est quod vos arguit in judicio Dei, frater Emerite, quod cum videretis tam magnum malum esse, dividi partem Donati, ut Optatus potius in communione tolerandus existimaretur, quam illud admitteretur; permanetis in eo malo, quod in dividenda Ecclesia Christi a vestris majoribus perpetratum est.

5. Hic fortasse respondendi angustia tentabis defendere Optatum. Noli, frater, noli obsecro; non te decet, et si aliquem alium forte deceat, si tamen quidquam decet malos, Emeritum certe non decet defendere Optatum. Sed fortasse nec accusare Ita sit sane. Utere voce media, et dic: Unusquisque sarcinam suam portat (Gal. VI, 5). Tu quis es, qui judicas servum alienum (Rom. XIV, 4.)? Si ergo ad testimonium totius Africae, imo vero terrarum omnium quaquaversum Gildonis fama fervebat, simul enim et ille notus erat, non ausi estis unquam de Optato judicare, ne temere de incognitis judicaretis; nos tandem possumus aut debemus de iis qui ante nos vixerunt, ad vestrum tantummodo testimonium, temerariam de incognitis ferre sententiam, ut parum sit quod vos ignota criminamini, nisi et nos ignota judicemus? Non enim Optatum, etiamsi forte falsa periclitatur invidia, sed te defendis, cum dicis: Ignoro qualis iste fuerit. Quanto magis ergo quales fuerint Afri, quos ignotiores arguis, Orientalis orbis ignorat? a quibus tamen Ecclesiis, quarum nomina habes in Libris et recitas, nefaria dissensione disjungeris. Si Thamugadensem episcopum vestrum famosissimum et pessime diffamatum, non dico Caesariensis, sed Sitifensis collega ejus ejusdemque temporis ignorabat, quomodo traditores Afros, quicumque illi fuerint, Ecclesia Corinthiorum, Ephesiorum, Colossensium, Philippensium, Thessaloniciisium, Antiochenorum, Ponti, Galatiae, Cappadociae, caeterarumque orbis partium ab Apostolis in Christo aedificatarum, aut nosse potuit, aut damnari a vobis meruit, quia non potuit? et tamen eis non communicatis, et dicitis non esse Christianos, et eos rebaptizare conamini.

Therefore the Lord God denoted that crime for an example of avoiding by a present punishment, so that he might show, when he spares such [men] most patiently, what he may reserve for the last judgment. For we do not reprehend your reasons, if at that time in which Optatus was boasted to rage with insane power, when his accuser was the groan of the whole of Africa, you groaning with [them], if nevertheless you are such, as fame preaches you to be, which God knows that I both believe and wish: we do not therefore reprehend if at that time, lest being excommunicated he should draw many with him, and cut off your communion by the fury of schism, you were unwilling to excommunicate him. But this itself is what argues against you in the judgment of God, brother Emeritus, that when you saw it to be so great an evil, for the party of Donatus to be divided, so that Optatus was rather thought to be tolerated in communion, than that [division] should be admitted; you remain in that evil, which was perpetrated by your elders in dividing the Church of Christ.

5. Here perhaps in the narrowness of answering you will try to defend Optatus. Do not, brother, do not I beseech [you]; it does not become you, and if it perhaps becomes some other, if nevertheless anything becomes the evil, it certainly does not become Emeritus to defend Optatus. But perhaps [it becomes you] neither to accuse. Let it be so indeed. Use a middle voice, and say: Every one bears his own burden (Gal. 6:5). Who are you, who judge another's servant (Rom. 14:4)? If therefore at the testimony of the whole of Africa, or rather indeed of all lands whithersoever the fame of Gildo was boiling, for at the same time also he was known, you never dared to judge concerning Optatus, lest you should rashly judge concerning unknown [things]; can we at last or ought we to bear a rash sentence concerning unknown [things] about those who lived before us, at your testimony only, so that it should be little that you criminate unknown [things], unless we also judge unknown [things]? For you do not defend Optatus, even if perhaps he is endangered by false envy, but you defend yourself, when you say: I know not of what kind that [man] was. How much more therefore does the Oriental world know not of what kind the Africans were, whom you argue [to be] more unknown? from which Churches nevertheless, whose names you have in the Books and recite, you are disjoined by a nefarious dissension. If your colleague, the most famous and worst defamed bishop of Thamugadi, I do not say he of Caesarea, but he of Sitifi of the same time knew not, how could the Church of the Corinthians, Ephesians, Colossians, Philippians, Thessalonians, Antiochians, of Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, and the rest of the parts of the world built in Christ by the Apostles, either know the African traditors, whoever they were, or merit to be damned by you, because she could not? and yet you do not communicate with them, and you say [they] are not Christians, and you attempt to rebaptize them.

Quid dicam? quid querar? aut quid exciamem? Si cum homine cordato loquor, indignationis hujus aculeos tecum participo. Nam vides profecto quae dicerem, si vellem dicere.

An forte fecerunt inter se majores vestri concilium, et damnaverunt praeter se totum orbem christianum? Itane ad hoc perducta est rerum existimatio, ut concilium Maximianensium, qui de vestra praecisione praecisi sunt, quia vobis comparati paucissimi sunt, non valeat adversus vos; et vestrum concilium valeat adversus gentes haereditatem Christi, et possessionem ejus terminos terrae (Psal. II, 8.)? Miror si habet in corpore sanguinem, qui de hac re non erubescit. Rescribe ad ista, quaeso: a nonnullis enim, quibus non potui non credere, audivi te rescripturum, si tibi scriberem. Jam etiam pridem misi unam epistolam, quam utrum acceperis vel ei responderis, et forte ego tuam non acceperim, nescio. Nunc interim peto ad haec respondere ne graveris, quod tibi videtur. Sed noli te in alias tollere quaestiones; hinc enim caput est ordinatissimae inquisitionis, cur schisma factum sit.

7. Nam et terrenae potestates cum schismaticos persequuntur, ea regula se defendunt, qua dicit Apostolus: Qui potestati resistit, Dei ordinationi resistit; qui autem resistunt, ipsi sibi judicium acquirunt. Principes enim non sunt timori bono operi, sed malo. Vis autem non timere potestatem? Bonum fac, et habebis laudem ex illa; Dei enim minister est tibi in bonum. Quod si malum feceris, time: non enim frustra gladium portat; Dei enim minister est, vindex in iram ei qui male agit (Rom. XIII, 2 4). Tota igitur quaestio est, utrum nihil mali sit schisma, aut utrum schisma non feceritis, ut pro bono opere potestatibus resistatis, non pro malo, unde vobis acquiratis judicium. Propterea providentissime Dominus non ait: Beati qui persecutionem patiuntur tantum; sed addidit, propter justitiam (Matth. V, 10). Si ergo justitia est quam operati estis in illa dissensione, in qua etiam permanetis, secundum ea quae supra dixi, nosse abs te cupio. Si autem iniquitas est orbem christianum damnare inauditum, vel quia non audivit quae vos audistis, vel quia non ei probatum est quod temere credidistis, aut sine certo documento accusastis, et ideo rebaptizare velle tot Ecclesias ipsius Domini, cum hic adhuc esset in carne, et Apostolorum ejus praedicatione ac labore fundatas: quia vobis licet, aut nescire Afros collegas vestros malos simul viventes, simul Sacramenta tractantes; aut etiam scire, sed tolerare, ne pars Donati dividatur; illis autem in orbe remotissimo constitutis, non licet nescire quod vos de Afris aut nostis, aut creditis, aut audistis, aut fingitis? Quae tanta est perversitas amplecti suam iniquitatem, et potestatum accusare severitatem?

What shall I say? what shall I complain? or what shall I exclaim? If I speak with a man of heart, I participate the stings of this indignation with you. For you clearly see what I would say, if I wished to say [it].

Or did your elders perhaps make a council among themselves, and damn the whole Christian world besides themselves? Has the estimation of things been brought to this, that the council of the Maximianists, who were cut off from your cutting-off, because they are very few compared to you, does not avail against you; and your council avails against the nations, the inheritance of Christ, and his possession the ends of the earth (Psal. 2:8)? I wonder if he has blood in his body, who does not blush concerning this thing. Write back to these, I ask: for from some, whom I could not but believe, I heard that you would write back, if I should write to you. Already also long ago I sent one epistle, which whether you received or answered it, and perhaps I have not received yours, I know not. Now in the meantime I ask that you do not grieve to answer to these, what seems [good] to you. But do not raise yourself into other questions; for hither is the head of a most orderly inquisition, why the schism was made.

7. For also the earthly powers when they persecute schismatics, defend themselves by that rule, by which the Apostle says: He who resists the power, resists the ordination of God; but they who resist, acquire judgment to themselves. For princes are not for a fear to a good work, but to an evil. Moreover do you wish not to fear the power? Do good, and you shall have praise from it; for he is the minister of God to you for good. But if you shall have done evil, fear: for not in vain does he bear the sword; for he is the minister of God, an avenger into wrath to him who acts evilly (Rom. 13:2-4). The whole question therefore is, whether a schism is nothing of evil, or whether you have not made a schism, so that you resist the powers for a good work, not for an evil, whence you should acquire judgment to yourselves. For that reason most providently the Lord does not say: Blessed are they who suffer persecution only; but he added, on account of justice (Matt. 5:10). If therefore it is justice which you have operated in that dissension, in which also you remain, according to those [things] which I said above, I desire to know from you. But if it is iniquity to damn the Christian world unheard, either because it did not hear what you heard, or because that which you rashly believed was not proved to it, or you accused without a certain document, and for that reason to wish to rebaptize so many Churches of the Lord himself, when he was yet here in the flesh, and founded by the preaching and labor of his Apostles: because it is allowed to you, either not to know your evil African colleagues living together, treating the Sacraments together; or even to know, but to tolerate, lest the party of Donatus be divided; moreover to those constituted in the most remote world, is it not allowed not to know what you either know, or believe, or have heard, or feign concerning the Africans? What so great perversity is it to embrace one's own iniquity, and to accuse the severity of the powers?

8. At enim et malos Christianis non licet persequi. Esto, non liceat; sed numquid hoc potestatibus ad hoc ipsum ordinatis fas est objicere? An Apostolum delebimus? aut non habent codices vestri quae paulo ante commemoravi? Sed vos, inquies, talibus communicare non debetis. Quid ergo? Vos Flaviano quondam vicario, partis vestrae homini, quia legibus serviens, nocentes quos invenerat occidebat, non communicastis? Sed a vobis, inquies, Romani principes adversum nos provocantur. Imo a vobis adversum vos ipsos, qui Ecclesiam, cujus illic, sicut tanto ante praedictum est, jam membra sunt (de Christo enim dictum est, Et adorabunt eum omnes reges terrae, (Psal. LXXI, 11), et praecisione laniare ausi estis, et rebaptizare pertinaciter audetis. Nostri autem adversus illicitas et privatas vestrorum violentias, quas et vos ibi, qui talia non facitis, doletis et gemitis, a potestatibus ordinatis tuitionem petunt, non qua vos persequantur, sed qua se defendant; sicut apostolus Paulus adversus Judaeos conjurantes ut eum necarent (Act. XXIII, 21), antequam esset Romanum imperium christianum, egit ut sibi tuitio etiam armatorum daretur. Sed illi principes qualibet occasione cognoscentes vestri schismatis nefas, constituunt adversus vos pro sua sollicitudine ac potestate quod volunt. Non enim frustra gladium portant; Dei enim ministri sunt, vindices in iram in eos qui male agunt. Postremo etiam si aliqui nostrorum non christiana moderatione ista faciunt, displicet nobis; sed tamen non propter eos relinquimus catholicam Ecclesiam, si eam ante ultimum tempus ventilationis a palea purgare non possumus, quando et vos propter Optatum, cum eum pellere non audebatis, partem Donati non reliquistis.

4. Aelianus praedecessor tuus, merito, dum vir perfectissimus, Verus, vicarius praefectorum, tunc per Africam nostram incondita valetudine teneretur, ejusdem partibus functus, inter caetera etiam id negotium vel invidiam, quae de Caeciliano episcopo Ecclesiae catholicae videtur esse commota, ad examen suum atque jussionem credidit esse revocandam. Etenim cum jam Superium centurionem, et Caecilianum magistratum Aptungitanorum, et Saturninum excuratorem , et Calibium juniorem, ejusdem civitatis curatorem, atque Solonem servum publicum suprascriptae civitatis, praesentes esse fecisset, audientiam praebuit competentem: adeo ut, cum Caeciliano fuisset objectum quod a Felice eidem episcopatus videretur esse delatus, cui divinarum Scripturarum proditio atque exustio videretur objecta, innocentem de eo Felicem fuisse constiterit. Denique cum Maximus Ingentium decurionem Ziquentium civitatis, epistolam Caeciliani exduumviri falsasse contenderet, eumdem ipsum Ingentium suspensum Actis quae suberant, pervidimus, et ideo minime tortum, quod se decurionem Ziquensium civitatis asseveraverit.

8. But forsooth also it is not allowed to Christians to persecute the evil. Be it [so], let it not be allowed; but is it right to object this to the powers ordained for this very thing? Or shall we delete the Apostle? or do your codices not have those [things] which I commemorated a little before? But you will say, you ought not to communicate with such [men]. What then? Did you not communicate with Flavianus once a vicar, a man of your party, because serving the laws, he killed the guilty whom he had found? But by you, you will say, the Roman princes are provoked against us. Rather by you against your own selves, who have dared both to tear the Church with cutting-off, of which [Church] they are already members there, as it was foretold so long before (for it was said concerning Christ, And all the kings of the earth shall adore him, (Psal. 71:11), and you dare pertinaciously to rebaptize. Moreover our [people] seek tuition from the ordained powers against the illicit and private violences of your [people], which also you there, who do not do such [things], grieve and groan, not by which they may persecute you, but by which they may defend themselves; just as the apostle Paul against the Jews conspiring so that they might kill him (Acts 23:21), before the Roman empire was Christian, acted so that tuition even of armed [men] should be given to him. But those princes on whatever occasion knowing the nefas of your schism, constitute against you according to their own solicitude and power what they wish. For not in vain do they bear the sword; for they are ministers of God, avengers into wrath on those who act evilly. Lastly even if some of ours do these [things] not with Christian moderation, it is displeasing to us; but nevertheless we do not on account of them leave the Catholic Church, if we cannot purge it from the chaff before the last time of winnowing, when also you on account of Optatus, when you did not dare to expel him, did not leave the party of Donatus.

4. Aelianus your predecessor, deservedly, while the most perfect man, Verus, vicar of the prefects, was then held by unsettled health through our Africa, having performed his parts, believed that among other [things] also that business or envy, which seems to have been stirred up concerning Caecilianus bishop of the Catholic Church, should be recalled to his examination and command. For indeed when he had already made present Superius the centurion, and Caecilianus magistrate of the Aptungitans, and Saturninus the ex-curator, and Calibius the younger, curator of the same city, and Solon the public slave of the above-written city, he provided a competent audience: so much so that, when it had been objected to Caecilianus that the episcopate seemed to have been conferred on him by Felix, to whom the betrayal and burning of the divine Scriptures seemed to have been objected, it was established that Felix was innocent concerning him. Finally when Maximus contended that Ingentius, decurion of the city of Ziqua, had falsified a letter of Caecilianus the ex-duumvir, we perceived the same Ingentius suspended in the Acts which were underlying, and for that reason not at all tortured, because he asserted himself [to be] a decurion of the city of Ziqua.

Unde volumus ut eumdem ipsum Ingentium sub idonea prosecutione ad comitatum meum Constantini Augusti mittas, ut illis qui in praesentiarum agunt, atque diurnis diebus interpellare non desinunt, audientibus et coram assistentibus apparere et intimari possit, frustra eos Caeciliano episcopo invidiam comparare, atque adversus eum violenter insurgere voluisse. Ita enim fiet ut omissis, sicut opertet, ejusmodi contentionibus, populus sine dissensione aliqua religioni propriae cum debita veneratione deserviat.

5. Haec cum videas ita se habere, quid est quod nobis de imperatorum jussionibus, quae contra vos constituuntur, invidiam concitatis, cum hoc totum vos potius antea feceritis? Si nihil debent in his causis imperatores jubere, si ad imperatores christianos haec cura pertinere non debet, quis urgebat majores vestros causam Caeciliani ad Imperatorem per proconsulem mittere, et episcopum contra quem absentem jam sententias quoquo modo dixeratis, iterum apud Imperatorem accusare, quo innocente pronuntiato, ordinatori ejus Felici alias apud eumdem imperatorem calumnias machinari? Et nunc quid aliud quam ipsius majoris Constantini judicium contra vestram partem vivit, quod majores vestri elegerunt, quod assiduis interpellationibus extorserunt, quod episcopali judicio praetulerunt? Si displicent imperialia judicia; qui primitus imperatores ad ea vobis excitanda coegerunt? Sic enim modo contra Catholicam clamatis, in his quae contra vos ab imperatoribus decernuntur, quemadmodum si vellent adversus Danielem clamare, qui liberato illo eisdem leonibus consumendi missi sunt, a quibus eum ipsi primitus consumi voluerunt: scriptum est enim, Nihil interest inter minas regis et iram leonis (Prov. XIX, 12). Danielem calumniosi inimici in lacum leonum mitti coegerunt: vicit innocentia ejus illorum malitiam; illaesus inde levatus est; ipsi illuc missi perierunt. Similiter majores vestri Caecilianum et ejus societatem regiae irae consumendam objecerunt, cujus innocentia liberata, ab eisdem regibus eadem vos patimini, quae illos vestri pati voluerunt; quoniam scriptum est: Qui parat proximo foveam, ipse incidet in eam (Eccli. XXVII, 29).

6. De nobis ergo quod queramini non habetis; et tamen Ecclesiae catholicae mansuetudo, etiam ab his imperatorum jussionibus omnino conquieverat, nisi vestri clerici et Circumcelliones, per suas immanissimas improbitates furiosasque violentias quietem nostram perturbantes atque vastantes, haec in vos recoli et renovari coegissent. Nam priusquam recentiores leges istae de quibus modo querimini, venissent in Africam, insidias in itineribus nostris episcopis tetenderunt, conclericos nostros plagis immanissimis quassaverunt, laicis quoque et plagas gravissimas inflixerunt, et intulerunt eorum aedificiis incendia.

Whence we wish that you send the same Ingentius under suitable prosecution to my court of Constantine Augustus, so that to those who act in the present times, and do not cease to interpose on daily days, while they hear and assist in person, it may be possible to appear and be intimated, that they in vain prepared envy for the bishop Caecilianus, and wished to rise up violently against him. For thus it will happen that, those kinds of contentions having been omitted, as is fitting, the people without any dissension may serve their own religion with due veneration.

5. Since you see these [things] to be so, why is it that you stir up envy against us concerning the commands of the emperors, which are constituted against you, when you yourselves rather did all this before? If the emperors ought to command nothing in these causes, if this care ought not to pertain to Christian emperors, who urged your elders to send the cause of Caecilianus to the Emperor through the proconsul, and to accuse again before the Emperor the bishop against whom you had already in whatever way pronounced sentences while [he was] absent, and when he was pronounced innocent, to devise other slanders against his ordainer Felix before the same emperor? And now what else lives against your party than the judgment of the elder Constantine himself, which your elders chose, which they extorted by assiduous interpositions, which they preferred to episcopal judgment? If imperial judgments are displeasing; who first forced the emperors to be excited to them for you? For thus you now cry out against the Catholic [Church], in those [things] which are decreed against you by the emperors, just as if they wished to cry out against Daniel, who, he having been liberated, were sent to be consumed by the same lions, by whom they themselves first wished him to be consumed: for it is written, There is no difference between the threats of a king and the wrath of a lion (Prov. 19:12). Calumnious enemies forced Daniel to be sent into the den of lions: his innocence conquered their malice; he was raised thence unhurt; they themselves being sent thither perished. Similarly your elders threw Caecilianus and his society to be consumed by the royal wrath, whose innocence having been liberated, you suffer from the same kings the same [things] which your [people] wished those to suffer; since it is written: He who prepares a pit for his neighbor, shall himself fall into it (Sirach 27:29).

6. Therefore you have nothing of which to complain concerning us; and yet the mildness of the Catholic Church had altogether rested even from these commands of the emperors, unless your clerics and Circumcellions, by their most immense wickednesses and furious violences disturbing and wasting our quiet, had forced these [things] to be recalled and renewed against you. For before those more recent laws of which you now complain came into Africa, they stretched snares in journeys for our bishops, they shattered our fellow-clerics with most immense blows, they also inflicted most grave blows on the laity, and brought fires into their buildings.

Presbyterum etiam quemdam quia propria et libera voluntate unitatem nostrae communionis elegit, de domo sua raptum, et pro arbitrio immaniter caesum in gurgite etiam coenoso volutatum, buda vestitum, cum quibusdam dolendum, quibusdam ridendum in pompa sui facinoris ostentassent, abductum inde quo voluerunt, vix post dies duodecim dimiserunt. Unde conventus municipalibus Gestis a nostro episcopo Proculeianus, cum ab inquirenda causa dissimulasset, et iterum continuo conventus esset, nihil se dicturum amplius Gestis expressit. Et hodie illi qui hoc fecerunt, presbyteri vestri sunt, adhuc nos insuper territantes, et sicut potuerint persequentes.

7. Nec tamen de his injuriis et persecutionibus quas Ecclesia catholica in regione nostra tunc pertulit, imperatoribus conquestus est episcopus noster. Sed facto concilio placuit ut pacifice conveniremini, quo, si fieri posset, haberetis inter vos collationem, et errore sublato, fraterna charitas pacis vinculo laetaretur. Et in ipsa conventione quid Proculeianus primo responderit, quod concilium facturi essetis, et illic visuri quid respondere deberetis; deinde quid postea, cum propter suam promissionem denuo conventus esset, Actis expresserit, recusans pacificam collationem, ipsa Gesta instruant Gravitatem tuam. Deinde cum vestrorum clericorum et circumcellionum notissima omnibus non cessaret immanitas, dicta causa est, cum Crispinus judicatus haereticus, nec poena decem librarum auri quae in haereticos ab imperatoribus fuerat constituta, per mansuetudinem catholicam feriri permissus est, et tamen ad imperatores appellandum putavit. Cujus appellationi quod ita responsum est, nonne vestrorum praecedens improbitas, et eadem ipsius appellatio extorsit ut fieret? nec tamen etiam post ipsum rescriptum, intercedentibus apud Imperatorem nostris episcopis, eadem auri condemnatione multatus est. Ex concilio autem nostri episcopi legatos ad comitatum miserunt, qui impetrarent ut non omnes episcopi et clerici partis vestrae, ad eamdem condemnationem decem librarum auri, quae in omnes haereticos constituta est, tenerentur; sed hi soli in quorum locis aliquas a vestris violentias Ecclesia catholica pateretur. Sed cum legati Romam venerunt, jam cicatrices episcopi catholici Bagaitani horrendae ac recentissimae Imperatorem commoverant, ut leges tales mitterentur, quales et missae sunt. Quibus in Africam venientibus, cum utique non ad malum, sed ad bonum coepissetis urgeri, quid facere debebatis nisi et vos mittere ad episcopos nostros, ut quomodo vos ipsi convenerant, sic convenirentur a vobis, et potius collatione veritas appareret?

A certain presbyter also, because by his own and free will he chose the unity of our communion, having been snatched from his home, and immensely beaten according to [their] will, even rolled in a muddy whirlpool, clothed with a rush mat (buda), when they had displayed [him] for some to be grieved, for some to be laughed at in the pomp of their crime, having been led away thence where they wished, they scarcely released after twelve days. Whence Proculeianus having been convened by municipal Acts by our bishop, when he had dissimulated from inquiring into the cause, and had been convened again continuously, he expressed in the Acts that he would say nothing further. And today those who did this are your presbyters, still terrifying us moreover, and persecuting as they have been able.

7. Nor yet did our bishop complain to the emperors concerning these injuries and persecutions which the Catholic Church then endured in our region. But a council having been made, it was pleasing that you should be convened peacefully, so that, if it could be done, you might have a collation among yourselves, and the error having been removed, fraternal charity might rejoice in the bond of peace. And in that convention what Proculeianus first responded, that you were going to make a council, and would see there what you ought to respond; then what afterwards, when on account of his promise he had been convened anew, he expressed in the Acts, refusing a peaceful collation, let the Acts themselves instruct your Gravity. Then since the most noted to all immensity of your clerics and circumcellions did not cease, the cause was said, when Crispinus was judged a heretic, nor was he permitted through Catholic mildness to be struck by the penalty of ten pounds of gold which had been constituted against heretics by the emperors, and yet he thought [fit] to appeal to the emperors. To whose appeal because it was so responded, did not the preceding wickedness of your [people], and that same appeal of his extort that it should be done? nor yet even after the rescript itself, our bishops interceding with the Emperor, was he fined with the same condemnation of gold. Moreover from a council our bishops sent legates to the court, who should impetrate that not all bishops and clerics of your party should be held to the same condemnation of ten pounds of gold, which is constituted against all heretics; but these alone in whose places the Catholic Church might suffer some violences from your [people]. But when the legates came to Rome, already the horrendous and most recent scars of the Catholic bishop of Bagai had moved the Emperor, so that such laws should be sent, such as were indeed sent. To which [laws] coming into Africa, since indeed you had begun to be urged not to evil, but to good, what ought you to have done except also yourselves send to our bishops, so that just as they themselves had convened you, so they might be convened by you, and rather by a collation the truth might appear?

8. Non solum autem non fecistis, sed pejora mala nobis vestri nunc faciunt. Non tantum nos fustibus quassant ferroque concidunt; verum etiam in oculos exstinguendos calcem mixto aceto incredibili excogitatione sceleris mittunt. Domus insuper nostras compilantes, arma sibi ingentia et terribilia fabricarunt, quibus armati per diversa discurrunt, comminantes atque anhelantes caedes, rapinas, incendia, caecitates. Quibus rebus compulsi sumus tibi primitus conqueri, ut consideret Gravitas vestra quam multi vestrum, imo vos omnes, qui vos pati dicitis persecutionem, sub ipsis quasi terribilibus imperatorum catholicorum legibus in possessionibus vestris et alienis securi sedeatis, et nos a vestris tam inaudita mala patiamur. Vos dicitis pati persecutionem; et nos ab armatis vestris fustibus et ferro concidimur. Vos dicitis pati persecutionem; et nostrae domus ab armatis vestris compilando vastantur. Vos dicitis pati persecutionem; et nostri oculi ab armatis vestris calce et aceto exstinguuntur. Insuper etiam si quas mortes sibi ultro ingerunt, nobis volunt esse invidiosas, vobis gloriosas. Quod nobis faciunt, sibi non imputant; et quod sibi faciunt, nobis imputant. Vivunt ut latrones, moriuntur ut circumcelliones, honorantur ut martyres; et tamen nec latrones aliquando audivimus eos quos depraedati sunt, excaecasse. Occisos auferunt luci, non vivis auferunt lucem.

9. Nos interim si quando vestros tenemus, cum magna dilectione servamus illaesos, loquimur illis, et legimus omnia, quibus error ipse convincitur, qui fratres a fratribus separat; facimus quod Dominus per Isaiam prophetam praecepit, dicens: Audite qui pavetis verbum Domini; dicite, Fratres nostri estis, his qui vos oderunt et qui vos exsecrantur, ut nomen Domini honorificetur, et appareat illis in jucunditate; ipsi autem erubescant (Isai. LXVI, 5). Ac sic aliquos eorum considerantes evidentiam veritatis, et pulchritudinem pacis, non Baptismo quem jam sicut regalem characterem tanquam desertores acceperant, sed fidei quae illis defuit, et Spiritus sancti charitati et Christi corpori sociamus. Scriptum est enim, Fide mundans corda eorum (Act. XV, 9); itemque scriptum est, Charitas cooperit multitudinem peccatorum (I Petr. IV, 8). Si autem vel nimia duritia, vel pudore non ferentes eorum insultationem, cum quibus contra nos tam multa falsa jactabant et tam multa mala excogitabant, vel magis timore, ne qualia nobis antea faciebant, talia nobiscum jam patiantur, unitati Christi consentire noluerint, sicut illaesi retenti sunt, sic a nobis dimittuntur illaesi: hoc quantum possumus monemus etiam laicos nostros, ut eos illaesos teneant, et nobis corripiendos instruendosque perducant. Sed aliqui nos audiunt, et si possunt faciunt: alii cum illis quemadmodum cum latronibus agunt, quia eos revera tales patiuntur.

8. Moreover not only did you not do [this], but your [people] now do worse evils to us. They not only shatter us with clubs and cut [us] down with iron; but even for extinguishing eyes they send lime mixed with vinegar by an incredible excogitation of crime. Compiling our houses moreover, they fabricated for themselves huge and terrible arms, with which being armed they run about through diverse [places], threatening and panting slaughters, rapines, fires, blindnesses. By which things we were compelled to complain to you first, so that your Gravity may consider how many of you, rather all of you, who say you suffer persecution, sit secure in your own and others' possessions under those very as-it-were terrible laws of the Catholic emperors, and we suffer such unheard-of evils from your [people]. You say you suffer persecution; and we are cut down by your armed [men] with clubs and iron. You say you suffer persecution; and our houses are wasted by your armed [men] by compiling. You say you suffer persecution; and our eyes are extinguished by your armed [men] with lime and vinegar. Furthermore even if they bring any deaths upon themselves of their own accord, they wish [them] to be invidious for us, glorious for you. What they do to us, they do not impute to themselves; and what they do to themselves, they impute to us. They live like robbers, they die like circumcellions, they are honored like martyrs; and yet we have never heard of robbers having blinded those whom they have plundered. They take away the slain from the light, they do not take away the light from the living.

9. We meanwhile if ever we hold your [people], preserve [them] unhurt with great love, we speak to them, and read all [things], by which the error itself is convinced, which separates brothers from brothers; we do what the Lord commanded through the prophet Isaiah, saying: Hear you who tremble at the word of the Lord; say, You are our brothers, to those who hate you and who execrate you, so that the name of the Lord may be honored, and he may appear to them in joy; but they shall be confounded (Isa. 66:5). And thus some of them considering the evidence of the truth, and the beauty of peace, we associate to the body of Christ, not with the Baptism which they had already received as a royal character like deserters, but with the faith which was lacking in them, and with the charity of the Holy Spirit. For it is written, Purifying their hearts by faith (Acts 15:9); and likewise it is written, Charity covers a multitude of sins (1 Pet. 4:8). But if either by excessive hardness, or by shame not bearing the insultation of those with whom they were boasting so many false [things] against us and excogitating so many evil [things], or rather by fear, lest they should now suffer with us such [things] as they were doing to us before, they should be unwilling to consent to the unity of Christ, just as they were retained unhurt, so they are dismissed by us unhurt: as much as we can we admonish also our laity, that they hold them unhurt, and lead them to us to be corrected and instructed. But some hear us, and if they can they do [it]: others act with them just as with robbers, because they truly suffer such from them.

Aliqui ictus eorum suis corporibus imminentes feriendo repellunt, ne ab eis ante feriantur: aliqui apprehensos judicibus offerunt, nec nobis intercedentibus eis parcunt, dum ab eis pati mala immania pertimescunt. In quibus omnibus illi non deponunt facta latronum, et honorem sibi exigunt martyrum.

10. Hoc est ergo desiderium nostrum, quod tuae Gravitati per has litteras, et per fratres, quos misimus, allegamus. Primum si fieri potest, ut cum episcopis nostris pacifice conferatis, ut in quibus fuerit inventus, non homines, sed error ipse tollatur; ut homines non puniantur, sed corrigantur; ut vos modo conveniatis, quia eorum conventionem antea contempsistis. Quanto melius enim hoc inter vos facitis, ut quod egeritis conscriptum et subscriptum Imperatori mittatis, quam ut hoc apud terrenas potestates fiat, quae non possunt nisi jam datis contra vos legibus inservire ? Vestri enim collegae qui navigaverant, apud praefectos dixerunt se audiri venisse. Et nominaverunt sanctum patrem nostrum catholicum episcopum Valentinum, qui tunc in comitatu erat, dicentes cum illo se velle audiri: quod eis non poterat judex concedere, qui jam secundum leges, quae contra vos constitutae sunt, judicabat; nec ille episcopus ita venerat, aut aliquod tale mandatum a suis episcopis acceperat. Quanto ergo melius ipse imperator, qui non est eisdem legibus subditus, et qui habet in potestate alias leges ferre, cum ei collatio vestra fuerit recitata, de tota ipsa causa poterit judicare, quamvis jam olim dicta fuerit terminata? Sed ideo vos conferre volumus, non ut causa iterum finiatur; sed ut eis qui nesciunt jam finita monstretur. Quod si hoc facere vestri episcopi voluerint, quid inde perditis, et non potius acquiritis, quia voluntas vestra innotescit, ne diffidentia merito reprehendatur? An forte putatis non licere fieri, cum non vos lateat quod Dominus Christus etiam cum diabolo de Lege locutus est (Matth. IV, 4); quod cum Paulo apostolo non solum Judaei, sed etiam de haeresi Stoicorum et Epicureorum philosophi Gentium contulerunt (Act. XVII, 18)? an forte istae leges Imperatoris, vos non permittunt nostros episcopos convenire? Ecce interim episcopos vestros qui sunt in regione Hipponensi, ubi a vestris tanta mala patimur, convenite. Quanto enim licentius et liberius ad nos, per vestros vestra scripta, quam eorum arma perveniunt?

Some repel their blows threatening their own bodies by striking, lest they should be struck before by them: some offer [those] apprehended to the judges, nor do they spare them though we intercede, while they greatly fear to suffer immense evils from them. In all which those [people] do not lay aside the deeds of robbers, and they exact for themselves the honor of martyrs.

10. This is therefore our desire, which we allege to your Gravity through these letters, and through the brothers whom we have sent. First if it can be done, that you confer peacefully with our bishops, so that in [those things] in which it shall have been found, not men, but the error itself may be taken away; so that men may not be punished, but corrected; so that you may now be convened, because you before contemned their convention. For how much better do you do this among yourselves, so that what you shall have done having been written and subscribed you may send to the Emperor, than that this should be done before earthly powers, which cannot but serve the laws already given against you? For your colleagues who had sailed, said before the prefects that they had come to be heard. And they named our holy Catholic father bishop Valentinus, who then was in the court, saying that they wished to be heard with him: which the judge could not grant to them, who already was judging according to the laws which have been constituted against you; nor had that bishop so come, or received any such mandate from his bishops. How much better therefore can the Emperor himself, who is not subject to the same laws, and who has it in his power to bring other laws, when your collation shall have been recited to him, judge concerning that whole cause, although it was already long ago said to be terminated? But for this reason we wish you to confer, not so that the cause may be finished again; but so that it may be shown to those who do not know [it to be] already finished. But if your bishops should be willing to do this, what do you lose thereby, and do you not rather acquire, because your will becomes known, lest diffidence be deservedly rebuked? Or do you perhaps think it not allowed to be done, since it does not escape you that the Lord Christ spoke also with the devil from the Law (Matth. 4:4); that with the apostle Paul not only the Jews, but also philosophers of the Gentiles from the heresy of the Stoics and Epicureans conferred (Acts 17:18)? or do perhaps those laws of the Emperor not permit you to convene our bishops? Behold meanwhile convene your bishops who are in the region of Hippo, where we suffer such great evils from your [people]. For how much more licitly and freely do your writings come to us through your [people], than their arms?

11. Postremo per istos ipsos fratres nostros, quos ad vos misimus, talia rescribite. Si autem et hoc non vultis, saltem cum vestris a quibus talia patimur nos audite. Ostendite nobis veritatem, pro qua vos pati dicitis persecutionem, cum patiamur nos vestrorum tantam crudelitatem. Si enim nos esse in errore conviceritis, forte concedetis nobis ut non rebaptizemur a vobis, justum existimantes ut nobis hoc praestetis, qui baptizati sumus ab eis quos nullo judicio damnastis, quod praestitistis eis quos Felicianus Mustitanus et Praetextatus Assuritanus per tam longum tempus baptizaverant, quando eos per judicum jussa de basilicis pellere conabamini, quia Maximiano communicabant, cum quo a vobis in concilio Bagaitano expresse nominatimque damnati sunt. Quae omnia Gestis judicialibus et municipalibus demonstramus, ubi et ipsum concilium vestrum allegastis, dum vultis judicibus ostendere quod schismaticos vestros de basilicis pelleretis. Et tamen qui ab ipso semine Abrahae, in quo omnes gentes benedicuntur (Gen. XXII, 18), schisma fecistis, de basilicis pelli non vultis, non per judices, sicut schismaticis vestris vos fecistis, sed per ipsos reges terrae, qui completa prophetia Christum adorant, apud quos Caecilianum accusantes victi recessistis.

12. Si autem nec audire nec docere nos vultis, venite aut mittite nobiscum in regionem Hipponensium, qui videant armatum exercitum vestrum; quamvis nullus miles numero armorum suorum calcem et acetum addidit ad oculos barbarorum. Si neque hoc vultis, saltem scribite ad illos, ut jam ista non faciant, ut jam se a caedibus nostris, a rapinis, ab excaecatione compescant. Nolumus dicere: Damnate illos. Vos enim videritis quomodo vos non inquinent, quos modo ostendimus in vestra communione latrones, et nos inquinent quos nunquam potuistis ostendere traditores. Ex his omnibus eligite quod volueritis. Si autem querelas nostras contempseritis, nos minime poenitebit ordine pacifico agere voluisse. Aderit Dominus Ecclesiae suae, ut vos potius humilitatem nostram contempsisse poeniteat.

EPISTOLA LXXXIX . Augustinus Festo, docens recte legibus reprimi Donatistas; et indicans in regione Hipponensi nondum eos Festi litteris correctos, sed adhuc intolerabiliter grassari.

Domino dilectissimo et honorabili ac suscipiendo filio FESTO, AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

11. Lastly rewrite such [things] through these our brothers themselves, whom we have sent to you. But if you do not even wish this, at least hear us with your [people] from whom we suffer such [things]. Show us the truth, for which you say you suffer persecution, while we suffer such great cruelty from your [people]. For if you shall have convinced us to be in error, perhaps you will grant to us that we may not be rebaptized by you, thinking it just that you should afford this to us, who were baptized by those whom you condemned by no judgment, which you afforded to those whom Felicianus of Musti and Praetextatus of Assura had baptized through so long a time, when you were attempting to drive them from the basilicas through the orders of judges, because they were communicating with Maximian, with whom they were expressly and by name condemned by you in the council of Bagai. All which [things] we demonstrate by judicial and municipal Acts, where also you alleged your council itself, while you wish to show to the judges that you were driving your schismatics from the basilicas. And yet you who made a schism from the very seed of Abraham, in which all nations are blessed (Gen. 22:18), do not wish to be driven from the basilicas, not through judges, as you yourselves did to your schismatics, but through the kings of the earth themselves, who the prophecy being fulfilled adore Christ, before whom accusing Caecilianus you withdrew conquered.

12. But if you wish neither to hear nor to teach us, come or send with us into the region of the Hipponensians, those who may see your armed army; although no soldier to the number of his arms added lime and vinegar to the eyes of barbarians. If you wish neither this, at least write to them, so that they may no longer do those [things], so that they may now restrain themselves from our slaughters, from rapines, from blinding. We do not wish to say: Condemn them. For you yourselves will see how they do not pollute you, whom we have just shown [to be] robbers in your communion, and [how] they pollute us whom you have never been able to show [to be] traditors. From all these [things] choose what you shall have wished. But if you shall have contemned our complaints, it will not at all repent us to have wished to act in a peaceful order. The Lord will be present to his Church, so that it may rather repent you to have contemned our humility.

EPISTLE LXXXIX. Augustine to Festus, teaching that the Donatists are rightly repressed by laws; and indicating that in the region of Hippo they have not yet been corrected by the letters of Festus, but still rage intolerably.

To [his] most beloved and honorable and to-be-received son FESTUS, AUGUSTINE [sends] greeting in the Lord.

1. Si pro errore homines et damnabili dissensione et convicta modis omnibus falsitate tanta praesumunt, ut eorum salutem requirenti catholicae Ecclesiae tam audacter insidiari minarique non cessent; quanto magis aequum est, et oportet eos qui pacis et unitatis christianae asserunt veritatem, omnibus etiam dissimulantibus et cohibentibus manifestam, satagere instanter atque impigre, non solum pro eorum munimine qui jam catholici sunt, verum etiam pro eorum correctione qui nondum sunt? Nam si pertinacia insuperabiles vires habere conatur, quantas decet habere constantiam, quae in eo bono quod perseveranter atque infatigabiliter agit, et Deo placere se novit, et procul dubio non potest hominibus prudentibus displicere?

2. Quid autem infelicius atque perversius, sicut Donatistae faciunt, qui se persecutionem perpeti gloriantur, quam de coercitione iniquitatis suae non solum nescire confundi, sed etiam velle laudari; ignorantes caecitate mirabili, vel animositate damnabili se scire dissimulantes, quod martyres veros non faciat poena, sed causa? Et hoc quidem adversus eos dicerem, quos sola caligo haeretici erroris involveret, pro quo sacrilegio poenas dignissimas luerent, nec tamen ulla quemquam violenta insania laedere auderent. Adversus autem istos quid dicam, quorum tam perniciosa perversitas, vel damnorum terrore coercetur, vel docetur exsilio quam ubique diffusa sit Ecclesia, sicut futura praedicta est, quam malunt oppugnare quam agnoscere? Et si ea quae per misericordissimam disciplinam patiuntur, comparentur eis factis quae furiosa temeritate committunt, quis non videat, qui magis persecutores vocandi sunt? Quanquam filii mali eo tantum quo perdite vivunt, etiamsi nullas violenter inferant manus, parentum pietatem gravius persequuntur, quam cum illos pater aut mater, quanto amplius diligunt, tanto amplius ad bonam vitam sine ulla dissimulatione compellunt.

3. Exstant publicorum monumentorum firmissima documenta, quae potes legere si volueris, imo peto et hortor ut legas; quibus probatur quod majores eorum qui primi se ab Ecclesiae pace diviserunt, ultro per Anulinum tunc proconsulem apud Constantinum imperatorem accusare ausi sunt Caecilianum. In quo utique judicio si vicissent, quid erat Caecilianum ab Imperatore passurus, nisi quod in istos posteaquam victi sunt pronuntiavit?

1. If for error and damnable dissension and a falsehood convicted in all ways men presume so much, that they do not cease to so boldly lie in wait for and threaten the Catholic Church seeking their salvation; how much more is it equitable, and behooves those who assert the truth of Christian peace and unity, manifest even to all dissimulating and cohibiting [it], to bestir themselves urgently and unweariedly, not only for the protection of those who are already Catholics, but even for the correction of those who are not yet [so]? For if pertinacity attempts to have insuperable strengths, how great [strengths] is it fitting for constancy to have, which in that good which it does perseveringly and indefatigably, both knows itself to please God, and without doubt cannot be displeasing to prudent men?

2. Moreover what [is] more unhappy and perverse, as the Donatists do, who glory that they endure persecution, than not only to not know [how] to be confounded concerning the coercion of their iniquity, but even to wish to be praised; being ignorant with wonderful blindness, or dissimulating that they know by damnable animosity, that not the penalty, but the cause makes true martyrs? And this indeed I would say against those, whom the sole darkness of heretical error might involve, for which sacrilege they might pay most worthy penalties, nor yet would they dare to hurt anyone with any violent insanity. But what shall I say against these, whose so pernicious perversity is either coerced by the terror of losses, or is taught by exile how everywhere the Church is diffused, as it was predicted to be, which they prefer to oppugn rather than to acknowledge? And if those [things] which they suffer through most merciful discipline should be compared to those deeds which they commit with furious temerity, who would not see, who are rather to be called persecutors? Although evil sons in that only in which they live desperately, even if they bring no hands violently, persecute the piety of parents more gravely, than when a father or mother, by how much more they love [them], by so much more they compel [them] without any dissimulation to a good life.

3. Most firm documents of public monuments exist, which you can read if you wish, rather I ask and exhort that you read; by which it is proved that the elders of those who first divided themselves from the peace of the Church, of their own accord dared through Anulinus then proconsul to accuse Caecilianus before the emperor Constantine. In which judgment certainly if they had conquered, what was Caecilianus going to suffer from the Emperor, unless what he pronounced against those after they were conquered?

Sed videlicet si eis accusantibus atque superantibus Caecilianus ejusque collegae pellerentur sedibus, quas tenebant, vel etiam in sua conspiratione durantes gravius punirentur (neque enim poterat victos et resistentes regia censura contemnere); tunc isti provisionem suam et pro Ecclesia sollicitam curam praedicandam laudibus ventilarent. Nunc autem quia ipsi superati sunt, quia ea quae intendebant, probare minime potuerunt, si quid pro sua iniquitate patiuntur, persecutionem vocant; nec tantum furorem perditum minime reprimunt, verum etiam honorem martyrum quaerunt: quasi vero christiani catholici imperatores adversus eorum pertinacissimam iniquitatem aliud sequantur quam Constantini judicium, apud quem ultro Caeciliani accusatores fuerunt, cujus auctoritatem omnibus transmarinis episcopis praetulerunt, ut non ad illos, sed ad illum Ecclesiae causam deferrent; ut ab eo datum in urbe Roma episcopale judicium, in quo primum victi sunt, rursus apud illum accusarent; ut ab altero apud Arelatum dato episcopali judicio ad illum appellarent: apud quem tamen novissime superati, in sua perversitate permanserunt. Puto quod ipse diabolus, si auctoritate judicis quem ultro elegerat, toties vinceretur, non esset tam impudens ut in ea causa persisteret.

4. Sed haec humana judicia deputentur, et circumveniri ac falli, vel etiam corrumpi potuisse dicantur. Cur ergo adhuc accusatur christianus orbis terrarum, et nescio quibus traditorum criminibus infamatur, qui utique nec potuit nec debuit nisi electis judicibus potius quam victis litigatoribus credere? Habent apud Deum illi judices causam suam sive bonam sive malam: quid fecit Ecclesia toto orbe diffusa, quae non ob aliud ab istis rebaptizanda censetur, nisi quia in ea causa, in qua quid veri esset judicare non potuit, eis potius qui judicare potuerunt, quam eis qui nec superati cesserunt, credendum putavit? O magnum crimen omnium gentium, quas in semine Abrahae benedicendas promisit Deus (Gen. XXII, 18), et sicut promisit exhibuit! quae cum una voce dixerint, Quare nos vultis rebaptizare, respondetur eis, Quia nescitis qui fuerint in Africa sanctorum Codicum traditores, et in eo quod nesciebatis, judicibus magis quam accusatoribus credere voluistis. Si crimen alienum non gravat quemquam, quid pertinet ad orbem terrarum quod in Africa quisque commisit? Si crimen incognitum non gravat quemquam, unde potuit orbis terrarum cognoscere vel crimen judicum vel reorum? Judicate qui cor habetis. Haec est haeretica justitia, ut quia orbis terrarum non damnat crimen incognitum, pars Donati damnet orbem terrarum inauditum.

But evidently if by them accusing and overcoming Caecilianus and his colleagues were driven from the seats which they were holding, or even persisting in their conspiracy were more gravely punished (for nor could the royal censure contemn the conquered and resisting); then those [people] would fan with praises their own provision and solicitous care for the Church to be preached. But now because they themselves were overcome, because those [things] which they were intending they were not at all able to prove, if they suffer anything for their own iniquity, they call [it] persecution; nor do they only not at all repress [their] desperate fury, but they even seek the honor of martyrs: as if truly the Christian Catholic emperors follow anything else against their most pertinacious iniquity than the judgment of Constantine, before whom of their own accord they were the accusers of Caecilianus, whose authority they preferred to all overseas bishops, so that not to those, but to him they might defer the cause of the Church; so that the episcopal judgment given by him in the city of Rome, in which they first were overcome, they might again accuse before him; so that from the other episcopal judgment given at Arles they might appeal to him: before whom nevertheless most recently overcome, they remained in their own perversity. I think that the devil himself, if he were overcome so many times by the authority of a judge whom he had chosen of his own accord, would not be so impudent as to persist in that cause.

4. But let these be accounted human judgments, and be said to have been able to be circumvented and deceived, or even corrupted. Why therefore is the Christian world still accused, and is infamed by I know not what crimes of traditors, which [world] certainly neither could nor ought to believe [anyone] except the elected judges rather than the conquered litigants? Those judges have before God their own cause whether good or evil: what did the Church diffused through the whole world do, which is censured by these to be rebaptized for no other [reason], except because in that cause, in which what was true it could not judge, it thought [it] to be believed by those rather who could judge, than by those who neither being overcome yielded? O great crime of all nations, which God promised to be blessed in the seed of Abraham (Gen. 22:18), and as he promised he exhibited! which when they said with one voice, Why do you wish to rebaptize us, it is responded to them, Because you do not know who were the traditors of the holy Books in Africa, and in that which you did not know, you wished to believe judges more than accusers. If another's crime does not burden anyone, what pertains to the world what anyone committed in Africa? If an unknown crime does not burden anyone, whence could the world know either the crime of the judges or of the defendants? Judge, you who have a heart. This is heretical justice, that because the world does not condemn an unknown crime, the party of Donatus condemns the world unheard.

Sed sane sufficit orbi terrarum tenere promissiones Dei, et in se videre compleri quod Prophetae tanto ante cecinerunt; in eisdem Scripturis agnoscere Ecclesiam, ubi et rex ejus Christus agnoscitur. Ubi enim de Christo talia praedicta sunt, qualia completa in Evangelio legimus, illic praedicta sunt de Ecclesia, qualia compleri toto orbe jam cernimus.

5. Nisi forte quemquam prudentium permovebit, quod de Baptismo solent dicere, tunc esse verum baptismum Christi, cum ab homine justo datur, cum et hinc teneat orbis terrarum evidentissimam et evangelicam veritatem, ubi Joannes ait: Qui me misit baptizare in aqua, ipse mihi dixit: Super quem videris Spiritum descendentem quasi columbam, et manentem super eum, ipse est qui baptizat in Spiritu sancto (Joan. I, 33). Unde secura Ecclesia spem non ponit in homine, ne incidat in illam sententiam in qua scriptum est, Maledictus omnis qui spem suam ponit in homine (Jerem. XVII, 5); sed spem suam ponit in Christo, qui sic accepit formam servi, ut non amitteret formam Dei, de quo dictum est, Ipse est qui baptizat. Proinde homo quilibet minister baptismi ejus, qualemcumque sarcinam portet, non iste, sed super quem columba descendit, ipse est qui baptizat. Illos autem vana sentientes, tanta absurditas sequitur, ut quo ab ea fugiant non inveniant. Cum enim fateantur ratum et verum esse Baptismum, quando baptizat apud eos aliquis criminosus, cujus crimina latent; dicimus eis, Quis tunc baptizat? nec habent quid respondeant nisi, Deus: neque enim possunt dicere quod homo adulter quemquam sanctificet. Quibus respondemus, Si ergo cum baptizat homo justus manifestus, ipse sanctificat, cum autem baptizat homo iniquus occultus, tunc non ipse, sed Deus sanctificat; optare debent qui baptizantur, ab occultis malis hominibus potius baptizari, quam a manifestis bonis: multo enim eos melius Deus, quam quilibet homo justus sanctificat. Quod si absurdum est, ut quisque baptizandus optet ab occulto adultero potius baptizari, quam a manifesto casto, restat utique ut quilibet ministrorum hominum accesserit, ideo ratus sit Baptismus, quia super quem descendit columba, ipse bapizat.

6. Et tamen cum tam perspicua veritas aures et corda hominum feriat, tanta quosdam malae consuetudinis vorago submersit, ut omnibus auctoritatibus rationibusque resistere, quam consentire malint. Resistunt autem duobus modis; aut saeviendo, aut pigrescendo. Quid igitur hic faciat Ecclesiae medicina, salutem omnium materna charitate conquirens, tanquam inter phreneticos et lethargicos aestuans? numquid contemnere, numquid desistere vel debet vel potest? Utrisque sit necesse est molesta, quia neutris est inimica.

But indeed it suffices for the world to hold the promises of God, and to see to be fulfilled in itself what the Prophets so long before sang; to acknowledge the Church in the same Scriptures, where also its king Christ is acknowledged. For where such [things] were predicted concerning Christ, such as we read completed in the Gospel, there [things] were predicted concerning the Church, such as we now discern to be fulfilled in the whole world.

5. Unless perhaps it will move anyone of the prudent, what they are accustomed to say concerning Baptism, that then it is the true baptism of Christ, when it is given by a just man, while also from this the world holds the most evident and evangelical truth, where John says: He who sent me to baptize in water, he said to me: Upon whom you shall have seen the Spirit descending as a dove, and remaining upon him, he it is who baptizes in the Holy Spirit (John 1:33). Whence the Church secure does not place hope in man, lest it should fall into that sentence in which it is written, Cursed is every one who places his hope in man (Jer. 17:5); but it places its hope in Christ, who so took the form of a servant, that he did not lose the form of God, of whom it is said, He it is who baptizes. Therefore any man being a minister of his baptism, whatever kind of burden he may carry, not that one, but he upon whom the dove descended, he it is who baptizes. Moreover a so great absurdity follows those feeling vain things, that they do not find where they may flee from it. For when they confess that Baptism is ratified and true, when someone criminous baptizes among them, whose crimes are hidden; we say to them, Who then baptizes? nor do they have what they may respond except, God: for neither can they say that an adulterous man sanctifies anyone. To whom we respond, If therefore when a manifest just man baptizes, he himself sanctifies, but when a hidden iniquitous man baptizes, then not he himself, but God sanctifies; those who are baptized ought to opt to be baptized by hidden evil men rather than by manifest good ones: for God sanctifies them much better, than any just man. Which if it is absurd, that each one to be baptized should opt to be baptized by a hidden adulterer rather than by a manifest chaste man, it remains certainly that whatever of human ministers shall have approached, for that reason is the Baptism ratified, because he upon whom the dove descended, himself baptizes.

And yet since so perspicuous a truth strikes the ears and hearts of men, so great a whirlpool of evil custom has submerged some, that they prefer to resist all authorities and reasons rather than to consent. Moreover they resist in two ways; either by raging, or by becoming sluggish. What therefore may the medicine of the Church do here, seeking the salvation of all with maternal charity, as if tossing between the phrenetic and the lethargic? should it contemn, should it desist or ought it or can it? It must be troublesome to both, because it is an enemy to neither.

Nam et phrenetici nolunt ligari, et lethargici nolunt excitari: sed perseverat diligentia charitatis, phreneticum castigare, lethargicum stimulare, ambos amare. Ambo offenduntur, sed ambo diliguntur; ambo molestati, quamdiu aegri sunt indignantur, sed ambo sanati gratulantur.

7. Denique non sicut putant, et sicut jactant, tales eos suscipimus quales fuerunt, sed omnino mutatos; quia esse catholici non incipiunt, nisi haeretici esse destiterint. Neque enim sacramenta eorum nobis inimica sunt quae cum illis nobis sunt communia; quia non humana sunt, sed divina. Proprius eorum error auferendus est, quem male imbiberunt, non sacramenta quae similiter acceperunt, quae ad poenam suam portant et habent, quanto indignius habent, sed tamen habent. Errore itaque derelicto, separationis pravitate correcta, ab haeresi ad Ecclesiae pacem transeunt quam non habebant, sine qua illis perniciosum fuerat quod habebant. Sed si cum transeunt, ficti sunt, non est hoc jam nostrum, sed Dei judicium. Et tamen quidam cum ficti putarentur, quoniam jussionis ad nos terrore transierunt, tales posterius in nonnullis tentationibus inventi sunt, ut quibusdam veteribus catholicis praeferrentur. Non ergo nihil agitur, cum instanter agitur. Neque enim solis humanis terroribus murus durae consuetudinis expugnatur; sed etiam divinis auctoritatibus atque rationibus fides et intelligentia mentis instruitur.

8. Quae cum ita sint, noverit Benignitas tua homines vestros qui in regione Hipponensi sunt, adhuc esse donatistas, nec apud eos quidquam valuisse tuas litteras. Cur autem non valuerint, non opus est scribere; sed mitte aliquem tuorum, vel domesticorum, vel amicorum, cujus hoc fidei possis injungere, qui non ad ea loca, sed ad nos primitus veniat illis omnino nescientibus, et nobiscum primitus consilio pertractato, quod agendum Domino adjuvante visum fuerit, agat. Neque enim tantum pro eis agimus cum hoc agimus, sed etiam pro nostris jam factis catholicis, quibus illorum vicinitas sic infesta est, ut contemni a nobis nullo modo possit. Et hoc quidem breviter scribere poteram; sed volui te habere aliquid litterarum nostrarum, quo rationem curae meae non solum ipse cognosceres, sed etiam cuicumque dissuadenti ne tuorum correctioni operam instanter impendas, nobisque detrahenti quod talia velimus, habeas quod respondeas. Quod si superfluo feci, quod jam ista vel didiceras, vel ipse cogitaveras, aut onerosus fui quod curis publicis tam occupato prolixam epistolam ingessi, peto des veniam, dum tamen quod suggessi et rogavi non spernas: sic te tueatur misericordia Dei.

For both the phrenetic are unwilling to be bound, and the lethargic are unwilling to be excited: but the diligence of charity perseveres, to castigate the phrenetic, to stimulate the lethargic, to love both. Both are offended, but both are loved; both being molested, as long as they are sick they are indignant, but both being healed they congratulate.

Finally not as they think, and as they boast, do we receive them such as they were, but altogether changed; because they do not begin to be Catholics, unless they shall have ceased to be heretics. For neither are their sacraments inimical to us which are common to us with them; because they are not human, but divine. Their own error is to be taken away, which they badly imbibed, not the sacraments which they similarly received, which they carry and have to their own penalty, by how much more unworthily they have [them], but yet they have [them]. Therefore the error having been derelicted, the depravity of separation having been corrected, they pass from heresy to the peace of the Church which they did not have, without which what they had had been pernicious to them. But if when they pass, they are feigned, this is now not our judgment, but God's. And yet some when they were thought [to be] feigned, because they passed to us by the terror of a command, were afterwards found in some temptations such, that they were preferred to some old Catholics. Therefore not nothing is done, when it is done urgently. For not by human terrors alone is the wall of hard custom expugned; but also by divine authorities and reasons the faith and intelligence of the mind is instructed.

8. Since these [things] are so, may your Benignity know that your men who are in the region of Hippo are still Donatists, nor has anything of your letters availed among them. Why moreover they have not availed, it is not necessary to write; but send someone of yours, either of [your] household, or of [your] friends, to whose faith you can enjoin this, who may come not to those places, but to us first while they are altogether ignorant, and a plan having been first thoroughly handled with us, he may do what, with the Lord helping, shall have seemed [best] to be done. For nor do we act only for them when we do this, but even for ours already made Catholics, to whom their vicinity is so infested, that it can in no way be contemned by us. And this indeed I could have written briefly; but I wished you to have something of our letters, by which you might not only yourself know the reason of my care, but also to anyone dissuading [you] lest you should urgently expend work for the correction of your [people], and detracting from us that we wish such [things], you might have what you may respond. Which if I have done superfluously, because you had already either learned these [things], or had yourself thought [them], or I was burdensome because I poured in a prolix epistle to [one] so occupied with public cares, I ask that you give pardon, provided however that you do not spurn what I have suggested and asked: so may the mercy of God protect you.

EPISTOLA XC . Augustino Nectarius paganus, agens ut suis civibus coloniae Calamensis condonentur quae expetendae erant ab ipsis poenae, non modo violati Caesaris edicti recentissimi prohibentis ne sacra solemnia idolis fierent, sed etiam injuriarum quibus ipsi, sacrorum suorum occasione, Christianos affecerant.

Domino insigni et merito suscipiendo fratri, AUGUSTINO episcopo, NECTARIUS.

Quanta sit charitas patriae, quoniam nosti, praetereo. Sola est enim quae parentum jure vincat affectum. Cui si ullus esset consulendi modus aut finis bonis, digne jam ab ejus muneribus meruimus excusari. Sed quoniam crescit in dies singulos dilectio et gratia civitatis, quantumque aetas fini proxima est, tantum incolumem ac florentem relinquere patriam cupit : idcirco gaudeo primum quod apud instructum disciplinis omnibus virum mihi hic est sermo institutus. In Calamensi colonia multa sunt quae merito diligamus; vel quod in ea geniti sumus, vel quod eidem magna contulisse videmur officia. Haec ergo, domine praestantissime et merito suscipiende, non levi populi sui erratu prolapsa est. Quod quidem si juris publici rigore metiamur, debet plecti severiori censura. Sed episcopum fas non est, nisi salutem hominibus impertire, et pro statu meliore causis adesse, et apud omnipotentem Deum veniam aliorum mereri delictis. Quamobrem quanta possum supplicatione deposco, ut si defendenda res est, innoxius defendatur, ab innocentibus molestia separetur. Praesta hoc quod secundum naturam tuam pervides postulari. De damnis facilis potest haberi taxatio; tantum supplicia deprecamur. Acceptior Deo vivas, domine insignis et merito suscipiende frater.

8. Accipe breviter quae commissa sint, et noxios ab innocentibus ipse discerne. Contra recentissimas leges, calendis juniis festo Paganorum sacrilega solemnitas agitata est, nemine prohibente, tam insolenti ausu, ut quod nec Juliani temporibus factum est, petulantissima turba saltantium in eodem prorsus vico ante fores transiret ecclesiae. Quam rem illicitissimam atque indignissimam clericis prohibere tentantibus, ecclesia lapidata est. Deinde post dies ferme octo, cum leges notissimas episcopus ordini replicasset, et dum ea quae jussa sunt, velut implere disponunt, iterum ecclesia lapidata est. Postridie nostris ad imponendum perditis metum, quod videbatur apud Acta dicere volentibus publica jura negata sunt.

EPISTLE XC. Nectarius a pagan to Augustine, acting so that to his citizens of the colony of Calama might be condoned the penalties which were to be exacted from them, not only for the violated most recent edict of Caesar prohibiting that sacred solemnities should be made to idols, but even for the injuries with which they themselves, on the occasion of their sacred [rites], had affected the Christians.

To [his] distinguished and deservedly to-be-received brother, bishop AUGUSTINE, NECTARIUS [sends greeting].

How great is the charity of country, since you know [it], I pass over. For it is the only [one] which may conquer the affection of parents by right. To which if there were any mode or end of consulting for good men, we have already worthily deserved to be excused from its duties. But since the love and grace of the city grows in single days, and as much as age is next to the end, so much it desires to leave the country unharmed and flourishing: for that reason I rejoice first that here this discourse was instituted by me before a man instructed in all disciplines. In the colony of Calama there are many [things] which we may deservedly love; either because we were born in it, or because we seem to have conferred great services to the same. This [city] therefore, most excellent and deservedly to-be-received lord, has fallen by a not light error of its people. Which indeed if we measure by the rigor of public law, it ought to be punished with a more severe censure. But it is not right for a bishop, except to impart salvation to men, and to be present for causes for a better state, and to merit pardon before almighty God for the faults (delictis) of others. Wherefore with as much supplication as I can I demand, that if the matter is to be defended, the harmless may be defended, [and] trouble may be separated from the innocent. Grant this which you see through to be demanded according to your nature. Concerning the damages a light taxation can be had; only we deprecate punishments. May you live more acceptable to God, distinguished and deservedly to-be-received lord [and] brother.

8. Receive briefly what things were committed, and do you yourself discern the guilty from the innocent. Against the most recent laws, on the calends of June, a sacrilegious solemnity was celebrated on the feast of the Pagans, with no one prohibiting it, with such insolent daring that, which was not even done in the times of Julian, a most petulant crowd of dancers passed in that very street before the doors of the church. While the clerics were attempting to prohibit this most unlawful and unworthy matter, the church was stoned. Then after about eight days, when the bishop had repeated the most well-known laws to the order, and while they were arranging as if to fulfill those things which were commanded, again the church was stoned. On the next day, in order to impose fear upon the lost, those who wished to speak the public laws before the Acts were denied.

Eodemque ipso die, ut vel divinitus terrerentur, grando lapidationibus reddita est; qua transacta continuo tertiam lapidationem, et postremo ignes ecclesiasticis tectis atque hominibus intulerunt; unum servorum Dei, qui oberrans occurrere potuit, occiderunt, caeteris partim ubi potuerant latitantibus, partim qua potuerant fugientibus, cum interea contrusus atque coarctatus quodam loco se occultaret episcopus, ubi se ad mortem quaerentium voces audiebat sibique increpantium, quod eo non invento gratis tantum perpetrassent scelus. Gesta sunt haec ab hora ferme decima usque ad noctis partem non minimam. Nemo compescere, nemo subvenire tentavit illorum, quorum esse gravis posset auctoritas, praeter unum peregrinum, per quem et plurimi servi Dei de manibus interficere conantium liberati sunt, et multa extorta praedantibus; per quem clarum factum est, quam facile illa vel omnino non fierent, vel coepta desisterent, si cives, maximeque primates ea fieri perficique vetuissent.

9. Proinde in universa illa civitate non innocentes a nocentibus, sed minus nocentes a nocentioribus poteris fortasse discernere. Nam in parvo peccato illi sunt, qui metu deterriti, maximeque ne offenderent eos quos in illo oppido plurimum posse, et inimicos Ecclesiae noverant, opem ferre non ausi sunt: scelerati autem omnes, quibus etsi non facientibus, neque immittentibus, tamen volentibus ista commissa sunt; sceleratiores, qui commiserunt; sceleratissimi, qui immiserunt. Sed de immissione suspicionem putemus esse non veritatem, nec ea discutiamus quae nisi tormentis eorum per quos inquiruntur, inveniri omnino non possunt. Demus etiam veniam timori eorum qui potius Deum pro episcopo et servis ejus deprecandum, quam potentes inimicos Ecclesiae offendendos esse putaverunt. Quid eos qui restant, nullane censes disciplina coercendos, et proponendum existimas impunitum tam immanis furoris exemplum? Non praeterita vindicando pascere iram nostram studemus; sed misericorditer in futurum consulendo satagimus. Habent homines mali, ubi et per christianos non solum mansuete, verum etiam utiliter salubriterque plectantur. Habent enim quod corpore incolumi vivunt, habent unde vivunt, habent unde male vivunt. Duo prima salva sint, ut quos poeniteat, sint; hoc optamus, hoc quantum in nobis est, etiam impensa opera instamus. Tertium vero, si Deus voluerit, tanquam putre noxiumque resecari, valde misericorditer puniet.

And on that very day, so that they might be terrified even divinely, hail was rendered for the stonings; which having passed, they immediately brought a third stoning, and finally fires upon the ecclesiastical roofs and men; they killed one of the servants of God, who while wandering was able to meet them, while the others were hiding part where they could, part fleeing where they could, while meanwhile the bishop, thrust and narrowed in a certain place, was hiding himself, where he was hearing the voices of those seeking him for death and of those upbraiding him, because, since he was not found, they had perpetrated such a crime for nothing. These things were done from about the tenth hour until a not small part of the night. No one attempted to restrain, no one to help of those whose authority could be grave, except one stranger, through whom both many servants of God were liberated from the hands of those attempting to kill, and many things were extorted from the plunderers; through whom it was made clear how easily those things either would not have happened at all, or once begun would have ceased, if the citizens, and especially the primates, had forbidden those things to be done and perfected.

9. Henceforth in that whole city you will perhaps be able to discern not the innocent from the guilty, but the less guilty from the more guilty. For those are in a small sin who, deterred by fear, and especially lest they should offend those whom they knew to be most powerful in that town and enemies of the Church, did not dare to bring help: but all are wicked to whom, even if not doing nor sending, yet these things were committed with them willing; more wicked, those who committed them; most wicked, those who sent. But concerning the sending let us think it is a suspicion not the truth, nor let us discuss those things which cannot be found at all except by the tortures of those through whom they are inquired. Let us also grant pardon to the fear of those who thought that God was rather to be deprecated for the bishop and his servants than that the powerful enemies of the Church were to be offended. What of those who remain? Do you think that they are to be coerced by no discipline, and do you think that the example of such immense fury is to be proposed unpunished? We do not study to feed our anger by avenging past things; but we are busy by mercifully consulting for the future. Evil men have where they may be punished through Christians not only gently, but also usefully and healthfully. For they have that they live with the body unharmed, they have whence they live, they have whence they live badly. Let the first two be safe, so that there may be those who may repent; this we desire, for this, as much as is in us, we even insist with expended labor. But the third, if God shall will, as if to be cut back as rotten and harmful, He will punish very mercifully.

Si autem vel amplius voluerit, vel ne hoc quidem permiserit, altioris et profecto justioris consilii ratio penes ipsum est: a nobis curam officiumque oportet impendi, quousque videre conceditur, deprecantibus eum, ut animum nostrum approbet, quo cunctis volumus esse consultum, nihilque fieri sinat per nos, quod et nobis et Ecclesiae suae non expedire longe melius novit ipse quam nos.

10. Modo cum apud Calamam essemus, ut nostri in tam gravi dolore vel consolarentur afflicti, vel sedarentur accensi, quantum potuimus quod in tempore oportuisse existimavimus, cum Christianis egimus. Deinde etiam ipsos Paganos, mali tanti caput et causam, petentes ut ab eis videremur, admisimus, ut hac occasione admoneremus eos quid facere deberent, si saperent, non tantum pro removenda praesenti sollicitudine, verum etiam pro inquirenda salute perpetua. Multa a nobis audierunt, multum etiam ipsi rogaverunt; sed absit ut tales servi simus, quos ab eis rogari delectet, a quibus noster Dominus non rogatur. Unde pervides pro vivacitate mentis tuae, ad hoc esse nitendum servata mansuetudine, et moderatione christiana, ut aut caeteros deterreamus eorum imitari perversitatem, aut caeteros optemus eorum imitari correctionem. Damna quae illata sunt, vel tolerantur a Christianis, vel resarciuntur per Christianos. Animarum nos lucra, quibus acquirendis cum periculo etiam sanguinis inhiamus, et in loco illo quaestuosius provenire, et aliis locis illo exemplo non impediri desideramus. Dei misericordia nobis praestet de tua salute gaudere.

Epistola XCII.

Augustinus Italicae viduae, consolans illam super obitu mariti, ac refellens eorum opinionem qui dicebant Deum videri oculis corporeis.

Dominae eximiae et merito praestantissimae, atque in Christi charitate honorandae filiae ITALICAE, AUGUSTINUS episcopus, in Domino salutem.

1. Non solum litteris tuis, verum etiam ipso referente qui pertulit, comperi multum te flagitare litteras meas, credentem quod ex eis consolationem habere plurimam possis. Tu itaque videris quid exinde capias, ego tamen eas negare vel differre non debui. Consoletur autem te fides et spes tua, et ipsa charitas quae diffunditur in cordibus piorum per Spiritum sanctum (Rom. V, 5), cujus nunc aliquid pro pignore accepimus, ut ipsam plenitudinem desiderare noverimus.

But if He shall will even more, or shall not even permit this, the reason of a deeper and certainly more just counsel is with Him: care and duty ought to be expended by us, as far as it is granted to see, deprecating Him that He may approve our mind, by which we wish all to be consulted, and that He may allow nothing to be done through us which He Himself knows much better than we that it does not expedite both for us and for His Church.

10. Just now when we were at Calama, so that our people, afflicted in such grave grief, might either be consoled or, being incensed, might be settled, as much as we could we dealt with the Christians [about] what we thought to have been opportune at the time. Then we also admitted the Pagans themselves, the head and cause of so much evil, as they were demanding that we should be seen by them, so that on this occasion we might admonish them what they ought to do, if they were wise, not only for removing the present concern, but also for inquiring after perpetual salvation. They heard many things from us, they also themselves asked much; but far be it that we should be such servants whom it should delight to be asked by those by whom our Lord is not asked. Whence you see through, for the liveliness of your mind, that it is to be striven for this, with mildness and Christian moderation preserved, that either we may deter the others from imitating their perversity, or we may desire the others to imitate their correction. The damages which were brought are either tolerated by Christians or repaired through Christians. We desire the gains of souls, for the acquiring of which we pant even with the danger of blood, both to come forth more gainfully in that place, and not to be hindered in other places by that example. May the mercy of God grant to us to rejoice concerning your salvation.

Epistle XCII.

Augustine to the widow Italica, consoling her over the death of her husband, and refuting the opinion of those who were saying that God was seen with bodily eyes.

To the distinguished and deservedly most excellent lady, and daughter to be honored in the charity of Christ, ITALICA, bishop AUGUSTINUS, [sends] health in the Lord.

1. Not only by your letters, but also by the report of him who brought [them], I have found that you much demand my letters, believing that from them you might be able to have very much consolation. You, therefore, will see what you may take from thence; I, however, ought not to have denied or deferred them. But may your faith and hope console you, and that very charity which is shed abroad in the hearts of the pious through the Holy Spirit (Rom. 5:5), of which we have now received something for a pledge, so that we may know how to desire the fullness itself.

Non enim te desolatam putare debes, cum in interiore homine habeas praesentem Christum per fidem in corde tuo; aut sic te contristari oportet, quemadmodum gentes quae spem non habent, cum veracissima promissione speremus nos de hac vita, unde migraturi quosdam nostros migrantes non amisimus, sed praemisimus, ad eam vitam esse venturos, ubi nobis erunt quanto notiores, tanto utique chariores, et sine timore ullius discessionis amabiles.

2. Hic autem etsi conjux tuus, cujus abscessu vidua diceris, tibi notissimus erat, sibi tamen notior erat quam tibi. Et unde hoc, cum tu ejus corporalem faciem videres, quam ipse utique non videbat, nisi quia notitia nostri certior intus est, ubi nemo scit quae sunt hominis, nisi spiritus hominis qui in ipso est (I Cor. II, 11): sed cum venerit Dominus, et illuminaverit abscondita tenebrarum, et manifestaverit cogitationes cordis (Id., IV, 5), tunc nihil latebit proximum in proximo, nec erit quod suis quisque aperiat, abscondat alienis, ubi nullus erit alienus. Lux vero ipsa, qua illuminabuntur haec omnia quae modo in cordibus reconduntur, qualis aut quanta sit, quis lingua proferat, quis saltem infirma mente contingat? Profecto lux illa Deus ipse est, quoniam Deus lux est, et tenebrae in eo non sunt ullae (I Joan. I, 5); sed lux mentium purgatarum, non istorum corporis oculorum. Erit ergo tunc mens idonea quae illam lucem videat, quod nunc nondum est.

3. Hoc autem oculus videre corporis neque nunc potest, neque tunc poterit. Omne quippe quod oculis corporis conspici potest, in loco aliquo sit necesse est, nec ubique sit totum, sed minore sui parte minorem locum occupet, et majore majorem. Non ita est Deus invisibilis et incorruptibilis, qui solus habet immortalitatem, et lucem habitat inaccessibilem; quem nemo hominum vidit nec videre potest (I Tim. VI, 16). Per hoc enim videri ab homine non potest, per quod videt homo corpore corpora. Nam et si mentibus piorum esset inaccessibilis, non diceretur, Accedite ad eum, et illuminamini (Psal. XXXIII, 6); et si mentibus piorum esset invisibilis, non diceretur, Videbimus eum sicuti est. Nam perspice totam ipsam in Epistola Joannis sententiam: Dilectissimi, inquit, filii Dei sumus, et nondum apparuit quid erimus. Scimus quia cum apparuerit similes ei erimus, quoniam videbimus eum sicuti est (I Joan. III, 2). In tantum ergo videbimus, in quantum similes ei erimus; quia et nunc in tantum non videmus, in quantum dissimiles sumus. Inde igitur videbimus, unde similes erimus. Quis autem dementissimus dixerit, corpore nos vel esse, vel futuros esse similes Deo? In interiore igitur homine ista similitudo est; qui renovatur in agnitionem Dei, secundum imaginem ejus qui creavit illum (Col. III, 10).

For you ought not to think yourself desolate, since you have Christ present in the inner man through faith in your heart; or it is necessary for you to be so saddened, just as the nations who have no hope, since with a most true promise we hope that we shall come to that life—whence being about to migrate we have not lost some of our own migrating, but have sent [them] before—where they will be to us as much better known, so certainly as much dearer, and lovable without fear of any departure.

2. Here, however, even if your husband, by whose departure you are called a widow, was most known to you, yet he was better known to himself than to you. And whence [is] this, since you saw his bodily face, which he certainly did not see, except because the knowledge of ourselves is more certain within, where no one knows what things are of a man, except the spirit of man which is in him (1 Cor. 2:11): but when the Lord shall have come, and shall have enlightened the hidden things of darkness, and shall have made manifest the thoughts of the heart (Id., 4:5), then nothing will be hidden to a neighbor in a neighbor, nor will there be anything which each one may open to his own [and] hide from strangers, where no one will be a stranger. But as for the light itself, by which all these things will be enlightened which now are hidden in hearts, of what kind or how great it may be, who might bring forth with the tongue, who at least might touch with an infirm mind? Certainly that light is God Himself, since God is light, and in Him there are no darknesses at all (1 John 1:5); but [it is] the light of purified minds, not of these eyes of the body. Therefore the mind will then be fit which may see that light, which now it is not yet.

3. This, however, the eye of the body neither can see now, nor will it be able then. For everything which can be beheld by the eyes of the body must necessarily be in some place, nor may it be whole everywhere, but in its smaller part it may occupy a smaller place, and in its greater a greater. Not so is God invisible and incorruptible, who alone has immortality, and dwells in light inaccessible; whom no one of men has seen nor can see (1 Tim. 6:16). For through this He cannot be seen by man, through which man bodily sees bodies. For even if He were inaccessible to the minds of the pious, it would not be said, Come to Him, and be enlightened (Psal. 33:6); and if He were invisible to the minds of the pious, it would not be said, We shall see Him just as He is. For look through that whole sentence in the Epistle of John: Most beloved, he says, we are sons of God, and it has not yet appeared what we shall be. We know that when He shall have appeared we shall be like Him, since we shall see Him just as He is (1 John 3:2). In so much, therefore, we shall see [Him], in as much as we shall be like Him; because even now in so much we do not see [Him], in as much as we are unlike. Thence, therefore, we shall see [Him], whence we shall be like [Him]. But who most insane would say that we either are, or are about to be, like God in body? In the inner man, therefore, is that likeness; who is renewed in the knowledge of God, according to the image of Him who created him (Col. 3:10).

Et tanto efficimur similiores illi, quanto magis in ejus cognitione et charitate proficimus; quia etsi exterior homo noster corrumpitur, sed interior renovatur de die in diem (II Cor. IV, 16): ita sane ut in hac vita quantuscumque provectus sit, longe absit ab illa perfectione similitudinis, quae idonea erit ad videndum Deum, sicut dicit Apostolus, facie ad faciem (I Cor. XIII, 12). In quibus verbis certe si corporalem faciem voluerimus accipere, consequens erit ut etiam Deus talem habeat faciem, et sit aliquod intervallum inter nostram et ipsius, cum eum videbimus facie ad faciem. Et si intervallum, utique finis, et membrorum habitus terminatus, et caetera absurda dictuque et cogitatu impia, quibus animalis homo, non percipiens quae sunt spiritus Dei (Id., II, 14), fallacissimis vanitatibus luditur.

4. Dicunt enim quidam eorum qui talia garriunt, sicut ad me potuit pervenire, nos Deum videre nunc mente, tunc corpore; ita ut etiam impios eum pari modo asseverent esse visuros. Vide quantum in pejus profecerint, dum sine limite timoris vel pudoris, hac atque illac vagabunda fertur impunita loquacitas. Antea dicebant, carni suae tantum hoc praestitisse Christum, ut corporeis oculis videret Deum; deinde addiderunt etiam, omnes sanctos, receptis in resurrectione corporibus, eodem modo Deum esse visuros; nunc jam istam possibilitatem etiam impiis donaverunt. Donent sane quantum volunt, et quibus volunt; nam quis audeat contradicere hominibus de suo donantibus? Qui enim loquitur mendacium, de suo loquitur (Joan. VIII, 44). Tu autem cum his qui sanam doctrinam tenent, nihil istorum audeas usurpare de tuo: sed cum legis, Beati mundo corde, quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt (Matth. V, 8), intellige impios non visuros; neque enim beati et mundi corde sunt impii. Item cum legis, Videmus nunc per speculum in aenigmate, tunc autem facie ad faciem (I Cor. XIII, 12); intellige inde nos tunc visuros facie ad faciem, unde videmus nunc per speculum in aenigmate. Hoc autem utrumque interioris hominis munus est, sive cum in ista peregrinatione adhuc per fidem ambulatur, in qua utitur speculo et aenigmate, sive in illa patria cum per speciem contemplabitur: pro qua visione positum est, facie ad faciem.

5. Audiat caro carnalibus ebria cogitationibus: Spiritus est Deus, et ideo qui adorant Deum, in spiritu et veritate oportet adorare (Joan. IV, 24). Si adorare, quanto magis vedere? Quis enim audeat affirmare Dei substantiam corporaliter videri, cum eam noluerit corporaliter adorari?

And we are made so much more like Him, by as much as we profit more in the knowledge and charity of Him; because even if our outer man is corrupted, yet the inner is renewed from day to day (2 Cor. 4:16): so indeed that in this life, however great the progress may be, it is far off from that perfection of likeness, which will be fit for seeing God, as the Apostle says, face to face (1 Cor. 13:12). In which words certainly if we should wish to take the bodily face, it will be consequent that God also should have such a face, and there should be some interval between ours and His own, when we shall see Him face to face. And if an interval, certainly a limit, and a terminated habit of members, and other things absurd to say and impious to think, by which the animal man, not perceiving those things which are of the Spirit of God (Id., 2:14), is mocked by most fallacious vanities.

4. For certain of those who chatter such things say, as it was able to reach to me, [that] we see God now with the mind, then with the body; so that they even assert [that] the impious are about to see Him in like manner. See into how much worse they have profited, while without limit of fear or shame, here and there a vagabond unpunished loquacity is carried. Before they were saying [that] Christ had granted this only to His own flesh, so that with bodily eyes it might see God; then they added also [that] all the saints, with bodies received in the resurrection, were about to see God in the same way; now they have already given this possibility even to the impious. Let them give indeed as much as they want, and to whom they want; for who should dare to contradict men giving from their own? For he who speaks a lie, speaks from his own (John 8:44). You, however, with those who hold sound doctrine, may you dare to usurp nothing of these from your own: but when you read, Blessed are the pure in heart, since they shall see God (Matt. 5:8), understand [that] the impious are not about to see; for the impious are not blessed and pure in heart. Likewise when you read, We see now through a glass in a riddle, but then face to face (1 Cor. 13:12); understand that we are then about to see face to face from thence, whence we see now through a glass in a riddle. This, however, both is the gift of the inner man, whether when in this pilgrimage it is walked as yet by faith, in which it uses a glass and a riddle, or in that fatherland when it will be contemplated by species: for which vision it is placed, face to face.

5. Let the flesh drunk with carnal thoughts hear: God is a Spirit, and therefore those who adore God, it is necessary to adore in spirit and in truth (John 4:24). If to adore, by how much more to see? For who would dare to affirm that the substance of God is seen corporally, when he would not have it corporally adored?

Sed argute sibi videntur dicere, et quasi interrogando premere: Potuit Christus carni suae praestitisse ut oculis corporeis videret Patrem, an non potuit? ut si non potuisse responderimus, omnipotentiae Dei nos derogasse proclament; si autem potuisse concesserimus, argumentationem suam ex nostra responsione concludant. Quanto jam tolerabilius desipiunt, qui carnem asserunt conversum iri in substantiam Dei, et hoc futuram esse quod Deus est, ut sic eam saltem videndo Deo faciant idoneam, nunc tanta diversitate dissimilem. Quam vanitatem credo istos abigere a fide sua, fortasse et ab auribus. Et tamen si interrogatione de hoc similiter urgeantur, possitne Deus hoc, an non efficere possit; utrum ejus potestati detrahent, si non posse responderint, an hoc futurum fatebuntur, si posse concesserint? Quomodo ergo exirent de hoc laqueo alieno, sic exeant de suo. Deinde cur solis oculis corporeis Christi hoc donum attributum esse contendunt, non etiam caeteris sensibus? Sonus ergo erit Deus, ut possit etiam auribus percipi? et halitus erit, ut sentiri possit olfactu? et liquor aliquis erit, ut possit et bibi? et moles erit, ut possit et tangi? Non, inquiunt. Quid ergo? an illud potest Deus, et hoc non potest? Si non posse dixerint, cur derogant omnipotentiae Dei? si posse et nolle responderint, cur solis oculis favent, invident autem caeteris sensibus corporis Christi? An quousque volunt, desipiunt? Quanto nos melius, qui non eorum insipientiae terminos figimus, sed ut desipiant prorsus, nolumus!

6. Multa proferri possunt ad istam dementiam refutandam. Sed si aliquando irruerint auribus tuis, haec interim eis lege, et quid respondeant non pigeat te rescribere ut potes. Ad hoc enim fide corda nostra mundantur, quia nobis fidei merces visio Dei promittitur. Quae si per corporis oculos erit, frustra ad eam percipiendam sanctorum animus exercetur: imo vero tam perverse sentiens animus non in se exercetur, sed totus in carne est. Ubi enim tenacius habitabit et fixius, nisi unde se Deum visurum esse praesumit? Quod certe quantum malum sit, intelligentiae potius dimitto tuae, quam longo sermone molior explicare. In protectione Domini semper habitet cor tuum, domina eximia et merito praestantissima, atque Christi charitate honoranda filia. Honorabiles tecum nobisque in Domino dilectissimos filios tuos, debito meritis vestris officio resaluta.

But they seem to say shrewdly to themselves, and as if to press by questioning: Was Christ able to grant to His own flesh that it should see the Father with bodily eyes, or was He not able? so that if we should have responded that He was not able, they might proclaim that we have derogated from the omnipotence of God; but if we should have granted that He was able, they might conclude their argumentation from our response. How much already more tolerably are they insane, who assert that the flesh is about to be converted into the substance of God, and that this will be what God is, so that thus they may make it at least fit for seeing God, now unlike by so great a diversity. Which vanity I believe those men drive away from their own faith, perhaps also from [their] ears. And yet if they should be similarly urged by a question concerning this, whether God can [do] this, or can not effect [it]; will they detract from His power, if they shall have responded that He cannot, or will they confess that this will be, if they shall have granted that He can? How therefore they would go out from this snare of another, so let them go out from their own. Then why do they contend that this gift was attributed to the bodily eyes of Christ alone, not also to the other senses? Therefore God will be a sound, so that He can also be perceived by ears? and He will be a breath, so that He can be felt by smell? and He will be some liquor, so that He can also be drunk? and He will be a mass, so that He can also be touched? No, they say. What therefore? can God [do] that, and can He not [do] this? If they shall have said that He cannot, why do they derogate from the omnipotence of God? if they shall have responded that He can and does not will, why do they favor the eyes alone, but envy the other senses of the body of Christ? Or do they rave as far as they want? How much better [do] we [act], who do not fix the limits of their insipience, but that they should rave altogether, we do not will!

6. Many things can be brought forth for refuting that madness. But if ever they should rush upon your ears, read these things to them meanwhile, and let it not irk you to write back what they respond as you can. For for this our hearts are purified by faith, because the vision of God is promised to us as the reward of faith. Which if it shall be through the eyes of the body, the mind of the saints is exercised in vain for the perceiving of it: indeed rather the mind so perversely feeling is not exercised in itself, but is whole in the flesh. For where will it dwell more tenaciously and fixedly, except whence it presumes that it is about to see God? Which certainly how great an evil it may be, I leave rather to your intelligence, than I labor to explain with a long speech. May your heart always dwell in the protection of the Lord, distinguished and deservedly most excellent lady, and daughter to be honored in the charity of Christ. Resalute with the duty owed to your merits your honorable sons and most beloved to us in the Lord.

EPISTOLA XCIII. Augustinus Vincentii e schismate Rogatiano episcopi Cartennensis epistolam refellens, dicit visum sibi fuisse aliquando, non vi cum haereticis, sed verbo Dei et ratione agendum; verum sententiis aliorum exemplisque superatum mutasse sententiam, et arbitrari leges principum recte implorari adversus hostes fidei, modo id fiat animo corrigendi, non studio vindicandi: aliaque subjicit permulta contra pervicaciam et anabaptismum Donatistarum.

Dilectissimo fratri VINCENTIO, AUGUSTINUS.

CAPUT PRIMUM.

1. Accepi epistolam, quam tuam esse mihi non incredibile visum est: attulit enim eam, quem catholicum christianum esse constaret, qui, ut opinor, mihi mentiri non auderet. Sed etsi forte non sunt litterae tuae, ego ei qui scripsit rescribendum putavi. Nunc me potius quietis esse avidum et petentem, quam tunc cum me adolescentem, vivo adhuc Rogato cui successisti, apud Carthaginem noveras. Sed Donatistae nimium inquieti sunt, quos per ordinatas a Deo potestates cohiberi atque corrigi mihi non videtur inutile. Nam de multorum jam correctione gaudemus, qui tam veraciter unitatem catholicam tenent atque defendunt, et a pristino errore se liberatos esse laetantur, ut eos cum magna gratulatione miremur. Qui tamen nescio qua vi consuetudinis, nullo modo mutari in melius cogitarent, nisi hoc terrore perculsi, sollicitam mentem ad considerationem veritatis intenderent; ne forte si non pro justitia, sed pro perversitate et praesumptione hominum ipsas temporales molestias, infructuosa et vana tolerantia paterentur, apud Deum postea non invenirent nisi debitas poenas impiorum, qui ejus tam lenem admonitionem, et paterna flagella contempserint: ac sic ista cogitatione dociles facti, non in calumniis et fabulis humanis, sed in divinis Libris promissam per omnes gentes invenirent Ecclesiam, quam suis oculis reddi conspicerent, in quibus et Christum praenuntiatum, etiam non visum super coelos esse minime dubitarent. Numquidnam ego istorum saluti invidere debebam, ut collegas meos ab hujusmodi paterna diligentia revocarem, per quam factum est ut multos videamus accusare suam pristinam caecitatem? qui cum super coelos exaltatum Christum, etiam non videntes credebant; gloriam tamen ejus super omnem terram, etiam videntes negabant, cum Propheta utrumque una sententia tanta manifestatione complexus sit, dicens: Exaltare super coelos, Deus, et super omnem terram gloria tua (Psal. CVII, 6).

EPISTLE XCIII. Augustine refuting the letter of Vincentius, bishop of Cartenna from the Rogatist schism, says that it once seemed to him [that] it was to be dealt with heretics not by force, but by the word of God and reason; but that he had changed [his] opinion, being overcome by the sentences and examples of others, and thought that the laws of princes were rightly implored against the enemies of the faith, provided that it be done with the mind of correcting, not with the zeal of avenging: and he subjoins many other things against the pertinacity and rebaptism of the Donatists.

To his most beloved brother VINCENTIUS, AUGUSTINUS [sends greeting].

CHAPTER ONE.

1. I received the letter, which it did not seem to me incredible to be yours: for he brought it who it was established to be a Catholic Christian, who, as I think, would not dare to lie to me. But even if by chance they are not your letters, I have thought that it was to be written back to him who wrote. Now [I am] rather eager for and seeking rest, than then when you knew me as a youth at Carthage, while Rogatus was still living, whom you succeeded. But the Donatists are too restless, whom it does not seem to me useless to be restrained and corrected through the powers ordained by God. For we already rejoice concerning the correction of many, who so truly hold and defend the Catholic unity, and rejoice that they have been liberated from their pristine error, that we wonder at them with great congratulation. Who yet, by I know not what force of custom, would in no way think of being changed for the better, unless, struck by this terror, they should intend a solicitous mind to the consideration of the truth; lest by chance if they should suffer those same temporal troubles not for justice, but for the perversity and presumption of men, with a fruitless and vain tolerance, they should not find afterwards with God except the due punishments of the impious, who have despised His so mild admonition and paternal scourges: and thus made teachable by that thought, they should find the Church promised through all nations not in slanders and human fables, but in the divine Books, which they should behold rendered to their eyes, in which they should not at all doubt that Christ also [was] foretold, even not seen above the heavens. For should I have had to envy the salvation of these, so that I should recall my colleagues from a paternal diligence of this kind, through which it has been done that we see many accusing their pristine blindness? who while they were believing Christ exalted above the heavens, even not seeing [Him]; yet they were denying His glory over all the earth, even seeing [it], when the Prophet has embraced both in one sentence with such manifestation, saying: Be exalted above the heavens, O God, and your glory over all the earth (Psal. 107:6).

2. Istos ergo atroces quondam inimicos nostros, pacem et quietem nostram variis violentiarum et insidiarum generibus gravibus graviter infestantes, si sic contemneremus et toleraremus, ut nihil omnino quod ad eos terrendos ac corrigendos valere posset, excogitaretur et ageretur a nobis, vere malum pro malo redderemus. Si enim quisquam inimicum suum periculosis febribus phreneticum factum, currere videret in praeceps, nonne tunc potius malum pro malo redderet, si eum sic currere permitteret, quam si corripiendum ligandumque curaret? Et tamen tunc ei molestissimus et adversissimus videretur, quando utilissimus et misericordissimus extitisset: sed plane salute reparata tanto uberius ei gratias ageret, quanto sibi eum minus pepercisse sensisset. O si possem tibi ostendere, ex ipsis Circumcellionibus quam multos jam catholicos manifestos habeamus, damnantes suam pristinam vitam, et miserabilem errorem quo se arbitrabantur pro Ecclesia Dei facere quidquid inquieta temeritate faciebant! qui tamen ad hanc sanitatem non perducerentur, nisi legum istarum quae tibi displicent, vinculis tanquam phrenetici ligarentur. Quid illud alterum genus morbi gravissimi eorum, qui turbulentam quidem audaciam non habebant, sed quadam vetusta socordia premebantur, dicentes nobis, Verum quidem dicitis, non est quod respondeatur; sed durum est nobis traditionem parentum relinquere: nonne salubriter regula temporalium molestiarum excutiendi erant, ut tanquam de somno lethargico emergerent, et in salutem unitatis evigilarent? Quam multi ex ipsis nunc nobiscum gaudentes, pristinum pondus perniciosi sui operis accusant, et fatentur nos sibi molestos esse debuisse, ne tanquam mortifero somno, ita morbo veternosae consuetudinis interirent.

7. Aspice etiam tempora Novi Testamenti, quando jam ipsa mansuetudo charitatis non solum in corde erat servanda, verum etiam in luce monstranda; quando Petri gladius in vaginam revocatur a Christo, et ostenditur non debuisse de vagina eximi nec pro Christo (Matth. XXVI, 52). Legimus tamen non solum, quod caeciderunt Judaei Paulum apostolum, verum etiam quod caeciderunt et Graeci pro Paulo apostolo Sosthenem Judaeum (Act. XVI, 22, 23, et XVIII, 17): nonne similitudo facti quasi utrosque conjungit, et tamen eos causae dissimilitudo discernit? Nempe Deus proprio Filio non pepercit, sed pro nobis omnibus tradidit illum (Rom. VIII, 32): nempe de Filio ipso dicitur, Qui me dilexit, et tradidit semetipsum pro me (Galat. II, 20): nempe et de Juda dicitur quod introierit in eum satanas, ut traderet Christum (Joan. XIII, 2). Cum ergo et Pater tradiderit Filium suum, et ipse Christus corpus suum, et Judas Dominum suum, cur in hac traditione Deus est pius, et homo reus, nisi quia in re una quam fecerunt, causa non una est ob quam fecerunt?

2. These, therefore, formerly our atrocious enemies, heavily infesting our peace and quiet with various kinds of violences and snares, if we should so despise and tolerate that nothing at all which could avail for terrifying and correcting them should be thought out and done by us, we would truly render evil for evil. For if anyone should see his enemy made phrenetic by dangerous fevers, running headlong, would he not then rather render evil for evil if he should allow him so to run, than if he should take care for him to be corrected and bound? And yet he would then seem to him most troublesome and most adverse, when he had stood forth most useful and most merciful: but clearly, with health repaired, he would give thanks to him so much more abundantly, by how much he had felt that he had spared him less. Oh, if I were able to show you, from the Circumcellions themselves, how many already manifest Catholics we have, damning their pristine life, and the miserable error by which they were thinking that they were doing for the Church of God whatever they were doing with restless temerity! who yet would not be led to this health, unless they were bound as if phrenetic with the chains of those laws which displease you. What [of] that other kind of most grave disease of those who indeed had no turbulent audacity, but were pressed by a certain ancient sluggishness, saying to us: You indeed say the truth, there is not what may be responded; but it is hard for us to relinquish the tradition of [our] parents: were they not healthfully to be shaken out by the rule of temporal troubles, so that they might emerge as if from a lethargic sleep, and wake up into the salvation of unity? How many from them now rejoicing with us, accuse the pristine weight of their pernicious work, and confess that we ought to have been troublesome to them, lest as if by a deadly sleep, so they should perish by the disease of an ancient custom.

7. Look also at the times of the New Testament, when that very gentleness of charity was not only to be preserved in the heart, but also to be shown in the light; when the sword of Peter is called back into the scabbard by Christ, and it is shown that it ought not to have been taken out of the scabbard even for Christ (Matth. XXVI, 52). We read, however, not only that the Jews beat the apostle Paul, but even that the Greeks beat the Jew Sosthenes for the apostle Paul (Acts XVI, 22, 23, and XVIII, 17): does not the similarity of the deed join them as if both, and yet the dissimilarity of the cause discerns them? Indeed, God did not spare his own Son, but delivered him up for us all (Rom. VIII, 32): indeed, it is said of the Son himself, Who loved me, and delivered himself up for me (Galat. II, 20): indeed, it is also said of Judas that Satan entered into him, that he might deliver up Christ (John XIII, 2). When, therefore, both the Father delivered up his Son, and Christ himself his body, and Judas his Lord, why in this delivery is God pious, and man guilty, unless because in the one thing which they did, the cause is not one for which they did it?

Tres cruces in loco uno erant; in una, latro liberandus; in alia, latro damnandus; in media, Christus alterum liberaturus, alterum damnaturus: quid similius istis crucibus? quid dissimilius istis pendentibus? Traditus est Paulus includendus et colligandus (Act. XXI, 23, 24), sed quolibet custode carceris pejor est utique satanas; cui tamen ipse Paulus tradidit hominem in interitum carnis, ut spiritus salvus sit in die Domini Jesu (I Cor. V, 5). Et hic quid dicimus? Ecce mitiori tradidit crudelis traditor, crudeliori tradidit misericors traditor. Discamus, frater, in similitudine operum discernere animos operantium, nec clausis oculis calumniemur, et benevolos pro nocentibus accusemus. Item cum ait idem Apostolus tradidisse se quosdam satanae, ut discerent non blasphemare (I Tim. 1, 20), malum pro malo reddidit, an potius malos etiam per malum emendare, bonum opus esse judicavit?

8. Si semper esset laudabile persecutionem pati, sufficeret Domino dicere, Beati qui persecutionem patiuntur; nec adderet, propter justitiam (Matth. V, 10). Item si semper esset culpabile persecutionem facere, non scriptum esset in sanctis Libris: Detrahentem proximo suo occulte, hunc persequebar (Psal. C, 5). Aliquando ergo et qui eam patitur, injustus est, et qui eam facit, justus est. Sed plane semper, et mali persecuti sunt bonos, et boni persecuti sunt malos: illi nocendo per injustitiam, illi consulendo per disciplinam; illi immaniter, illi temperanter; illi servientes cupiditati, illi charitati. Nam qui trucidat, non considerat quemadmodum laniet; qui autem curat, considerat quemadmodum secet: ille enim persequitur sanitatem, ille putredinem. Occiderunt impii Prophetas, occiderunt impios et Prophetae. Flagellaverunt Judaei Christum, Judaeos flagellavit et Christus. Traditi sunt Apostoli ab hominibus potestati humanae, tradiderunt et Apostoli homines potestati satanae. In his omnibus quid attenditur, nisi quis eorum pro veritate, quis pro iniquitate, quis nocendi causa, quis emendandi?

CAPUT III.

9. Non invenitur exemplum in evangelicis et apostolicis Litteris, aliquid petitum a regibus terrae pro Ecclesia, contra inimicos Ecclesiae. Quis negat non inveniri? Sed nondum implebatur illa prophetia: Et nunc, reges, intelligite, erudimini qui judicatis terram; servite Domino in timore. Adhuc enim illud implebatur, quod in eodem psalmo paulo superius dicitur: Quare fremuerunt gentes, et populi meditati sunt inania? Astiterunt reges terrae, et principes convenerunt in unum, adversus Dominum, et adversus Christum ejus (Psal. II, 10, 11, 1, 2).

Three crosses were in one place; on one, a thief to be liberated; on another, a thief to be damned; in the middle, Christ about to liberate the one, to damn the other: what more similar than those crosses? what more dissimilar than those hanging? Paul was delivered to be included and bound (Acts XXI, 23, 24), but Satan is certainly worse than any keeper of a prison; to whom, however, Paul himself delivered a man into the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit might be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus (I Cor. V, 5). And here what do we say? Behold, the cruel betrayer delivered to the milder, the merciful deliverer delivered to the more cruel. Let us learn, brother, in the similarity of works to discern the minds of the operators, and let us not with closed eyes calumniate, and accuse the benevolent instead of the harmful. Likewise, when the same Apostle says that he had delivered some to Satan, that they might learn not to blaspheme (I Tim. 1, 20), did he render evil for evil, or rather judge it to be a good work to amend even the evil through evil?

8. If it were always laudable to suffer persecution, it would suffice for the Lord to say, Blessed are they who suffer persecution; nor would he add, for righteousness' sake (Matth. V, 10). Likewise, if it were always culpable to do persecution, it would not be written in the holy Books: Him that privily slandereth his neighbor, him I persecuted (Psal. C, 5). Sometimes, therefore, both he who suffers it is unjust, and he who does it is just. But clearly always, both the evil have persecuted the good, and the good have persecuted the evil: those by harming through injustice, these by consulting through discipline; those immoderately, these temperately; those serving cupidity, these charity. For he who slaughters does not consider how he may mangle; but he who cures considers how he may cut: for the one persecutes health, the other putrefaction. The impious killed the Prophets, and the Prophets also killed the impious. The Jews scourged Christ, and Christ also scourged the Jews. The Apostles were delivered by men to human power, and the Apostles also delivered men to the power of Satan. In all these, what is attended to, except who of them [acted] for the truth, who for iniquity, who for the sake of harming, who for the sake of amending?

CHAPTER III.

9. An example is not found in the evangelical and apostolic Letters of anything requested from the kings of the earth for the Church against the enemies of the Church. Who denies that it is not found? But that prophecy was not yet fulfilled: And now, O kings, understand; be instructed, you who judge the earth; serve the Lord in fear. For that which is said in the same psalm a little above was still being fulfilled: Why have the nations raged, and the peoples meditated vain things? The kings of the earth stood up, and the princes convened into one, against the Lord, and against his Christ (Psal. II, 10, 11, 1, 2).

Verumtamen si facta praeterita in propheticis libris figurae fuerunt futurorum, in rege illo qui appellabatur Nabuchodonosor, utrumque tempus figuratum est, et quod sub Apostolis habuit, et quod nunc habet Ecclesia. Temporibus itaque Apostolorum et martyrum illud implebatur quod figuratum est, quando rex memoratus pios et justos cogebat adorare simulacrum, et recusantes in flammam mittebat. Nunc autem illud impletur quod paulo post in eodem rege figuratum est, cum conversus ad honorandum Deum verum, decrevit in regno suo ut quicumque blasphemaret Deum Sidrac, Misac, et Abdenago, poenis debitis subjaceret (Dan. III, 96). Prius ergo tempus illius regis significabat priora tempora regum infidelium, quos passi sunt Christiani pro impiis; posterius vero tempus illius regis significavit tempora posteriorum regum jam fidelium, quos patiuntur impii pro Christianis.

10. Sed plane in eis qui sub nomine Christi errant seducti a perversis, ne forte oves Christi sint errantes, et ad gregem taliter revocandae sint, temperata severitas et magis mansuetudo servatur, ut coercitione exsiliorum atque damnorum, admoneantur considerare quid et quare patiantur, et discant praeponere rumoribus et calumniis hominum Scripturas quas legunt. Quis enim nostrum, quis vestrum non laudat leges ab imperatoribus datas adversus sacrificia Paganorum? Et certe longe ibi poena severior constituta est; illius quippe impietatis capitale supplicium est. De vobis autem corripiendis atque coercendis habita ratio est, quo potius admoneremini ab errore discedere, quam pro scelere puniremini. Potest enim fortasse etiam de vobis dici quod ait Apostolus de Judaeis: Testimonium illis perhibeo quia zelum Dei habent, sed non secundum scientiam. Ignorantes enim Dei justitiam et suam volentes constituere, justitiae Dei non sunt subjecti (Rom. X, 2, 3). Quid enim aliud et vos quam vestram justitiam vultis constituere, quando non dicitis justificari nisi eos qui a vobis potuerint baptizari? In hac ergo apostolica sententia quam de Judaeis protulit, hoc distatis a Judaeis, quod vos habetis Sacramenta christiana, quibus illi adhuc carent. Caeterum ad hoc quod ait, Ignorantes Dei justitiam, et suam volentes constituere, et quod zelum Dei habent, sed non secundum scientiam, pares estis omnino, exceptis duntaxat illis, quicumque in vobis sunt scientes quid verum sit, et pro animositate suae perversitatis, contra veritatem etiam sibi notissimam dimicantes. Horum quippe impietas, etiam idololatriam forsitan superat. Sed quia non facile convinci possunt (in animo namque latet hoc malum), omnes tanquam a nobis minus alieni, leniori severitate coercemini. Et hoc quidem, vel de omnibus haereticis, qui christianis Sacramentis imbuuntur, et a Christi veritate sive unitate dissentiunt, vel Donatistis omnibus dixerim.

Nevertheless, if past deeds in the prophetic books were figures of future ones, in that king who was called Nebuchadnezzar, both times were figured, both that which the Church had under the Apostles, and that which it has now. Therefore, in the times of the Apostles and martyrs, that which was figured was being fulfilled when the mentioned king was compelling the pious and just to adore the image, and was sending those refusing into the flame. But now that which was figured a little later in the same king is being fulfilled, when, converted to honoring the true God, he decreed in his kingdom that whoever should blaspheme the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, should be subjected to the due penalties (Dan. III, 96). Therefore, the first time of that king signified the prior times of the infidel kings, which the Christians suffered for the impious; but the later time of that king signified the times of the later kings now faithful, which the impious suffer for the Christians.

10. But clearly in those who err under the name of Christ, seduced by the perverse, lest perhaps the sheep of Christ be erring and are so to be recalled to the flock, a tempered severity and rather gentleness is preserved, so that by the coercion of exiles and losses, they may be admonished to consider what and why they suffer, and may learn to prefer the Scriptures which they read to the rumors and calumnies of men. For who of us, who of you does not praise the laws given by the emperors against the sacrifices of the Pagans? And certainly a far more severe penalty has been constituted there; for the capital punishment of that impiety is established. But regarding your correction and coercion, a reason has been held, by which you might rather be admonished to depart from error than be punished for a crime. For perhaps it can even be said of you what the Apostle says of the Jews: I bear them witness that they have a zeal for God, but not according to knowledge. For being ignorant of the justice of God and wishing to constitute their own, they are not subject to the justice of God (Rom. X, 2, 3). For what else do you also wish than to constitute your own justice, when you do not say that any are justified except those who were able to be baptized by you? In this apostolic sentence, therefore, which he brought forth concerning the Jews, you differ from the Jews in this, that you have the Christian Sacraments, which they still lack. For the rest, as to this which he says: Being ignorant of the justice of God, and wishing to constitute their own, and that they have a zeal for God, but not according to knowledge, you are altogether equal, except only those, whoever are among you knowing what is true, and for the animosity of their own perversity, fighting even against the truth most known to themselves. For the impiety of these perhaps even surpasses idolatry. But because they cannot easily be convinced (for this evil lies hidden in the mind), all, as if less alienated from us, are coerced with a milder severity. And this indeed I would have said either concerning all heretics who are imbued with the Christian Sacraments and dissent from the truth or unity of Christ, or concerning all Donatists.

11. Quod autem ad vos attinet, qui non solum cum illis communiter Donatistae a Donato, verum etiam proprie Rogatistae a Rogato appellamini, mitiores quidem esse videmini, quia cum Circumcellionum immanissimis gregibus non saevitis; sed nulla bestia, si neminem vulneret, propterea mansueta dicitur, quia dentes et ungues non habet. Saevire vos nolle dicitis; ego non posse arbitror. Ita enim estis numero exigui, ut movere vos contra adversarias vobis multitudines non audeatis, etsi cupiatis. Sed ponamus vos etiam nolle quod non valetis; ponamus vos evangelicam sententiam qua scriptum est, Si quis tibi voluerit tunicam tollere et judicio tecum contendere, dimitte illi et pallium (Matth. V. 40), sic intelligere, sic tenere, ut persequentibus vos non solum nulla injuria, verum etiam nullo jure resistendum putetis; hunc certe intellectum Rogatus auctor vester, aut non habuit, aut non implevit, qui de nescio quibus rebus, ut dicitis vestris, acerrima perseverantia, etiam forensi disceptatione conflixit. Cui si diceretur, Quis unquam Apostolorum in causa fidei, res suas judicio publico defendit? sicut tu in epistola tua posuisti, Quis unquam Apostolorum in causa fidei res alienas invasit? nullum quidem in divinis Litteris hujus facti reperiret exemplum; sed tamen forte inveniret aliquam veram defensionem, si veram Ecclesiam retineret, et non sub Ecclesiae verae nomine impudenter aliquid possideret.

CAPUT IV.

12. Quod autem pertinet ad terrenarum potestatum jussa, contra schismaticos aut haereticos vel impetranda vel exserenda, illi quidem a quibus vos separastis acerrimi fuerunt, et contra vos, quantum audire potuimus; et contra Maximianistas, quod Gestorum etiam certis documentis probamus: sed tamen nondum ab eis separati eratis, quando Juliano imperatori in sua petitione dixerunt, quod apud eum sola justitia locum haberet; quem certe apostatam noverant, et idololatriis deditum sic videbant, ut aut justitiam esse idololatriam faterentur, aut se scelerate mentitos negare non possent, ut apud eum dicerent solam locum habere justitiam, apud quem magnum locum cernerent habere idololatriam. Sed fuerit error in verbo, de facto ipso quid dicis? Si nihil justum ab imperatore petendum est, cur a Juliano petitum est quod justum putatum est?

13. An hoc petendum est, ut sua quisque recuperet, non ut aliquem, quo ab imperatore coerceatur, accuset? Interim et in suarum rerum recipiendarum repetitione ab apostolicis exemplis receditur, quia hoc fecisse nemo invenitur illorum.

11. But as to what pertains to you, who are called not only commonly Donatists from Donatus, but even properly Rogatists from Rogatus, you indeed seem to be milder, because you do not rage with the most cruel herds of the Circumcellions; but no beast, if it wounds no one, is therefore called gentle, because it does not have teeth and claws. You say that you do not wish to rage; I think you are not able. For you are so few in number, that you do not dare to move yourselves against the multitudes adverse to you, even if you should desire it. But let us grant that you also do not wish what you are not able [to do]; let us grant that you so understand, so hold that evangelical sentence by which it is written, If anyone will wish to take your coat and contend with you in judgment, let him have your cloak also (Matth. V. 40), that you think that those persecuting you are to be resisted not only with no injury, but even with no right; certainly Rogatus your author either did not have this understanding, or did not fulfill it, who concerning I know not what things, as you say yours, conflicted with most sharp perseverance, even in forensic disputation. To whom if it were said, Who ever of the Apostles in a cause of faith, defended his own things by public judgment? as you have put in your epistle, Who ever of the Apostles in a cause of faith invaded the things of others? he would indeed find no example of this deed in the divine Letters; but yet perhaps he would find some true defense, if he held the true Church, and did not impudently possess anything under the name of the true Church.

CHAPTER IV.

12. But as to what pertains to the orders of the earthly powers, either to be requested or to be exercised against schismatics or heretics, those indeed from whom you separated were most sharp, both against you, as far as we have been able to hear; and against the Maximianists, which we prove also by certain documents of the Acts: but yet you had not yet separated from them, when they said in their petition to the emperor Julian, that among him alone justice had a place; whom certainly they knew as an apostate, and they so saw him given to idolatries, that they would either confess that justice was idolatry, or they could not deny that they had wickedly lied, so that they said that justice alone had a place with him, in whom they saw idolatry to have a great place. But let there have been an error in the word, what do you say about the deed itself? If nothing just is to be requested from an emperor, why was that requested from Julian which was thought just?

13. Or is this to be requested, that each one should recover his own, not that he should accuse anyone, by which he may be coerced by the emperor? Meanwhile, even in the repetition of receiving one's own things, there is a departure from apostolic examples, because no one of them is found to have done this.

Sed tamen cum majores vestri ipsum Caecilianum tunc Ecclesiae Carthaginensis episcopum, cui tanquam criminoso communicare noluerunt, apud principem Constantinum per Anulinum proconsulem accusaverunt; non res suas amissas repetiverunt, sed innocentem, sicut existimamus et sicut ipse judiciorum exitus docuit, calumniose appetiverunt: quo quid sceleratius ab eis fieri potuit? Si autem, sicut falso arbitramini, vere criminosum judicandum terrenis potestatibus tradiderunt, quid nobis objicitis quod vestrorum praesumptio primitus fecit? quod eos non argueremus quia fecerunt, si non animo invido et noxio, sed emendandi et corrigendi voluntate fecissent. Vos autem indubitanter arguimus, quibus crimen videtur de inimicis communionis nostrae christiano imperatori aliquid conqueri, cum libellus a majoribus vestris Anulino proconsuli datus, et Constantino imperatori mittendus, ita suprascriptus sit: Libellus Ecclesiae catholicae, criminum Caeciliani, traditus a parte Majorini. Illos autem magis hinc arguimus, quia cum apud Imperatorem ultro Caecilianum accusassent, quem primo utique apud collegas transmarinos convincere debuerunt, ipso Imperatore longe ordinatius agente, ut episcoporum causam ad se delatam, ad episcopos mitteret, nec victi pacem cum fratribus habere voluerunt: sed rursus ad eumdem imperatorem venerunt; rursus non Caecilianum tantum, verum etiam datos sibi episcopos judices, apud terrenum regem accusaverunt; rursus ab alio episcopali judicio ad eumdem imperatorem appellaverunt. Nec eo ipso inter partes cognoscente atque judicante, vel veritati vel paci cedendum esse duxerunt.

14. Quid autem aliud statueret Constantinus adversus Caecilianum et socios ejus, si essent vestris majoribus accusantibus victi, quam quod statuit in eos ipsos, qui cum ultro accusassent, nec ea quae intendebant potuissent, noluerunt veritati consentire, nec victi? Ille quippe imperator primus constituit in hac causa, ut res convictorum, et unitati pervicaciter resistentium, fisco vindicarentur. Sed videlicet si vestris majoribus accusantibus atque superantibus, contra communionem Caeciliani imperator tale aliquid decrevisset, provisores Ecclesiae, defensores pacis et unitatis nominari velletis. Cum vero in eos qui ultro accusantes nihil probare potuerunt, nec oblato sibi gremio pacis quo correcti exciperentur, consentire voluerunt, ab imperatoribus talia decernuntur, indignum facinus clamitatur; neminem ad unitatem esse cogendum, malum pro malo reddendum nemini esse contenditur. Quid est aliud quam id quod de vobis quidam scripsit: Quod volumus sanctum est.

But yet when your elders accused that same Caecilian, then bishop of the Church of Carthage, with whom they did not wish to communicate as if with a criminal, before the prince Constantine through the proconsul Anulinus; they did not repeat their own lost things, but they calumniously sought an innocent man, as we think and as the very outcome of the judgments taught: than which what more wicked could have been done by them? But if, as you falsely think, they delivered one truly criminal to be judged by earthly powers, why do you object to us what the presumption of your own people did first? whom we would not rebuke because they did it, if they had done it not with an envious and harmful mind, but with a will for amending and correcting. But we rebuke you without doubt, to whom it seems a crime to complain anything to a Christian emperor concerning the enemies of our communion, when the petition given by your elders to the proconsul Anulinus, and to be sent to the emperor Constantine, was so superscribed: The petition of the Catholic Church, of the crimes of Caecilian, delivered by the party of Majorinus. We rebuke those, however, more for this reason, because when they had voluntarily accused Caecilian before the Emperor, whom first they certainly ought to have convinced before their transmarine colleagues, the Emperor himself acting far more orderly, that he might send the cause of the bishops reported to him to the bishops, nor being defeated did they wish to have peace with the brothers: but again they came to the same emperor; again they accused not only Caecilian, but even the bishops given to them as judges, before an earthly king; again they appealed from another episcopal judgment to the same emperor. Nor, with him himself taking cognizance and judging between the parties, did they think that they ought to yield either to truth or to peace.

14. But what else would Constantine decree against Caecilian and his companions, if they had been defeated by your elders accusing [them], than what he decreed against those very ones who, when they had voluntarily accused and had not been able to prove those things which they intended, did not wish to consent to the truth, not even when defeated? For that emperor first constituted in this cause that the things of those convicted, and of those stubbornly resisting unity, should be vindicated to the treasury. But evidently if, with your elders accusing and overcoming, the emperor had decreed some such thing against the communion of Caecilian, you would wish to be named providers of the Church, defenders of peace and unity. When, however, against those who voluntarily accusing were able to prove nothing, nor wished to consent with the bosom of peace offered to them in which being corrected they might be received, such things are decreed by the emperors, an unworthy deed is cried out; it is contended that no one is to be compelled to unity, that evil is to be rendered for evil to no one. What is it other than that which a certain one wrote concerning you: What we want is holy.

Et nunc non erat magnum neque difficile considerare atque cogitare Constantini judicium atque sententiam contra vos vigere, quae vestris majoribus Caecilianum apud Imperatorem toties accusantibus, et non convincentibus, adversus vos promulgata est; eamque necessario sequi caeteros imperatores, maxime catholicos christianos, quoties de vobis aliquid agere vestrae obstinationis necessitas cogit.

15. Facile erat ista cogitare, ut vobis ipsis aliquando diceretis: Si Caecilianum vel innocens fuit, vel nocens convinci non potuit, quid in hoc negotio tam longe lateque diffusa societas christiana peccavit? cur orbi christiano non licuit ignorare quod non potuerunt, qui accusaverant, demonstrare? cur illi quos Christus in agro suo, id est in hoc mundo, seminavit, et inter zizania crescere usque ad messem praecepit (Matth. XIII, 24-30.); cur tot millia fidelium in omnibus gentibus, quorum multitudinem stellis coeli et arenae maris Dominus comparavit, quos in semine Abrahae benedicendos promisit (Gen. XXII, 17, 18) et reddidit, propterea negantur esse christiani, quia in hac causa in qua discutienda non interfuerunt, judicibus potius suo periculo judicantibus, quam victis litigatoribus credere maluerunt? Certe nullius crimen maculat nescientem. Quomodo fideles toto orbe diffusi, crimen traditorum cognoscere poterant, quod accusatores etiamsi noverant, tamen eis ostendere non valebant? Hos ergo ab hoc crimine innocentes esse, nempe ipsa ignorantia facillime ostendit. Cur ergo innocentes falsis criminibus accusantur, quia crimina aliena seu falsa seu vera nescierunt? Quis locus innocentiae reservatur, si crimen est proprium, nescire crimen alienum? Porro si tot gentium populos ipsa ignorantia, sicut dictum est, innocentes ostendit, quam magnum crimen est ab istorum innocentium communione separari? Nam et facta nocentium quae innocentibus demonstrari, vel ab innocentibus credi non possunt, non inquinant quemquam, si propter innocentium consortium etiam cognita sustinentur. Non enim propter malos boni deserendi, sed propter bonos mali tolerandi sunt: sicut toleraverunt Prophetae, contra quos tanta dicebant, nec communionem sacramentorum illius populi relinquebant; sicut ipse Dominus nocentem Judam usque ad condignum ejus exitum toleravit, et eum sacram coenam cum innocentibus communicare permisit; sicut tolerarunt Apostoli eos qui per invidiam, quod ipsius diaboli vitium est, Christum annuntiabant (Philipp. I, 15-18); sicut toleravit Cyprianus collegarum avaritiam, quam secundum Apostolum appellat idololatriam (Coloss. III, 5.)

And now it was not a great nor difficult thing to consider and to think that the judgment and sentence of Constantine should be in force against you, which was promulgated against you when your elders were so many times accusing Caecilian before the Emperor, and not convicting [him]; and that the other emperors necessarily follow it, especially the Catholic Christians, as often as the necessity of your obstination compels [them] to do anything concerning you.

15. It was easy to think those things, so that you might at some time say to yourselves: If Caecilian was either innocent, or if being guilty he could not be convicted, what did the Christian society so far and wide diffused sin in this business? why was it not permitted to the Christian world to be ignorant of that which they who had accused were not able to demonstrate? why are those whom Christ sowed in his field, that is in this world, and commanded to grow among the cockle until the harvest (Matth. XIII, 24-30.); why are so many thousands of the faithful in all nations, whose multitude the Lord compared to the stars of heaven and the sand of the sea, whom he promised and rendered to be blessed in the seed of Abraham (Gen. XXII, 17, 18), denied on that account to be Christians, because in this cause in the discussing of which they were not present, they preferred to believe the judges judging at their own peril, rather than the defeated litigants? Certainly the crime of no one stains one who is ignorant. How could the faithful diffused through the whole world know the crime of the traditors, which the accusers, even if they knew [it], yet were not able to show to them? Therefore, that these are innocent of this crime, ignorance itself indeed most easily shows. Why therefore are the innocent accused with false crimes, because they did not know the crimes of others, whether false or true? What place is reserved for innocence, if it is a crime of one's own to be ignorant of the crime of another? Furthermore, if the ignorance itself of so many nations shows [them] innocent, as was said, how great a crime is it to be separated from the communion of these innocent [people]? For even the deeds of the harmful which cannot be demonstrated to the innocent, or be believed by the innocent, do not stain anyone, if on account of the fellowship of the innocent they are sustained even when known. For the good are not to be deserted on account of the evil, but the evil are to be tolerated on account of the good: just as the Prophets tolerated [those] against whom they said such great things, nor did they relinquish the communion of the sacraments of that people; just as the Lord himself tolerated the harmful Judas even until his condign end, and permitted him to communicate in the sacred supper with the innocent; just as the Apostles tolerated those who through envy, which is the vice of the devil himself, were announcing Christ (Philipp. I, 15-18); just as Cyprian tolerated the avarice of colleagues, which according to the Apostle he calls idolatry (Coloss. III, 5.)

Postremo quidquid tunc inter illos episcopos gestum est, etiamsi forte ab aliquibus eorum sciebatur, si non sit acceptio personarum nunc ab omnibus ignoratur. Cur ergo non ab omnibus pax amatur? Haec facillime cogitare possetis, aut fortasse etiam cogitatis. Sed melius erat ut amaretis possessiones terrenas, quas timendo perdere cognitae veritati consentiretis, quam ut amaretis vanissimam hominum gloriam, quam vos putatis perdere, si cognitae veritati consenseritis.

CAPUT V.

16. Vides itaque jam, ut opinor, non esse considerandum quod quisque cogitur, sed quale sit illud quo cogitur, utrum bonum an malum: non quo quisque bonus possit esse invitus; sed timendo quod non vult pati, vel relinquit impedientem animositatem, vel ignoratam compellitur cognoscere veritatem, ut timens vel respuat falsum de quo contendebat, vel quaerat verum quod nesciebat, et volens teneat jam quod nolebat. Superfluo hoc fortasse diceretur quibuslibet verbis, si non tam multis ostenderetur exemplis. Non illos aut illos homines, sed multas civitates videmus fuisse donatistas, nunc esse catholicas, detestari vehementer diabolicam separationem, diligere ardenter unitatem: quae tamen timoris hujus qui tibi displicet occasionibus, catholicae factae sunt per leges imperatorum, a Constantino apud quem primum vestri ultro Caecilianum accusaverunt, usque ad praesentes imperatores, qui judicium illius quem vestri elegerunt, quem judicibus episcopis praetulerunt, justissime contra vos custodiendum esse decernunt.

17. His ergo exemplis a collegis meis mihi propositis cessi. Nam mea primitus sententia non erat, nisi neminem ad unitatem Christi esse cogendum; verbo esse agendum, disputatione pugnandum, ratione vincendum, ne fictos catholicos haberemus, quos apertos haereticos noveramus. Sed haec opinio mea, non contradicentium verbis, sed demonstrantium superabatur exemplis. Nam primo mihi opponebatur civitas mea, quae cum tota esset in parte Donati, ad unitatem catholicam timore legum imperialium conversa est; quam nunc videmus ita hujus vestrae animositatis perniciem detestari, ut in ea nunquam fuisse credatur. Ita aliae multae, quae mihi nominatim commemorabantur, ut ipsis rebus agnoscerem etiam in hac causa recte intelligi posse quod scriptum est: Da sapienti occasionem, et sapientior erit (Prov. IX, 9). Quam multi enim, quod certo scimus, jam volebant esse catholici, manifestissima veritate commoti, et offensionem suorum reverendo, quotidie differebant!

Finally, whatever was then done among those bishops, even if perhaps it was known by some of them, if there be not an acceptance of persons, it is now ignored by all. Why therefore is peace not loved by all? These things you could most easily think, or perhaps you even do think. But it was better that you should love earthly possessions, which fearing to lose you would consent to the known truth, than that you should love the most vain glory of men, which you think you lose if you should consent to the known truth.

CHAPTER V.

16. You see therefore now, as I think, that it is not to be considered that anyone is compelled, but what kind of thing that is to which he is compelled, whether good or evil: not that anyone can be good against his will; but by fearing that which he does not wish to suffer, he either relinquishes the hindering animosity, or he is compelled to know the ignored truth, so that fearing he may either reject the false concerning which he was contending, or seek the true which he did not know, and willing he may already hold what he was unwilling to hold. This would perhaps be said superfluously with any words, if it were not shown by so many examples. We see not those or those men, but many cities to have been Donatist, now to be Catholic, to detest vehemently the diabolical separation, to love ardently the unity: which however by the occasions of this fear which displeases you, were made Catholic through the laws of the emperors, from Constantine before whom your elders first voluntarily accused Caecilian, even to the present emperors, who most justly decree that the judgment of him whom your elders chose, whom they preferred to the judges bishops, is to be guarded against you.

17. To these examples therefore proposed to me by my colleagues, I yielded. For my opinion was originally nothing [else] but that no one was to be compelled to the unity of Christ; that one was to act with the word, to fight with disputation, to overcome with reason, lest we should have feigned Catholics, whom we had known as open heretics. But this opinion of mine was overcome not by the words of those contradicting, but by the examples of those demonstrating. For first my own city was opposed to me, which when it was entirely in the party of Donatus, was converted to the Catholic unity by the fear of imperial laws; which now we see so to detest the destruction of this your animosity, that it is believed never to have been in it. So many others, which were commemorated to me by name, so that I might acknowledge by the things themselves that even in this cause that which is written can be rightly understood: Give an occasion to a wise man, and he will be wiser (Prov. IX, 9). For how many, which we know for certain, already wished to be Catholics, moved by the most manifest truth, and by revering the offense of their own people, were daily deferring!

Quam multos non veritas, in qua nunquam praesumpsistis, sed obduratae consuetudinis grave vinculum colligabat, ut in eis compleretur divina illa sententia: Verbis non emendabitur servus durus; si enim et intellexerit, non obediet (Id. XXIX, 19)! Quam multi propterea putabant veram Ecclesiam esse partem Donati, quia eos ad cognoscendam catholicam veritatem securitas torpidos, fastidiosos, pigrosque faciebat! Quam multis aditum intrandi obserabant rumores maledicorum, qui nescio quid aliud nos in altare Dei ponere jactitabant! Quam multi nihil interesse credentes in qua quisque parte christianus sit, ideo permanebant in parte Donati, quia ibi nati erant, et eos inde discedere atque ad Catholicam nemo transire cogebat!

18. His omnibus harum legum terror, quibus promulgandis reges serviunt Domino in timore, ita profuit, ut nunc alii dicant: Jam hoc volebamus; sed Deo gratias, qui nobis occasionem praebuit jamjamque faciendi, et dilationum morulas amputavit. Alii dicant: Hoc esse verum jam sciebamus; sed nescio qua consuetudine tenebamur: gratias Domino, qui vincula nostra disrupit, et nos ad pacis vinculum transtulit. Alii dicant: Nesciebamus hic esse veritatem, nec eam discere volebamus; sed nos ad eam cognoscendam metus fecit intents, quo timuimus ne forte sine ullis rerum aeternarum lucris damno rerum temporalium feriremur: gratias Domino, qui negligentiam nostram stimulo terroris excussit, ut saltem solliciti quaereremus quod securi nunquam nosse curavimus. Alii dicant: Nos falsis rumoribus terrebamur intrare, quos falsos esse nesciremus, si non intraremus; nec intraremus, nisi cogeremur: gratias Domino, qui trepidationem nostram flagello abstulit, expertos docuit quam vana et inania de Ecclesia sua mendax fama jactaverit; hinc jam credimus et illa falsa esse, quae auctores hujus haeresis criminati sunt, quando posteri eorum tam falsa et pejora finxerunt. Alii dicant: Putabamus quidem nihil interesse ubi fidem Christi teneremus; sed gratias Domino, qui nos a divisione collegit, et hoc uni Deo congruere, ut in unitate colatur, ostendit.

19. His ergo dominicis lucris impediendis, ad contradicendum me opponerem collegis meis, ne in montibus et collibus vestris, id est in tumoribus superbiae vestrae, Christi oves errantes in pacis ovile colligerentur, ubi est unus grex et unus pastor (Joan. X, 16)?

How many not the truth, in which you never presumed, but the grave bond of hardened custom was binding, so that in them that divine sentence might be fulfilled: A hard servant will not be amended by words; for even if he shall understand, he will not obey (Id. XXIX, 19)! How many on that account were thinking that the true Church was the party of Donatus, because security was making them torpid, fastidious, and lazy for knowing the Catholic truth! For how many the rumors of the evil-speakers were barring the entrance, who were boasting that we place I know not what other thing upon the altar of God! How many believing that it makes no difference in what party anyone is a Christian, therefore were remaining in the party of Donatus, because they had been born there, and no one was compelling them to depart thence and to cross over to the Catholic!

18. To all these, the terror of these laws, by the promulgating of which kings serve the Lord in fear, was so profitable, that now some say: We already were wishing this; but thanks to God, who provided us the occasion of doing it even now, and cut off the little delays of deferrings. Others say: We already knew this to be true; but we were held by I know not what custom: thanks to the Lord, who burst our bonds, and transferred us to the bond of peace. Others say: We did not know that the truth was here, nor did we wish to learn it; but fear made us intent for knowing it, by which we feared lest perhaps without any gains of eternal things we should be struck by the loss of temporal things: thanks to the Lord, who shook out our negligence with the sting of terror, so that at least being solicitous we might seek what being secure we never cared to know. Others say: We were terrified to enter by false rumors, which we would not know to be false, if we did not enter; nor would we enter, unless we were compelled: thanks to the Lord, who took away our trepidation with a scourge, taught by experience how vain and empty lying fame boasted concerning his Church; from this we already believe that those things are also false, which the authors of this heresy charged, when their posterity feigned such false and worse things. Others say: We were thinking indeed that it made no difference where we held the faith of Christ; but thanks to the Lord, who gathered us from division, and showed that this is congruent to the one God, that he be worshipped in unity.

For the hindering of these Lordly gains, should I oppose myself to my colleagues, lest in your mountains and hills, that is in the swellings of your pride, the erring sheep of Christ should be gathered into the fold of peace, where there is one flock and one shepherd (John X, 16)?

Ita sane huic provisioni contradicere debui, ne res quas dicitis vestras perderetis, et securi Christum proscriberetis: ut jure Romano testamenta conderetis, et jure divino patribus conditum Testamentum, ubi scriptum est, In semine tuo benedicentur omnes gentes (Gen. XXVI, 4), calumniosis criminationibus rumperetis: ut in emptionibus et venditionibus liberos contractus haberetis, et vobis dividere quod Christus emit venditus auderetis: ut quod quisque vestrum cuiquam donasset, valeret, et quod donavit Deus deorum, a solis ortu usque ad occasum vocatis (Psal. LXIX, 1) filiis non valeret: ut de terra corporis vestri in exsilium non mitteremini, et de regno sanguinis sui, a mari usque ad mare, et a flumine usque ad terminos orbis terrae (Psal. LXXI, 8) Christum exsulem facere conaremini? imo vero serviant reges terrae Christo, etiam leges ferendo pro Christo. Majores vestri Caecilianum et socios ejus regibus terrae puniendos falsis criminibus objecerunt; convertantur leones ad comminuenda ossa calumniantium, nec Daniel ipse intercedat, innocens comprobatus, et de lacu quo illi pereunt liberatus (Dan. XIV, 39-42): qui enim parat proximo suo foveam, ipse justius cadet in eam (Prov. XXVI, 27).

CAPUT VI.

20. Eripe te, frater, dum in hac carne vivis, ab ira quae ventura est pertinacibus et superbis. Terror temporalium potestatum, quando veritatem oppugnat, justis fortibus gloriosa probatio est, infirmis periculosa tentatio: quando autem veritatem praedicat, errantibus cordatis utilis admonitio est, et insensatis inutilis afflictio. Non est tamen potestas nisi a Deo; qui autem resistit potestati, Dei ordinationi resistit: principes enim non sunt timori bono operi, sed malo. Vis autem non timere potestatem? Bonum fac, et habebis laudem ex illa (Rom. XIII, 1-3). Sive enim potestas veritatem favens aliquem corrigat, laudem habet ex illa qui fuerit emendatus; sive inimica veritati in aliquem saeviat, laudem habet ex illa qui victor fuerit coronatus. Tu autem non bonum facis, ut timere non debeas potestatem: nisi forte bonum est sedere, et non adversus fratrem detrahere (Psal. XLIX, 20), sed adversus fratres omnes in omnibus gentibus constitutos, quibus testimonium perhibent Prophetae, Christus, Apostoli, cum legitur, In semine tuo benedicentur omnes gentes (Gen.

So indeed I ought to have contradicted this provision, lest you should lose the things which you call yours, and being secure you should proscribe Christ: so that by Roman law you might establish testaments, and by divine law you might break the Testament established for the fathers, where it is written, In thy seed shall all nations be blessed (Gen. XXVI, 4), with calumnious charges: so that in buyings and sellings you might have free contracts, and you might dare to divide for yourselves what Christ bought [after being] sold: so that what each of you had given to anyone might be valid, and what the God of gods gave, from the rising of the sun even to the setting, to the called sons, might not be valid: so that you might not be sent into exile from the earth of your body, and you might try to make Christ an exile from the kingdom of his blood, from sea even to sea, and from the river even to the ends of the orb of the earth (Psal. LXXI, 8)? Nay indeed, let the kings of the earth serve Christ, even by carrying laws for Christ. Your elders objected Caecilian and his companions to the kings of the earth to be punished with false crimes; let the lions be converted to crushing the bones of the calumniators, nor let Daniel himself intercede, being proved innocent, and liberated from the lake in which those perish (Dan. XIV, 39-42): for he who prepares a pit for his neighbor, will himself more justly fall into it (Prov. XXVI, 27).

CHAPTER VI.

20. Rescue yourself, brother, while you live in this flesh, from the wrath which is about to come upon the stubborn and the proud. The terror of temporal powers, when it fights against the truth, is a glorious probation for the just and strong, a dangerous temptation for the weak: when, however, it preaches the truth, it is a useful admonition for the erring who are sensible, and for the senseless a useless affliction. For there is no power except from God; but he who resists the power, resists the ordination of God: for princes are not for a fear to a good work, but to an evil. Do you wish, however, not to fear the power? Do good, and you shall have praise from it (Rom. XIII, 1-3). For whether the power favoring the truth corrects anyone, he has praise from it who shall have been amended; or whether [the power] being an enemy to the truth rages against anyone, he has praise from it who shall have been crowned victor. You, however, do not do good, so that you ought not to fear the power: unless perhaps it is good to sit, and not to speak against a brother (Psal. XLIX, 20), but against all brothers constituted in all nations, to whom the Prophets, Christ, the Apostles bear witness, when it is read, In thy seed shall all nations be blessed (Gen.

XXVI, 4); cum legitur, Ab ortu solis usque ad occasum sacrificium mundum offertur nomini meo; quoniam glorificatum est nomen meum in gentibus, dicit Dominus (Malach. I, 11); audi, dicit Dominus; non, dicit Donatus, aut Rogatus, aut Vincentius, aut Hilarius, aut Ambrosius, aut Augustinus; sed, dicit Dominus: cum legitur, Et benedicentur in eo omnes tribus terrae, omnes gentes magnificabunt eum. Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel, qui facit mirabilia solus; et benedictum nomen gloriae ejus in aeternum, et in saeculum saeculi: et replebitur gloria ejus omnis terra; fiat, fiat (Psal. LXXI, 17-19). Et tu sedes Cartennis, et cum decem Rogatistis, qui remansistis, dicis: Non fiat, non fiat.

21. Audis loqui Evangelium: Oportebat impleri omnia quae scripta sunt in Lege, et Prophetis, et Psalmis de me. Tunc aperuit illis sensum, ut intelligerent Scripturas, et dixit eis: Quoniam sic scriptum est, et sic oportebat pati Christum, et resurgere a mortuis tertia die, et praedicari in nomine ejus poenitentiam et remissionem peccatorum per omnes gentes, incipientibus ab Jerusalem (Luc. XXIV, 44, 47). Legis etiam Actus Apostolorum, quemadmodum hoc Evangelium coeperit ab Jerusalem, ubi primo illos centum viginti Spiritus sanctus implevit, atque inde in Judaeam atque Samariam, et in omnes gentes exierit, sicut eis dixerat ascensurus in coelum, Eritis mihi testes in Jerusalem, et in tota Judaea et Samaria, et usque in fines terrae (Act. I, 15, 8, et II): quia in omnem terram exivit sonus eorum, et in fines orbis terrae verba eorum (Psal. XVIII, 5). Et tu contradicis divinis testimoniis tanta firmitate roboratis, tanta luce manifestatis, et ad istam proscriptionem Christi haereditatem perducere conaris, ut cum in ejus nomine, sicut dixit, praedicetur poenitentia in omnibus gentibus, quisquis hac fuerit praedicatione commotus, in qualibet parte orbis terrarum, nisi quaesierit et invenerit latentem in Mauritania Caesariensi Cartennensem Vincentium, aut aliquem ex ejus novem aut decem consortibus, dimitti ei peccata non possint. Quid non audeat typhus morticinae pelliculae? quo non se praecipitet praesumptio carnis et sanguinis? Hoccine est bonum opus tuum, propter quod non timeas potestatem? Tantum scandalum ponis adversus filium matris tuae (Psal. XLIX, 20), parvulum scilicet et infirmum, propter quem Christus est mortuus (I Cor. VIII, 11), nondum cibo paterno idoneum, sed adhuc materno lacte nutriendum (Id. III, 2): et Hilarii libros mihi opponis, uti neges Ecclesiam crescentem in omnibus gentibus usque in finem saeculi, quam Deus contra incredulitatem vestram cum juratione promisit! Et cum essetis infelicissimi, si tunc quando promittebatur resisteretis, nunc etiam cum redditur contradicitis.

CAPUT VII.

XXVI, 4); when it is read, From the rising of the sun even to the setting a clean sacrifice is offered to my name; because my name is glorified among the nations, says the Lord (Malach. I, 11); hear, says the Lord; not, says Donatus, or Rogatus, or Vincentius, or Hilary, or Ambrose, or Augustine; but, says the Lord: when it is read, And in him shall all the tribes of the earth be blessed, all nations shall magnify him. Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, who alone does wonderful things; and blessed be the name of his glory for ever, and for ever and ever: and all the earth shall be filled with his glory; let it be, let it be (Psal. LXXI, 17-19). And you sit at Cartenna, and with ten Rogatists, who have remained, you say: Let it not be, let it not be.

21. You hear the Gospel speak: It behoved that all things should be fulfilled which were written in the Law, and the Prophets, and the Psalms concerning me. Then he opened to them the sense, that they might understand the Scriptures, and said to them: Because so it is written, and so it behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead on the third day, and that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name through all nations, beginning from Jerusalem (Luke XXIV, 44, 47). You read also the Acts of the Apostles, how this Gospel began from Jerusalem, where first the Holy Spirit filled those hundred and twenty, and thence went out into Judea and Samaria, and into all nations, as he had said to them about to ascend into heaven, You shall be witnesses to me in Jerusalem, and in all Judea and Samaria, and even to the ends of the earth (Acts I, 15, 8, and II): because their sound went out into all the earth, and their words into the ends of the orb of the earth (Psal. XVIII, 5). And you contradict the divine testimonies strengthened with such great firmness, manifested with such great light, and you try to lead the inheritance of Christ to that proscription, so that when repentance is preached in his name, as he said, in all nations, whoever shall have been moved by this preaching, in whatever part of the orb of the earths, unless he shall have sought and found Vincentius of Cartenna lurking in Caesarean Mauritania, or someone from his nine or ten companions, his sins cannot be forgiven him. What may the typhoon of a dead skin-membrane not dare? whither may the presumption of flesh and blood not cast itself headlong? Is this your good work, on account of which you should not fear the power? You place such a scandal against the son of your mother (Psal. XLIX, 20), a little one indeed and weak, for whom Christ died (I Cor. VIII, 11), not yet fit for the paternal food, but still to be nourished by maternal milk (Id. III, 2): and you oppose the books of Hilary to me, so that you may deny the Church growing in all nations even until the end of the age, which God promised with an oath against your incredulity! And when you would be most unhappy, if you were resisting then when it was being promised, now even when it is rendered you contradict.

CHAPTER VII.

22. Sed historicus doctus magnum aliquid invenisti, quod contra Dei testimonia proferendum putares. Dicis enim, Quantum ad totius mundi pertinet partes, modica pars est in compensatione totius mundi, in qua fides christiana nominatur: nec vis attendere, aut te nosse dissimulas, in quam multas jam barbaras nationes tam parvo tempore venerit Evangelium, ut nec inimici Christi dubitare jam possint brevi tempore futurum, quod Discipulis respondit de saeculi fine quaerentibus, Et praedicabitur hoc Evangelium in universo orbe, in testimonium omnibus gentibus; et tunc veniet finis (Matth. XXIV, 14). In hoc et clama et contende, quantum potes, etiamsi apud Persas et Indos Evangelium praedicetur, ubi quidem jam diu praedicatur, nisi quisquis hoc audierit, Cartennas venerit, vel in viciniam Cartennensium, mundari omnino a delictis suis non poterit. Itane si carueris ista voce, rideri te metuis; et cum ea non careas, fleri te non vis?

23. Acutum autem aliquid tibi videris dicere, cum Catholicae nomen non ex totius orbis communione interpretaris, sed ex observatione praeceptorum omnium divinorum, atque omnium Sacramentorum: quasi nos, etiamsi forte hinc sit appellata Catholica, quod totum veraciter teneat, cujus veritatis nonnullae particulae etiam in diversis inveniuntur haeresibus, hujus nominis testimonio nitamur ad demonstrandum Ecclesiam in omnibus gentibus, et non promissis Dei et tam multis tamque manifestis oraculis ipsius veritatis. Sed nempe hoc est totum quod nobis persuadere conaris, solos remansisse Rogatistas, qui catholici recte appellandi sint, ex observatione praeceptorum omnium divinorum atque omnium Sacramentorum; et vos esse solos, in quibus inveniat fidem cum venerit Filius hominis (Luc. XVIII, 8). Da veniam, non credimus. Licet enim et hoc audeas forsitan dicere, ut in vobis possit inveniri fides, quam se in terra non inventurum Dominus dixit, non vos in terra, sed in coelo esse deputandos: nos tamen Apostolus ita cautos reddidit, ut etiam Angelum de coelo nobis aliud evangelizantem, praeterquam quod accepimus, anathema debere esse praeceperit (Gal. I, 8). Quomodo autem confidimus ex divinis Litteris accepisse nos Christum manifestum, si non inde accepimus et Ecclesiam manifestam? Quaslibet quisque ansas et uncos adversus simplicitatem veritatis intexat, quaslibet nebulas callidae falsitatis offundat, sicut anathema erit, qui annuntiaverit Christum neque passum esse, neque tertia die resurrexisse;

22. But as a learned historian you have found something great, which you would think to be brought forth against the testimonies of God. For you say, As much as pertains to the parts of the whole world, a small part is in comparison of the whole world, in which the Christian faith is named: nor do you wish to attend, or you feign that you do not know, into how many barbarian nations already in so small a time the Gospel has come, so that not even the enemies of Christ can now doubt that in a short time it will be, what he responded to the Disciples asking concerning the end of the age, And this Gospel shall be preached in the universal orb, for a testimony to all nations; and then shall the end come (Matth. XXIV, 14). In this both cry out and contend, as much as you can, even if among the Persians and Indians the Gospel is preached, where indeed it has already been preached for a long time, unless whoever shall have heard this, shall have come to Cartenna, or into the vicinity of the Cartennensians, he will not be able to be cleansed entirely from his delicts. Thus if you should lack that voice, do you fear that you are laughed at; and when you do not lack it, do you wish that you are not wept for?

You seem, however, to yourself to say something acute, when you interpret the name of Catholic not from the communion of the whole orb, but from the observation of all divine precepts, and of all Sacraments: as if we, even if perhaps from this it may be called Catholic, because it truly holds the whole, of which truth some small particles are found even in various heresies, should lean upon the testimony of this name for demonstrating the Church in all nations, and not upon the promises of God and so many and so manifest oracles of the truth itself. But indeed this is the whole which you try to persuade us, that the Rogatists alone have remained, who are rightly to be called Catholic, from the observation of all divine precepts and of all Sacraments; and that you are the only ones, in whom the Son of man may find faith when he comes (Luke XVIII, 8). Give pardon, we do not believe. For although you also dare to say this perhaps, so that in you faith can be found, which the Lord said he would not find on the earth, that you are not to be deputed on the earth, but in heaven: yet the Apostle rendered us so cautious, that he commanded that even an Angel from heaven evangelizing to us anything else, besides that which we have received, ought to be anathema (Gal. I, 8). How, however, do we trust that we have received from the divine Letters Christ manifest, if we have not received from there also the Church manifest? Whatever handles and hooks anyone may weave against the simplicity of the truth, whatever clouds of crafty falsity he may pour over [it], just as he will be anathema who shall have announced that Christ neither suffered, nor rose again on the third day;

quoniam in veritate evangelica accepimus, Oportebat Christum pati, et resurgere a mortuis tertia die (Luc. XXIV, 46): sic erit anathema quisquis annuntiaverit Ecclesiam praeter communionem omnium gentium; quia eadem veritate consequenter accepimus, et praedicari in nomine ejus poenitentiam et remissionem peccatorum per omnes gentes, incipientibus ab Jerusalem, et inconcusse tenere debemus quisquis vobis annuntiaverit praeterquam quod accepistis, anathema sit (Ibid., 47).

CAPUT VIII.

24. Si autem universos Donatistas non audimus se pro Ecclesia Christi supponentes, quia nullum pro se testimonium de divinis Libris proferunt quo id doceant, quanto minus, rogo te, Rogatistas audire debemus, qui nec illud pro se interpretari conabuntur quod scriptum est: Ubi pascis, ubi cubas in meridie (Cant. I, 6)? Si enim hoc loco Scripturarum meridies Africa intelligenda est in parte Donati, quod sub coeli ferventiori plaga est, omnes vos Maximianistae superabunt, quorum schisma in Byzantio et in Tripolio exarsit. Sed confligant cum eis Arzuges, et hoc magis ad se pertinere contendant: Mauritania tamen Caesariensis, occidentali quam meridianae parti vicinior, quando nec Africam se vult dici, quomodo de meridie gloriabitur, non dico adversus orbem terrarum, sed adversus ipsam partem Donati, unde pars Rogati, brevissimum frustum de frusto majore praecisum est? Quis autem non impudentissime nitatur aliquid in allegoria positum pro se interpretari, nisi habeat et manifesta testimonia, quorum lumine illustrentur obscura?

25. Quod autem omnibus Donatistis dicere solemus, quanto vobis fortius dicimus: Si possunt, quod fieri non potest, aliqui habere causam justam, qua communionem suam separent a communione orbis terrarum, eamque appellent Ecclesiam Christi, quod se juste ab omnium gentium communione separaverint; unde scitis in christiana societate, tam longe lateque diffusa, ne forte antequam vos separaretis, jam se aliqui justa causa separaverant in longinquissimis terris, unde ad vos eorum justitiae fama non potuerit pervenire?

since in the evangelical truth we have received, It behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead on the third day (Luke XXIV, 46): so he will be anathema whoever shall have announced the Church besides the communion of all nations; because by the same truth consequently we have received, and that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name through all nations, beginning from Jerusalem, and we ought to hold unshakenly whoever shall have announced to you besides that which you have received, let him be anathema (Ibid., 47).

CHAPTER VIII.

24. If, however, we do not listen to all the Donatists substituting themselves for the Church of Christ, because they bring forth no testimony for themselves from the divine Books by which they may teach that, how much less, I ask you, ought we to listen to the Rogatists, who will not even try to interpret for themselves that which is written: Where do you feed, where do you lie down at noon (Cant. I, 6)? For if in this place of the Scriptures the noon is to be understood as Africa in the part of Donatus, because it is under a more fervent region of the sky, all the Maximianists will surpass you, whose schism blazed up in Byzantium and in Tripoli. But let the Arzuges conflict with them, and let them contend that this pertains more to themselves: yet Caesarian Mauritania, closer to the western than to the southern part, when it does not even wish to be called Africa, how will it glory concerning the south, I do not say against the orb of the lands, but against that very part of Donatus, from where the part of Rogatus, a very small fragment cut off from a larger fragment, has been excised? But who would not most impudently strive to interpret something placed in allegory for himself, unless he also has manifest testimonies, by whose light the obscure things may be illustrated?

25. But what we are accustomed to say to all the Donatists, how much more strongly do we say to you: If it were possible, which cannot be, that some could have a just cause, by which they might separate their communion from the communion of the orb of the lands, and call it the Church of Christ, because they have justly separated themselves from the communion of all nations; from where do you know in the Christian society, so far and widely diffused, lest perhaps before you separated yourselves, already some by a just cause had separated themselves in the most distant lands, from where the fame of their justice could not reach to you?

Quomodo in vobis potest esse Ecclesia, potius quam in illis qui se priores forte separaverunt? Ita fit ut cum hoc nescitis, incerti vobismetipsis sitis: quod necesse est contingat omnibus qui pro sua societate utuntur testimonio non divino, sed suo. Neque enim potestis dicere, Si hoc contigisset, nos latere non posset, cum in Africa ipsa, quot jam partes factae sint ex parte Donati, si interrogemini, non dicatis: praesertim quia tanto sibi videntur qui hoc faciunt justiores, quanto fuerint pauciores; et utique tanto sunt latentiores. Ac per hoc incerti estis, ne forte aliqui pauci justi, et ideo minime noti, alicubi longe contra Africae meridiem, antequam pars Donati justitiam suam a caeterorum hominum iniquitate secerneret, se primitus causa aequissima separaverint in latere aquilonis, et ipsa sit potius Ecclesia Dei tanquam Sion spiritualis, quae vos omnes justa separatione praevenit, multoque praesumptius pro se interpretetur, quod scriptum est, Mons Sion, latera aquilonis, civitas regis magni (Psal. XLVII, 3), quam pro se interpretatur pars Donati, Ubi pascis, ubi cubas in meridie (Cant. I, 6).

26. Et tamen vereris ne, cum imperialibus legibus ad unitatem cogimini, nomen Dei a Judaeis et Paganis diutius blasphemetur: quasi nesciant Judaei quemadmodum primus populus Israel etiam bello delere voluerit duas illas tribus et dimidiam, quae ultra Jordanem terras acceperant, quando eas putaverunt se ab unitate sui populi separasse (Josue XXII, 9 12). Pagani vero magis nos blasphemare possunt de legibus quas contra idolorum cultores christiani imperatores tulerunt; et tamen ex eis multi correcti, et ad Deum vivum verumque conversi sunt, et quotidie convertuntur. Sed plane et Judaei et Pagani, si tam paucos putarent esse Christianos, quam pauci vos estis, qui solos vos Christianos esse perhibetis, nec blasphemare nos dignarentur, sed nunquam ridere cessarent. Non timetis ne vobis dicant Judaei: Ubi est quod Paulus vester Ecclesiam vestram intelligit, ubi dictum est, Laetare sterilis, quae non paris, erumpe et exclama, quae non parturis; quoniam multi filii desertae, magis quam ejus quae habet virum (Gal. IV, 27), praeponens multitudinem Christianorum multitudini Judaeorum, si Christi Ecclesia est paucitas vestra? Hoccine illis dicturi estis, Ideo magis justi sumus, quia pauci sumus; nec attenditis eos responsuros, Quotlibet vos esse dicatis, non tamen estis illi de quibus dictum est, Multi filii desertae, si tam exigui numero remansistis?

How can the Church be in you, rather than in those who perhaps separated themselves first? So it happens that since you do not know this, you are uncertain to yourselves: which must necessarily happen to all who for their own society use a testimony not divine, but their own. For neither can you say, If this had happened, it could not be hidden from us, since in Africa itself, how many parts have already been made from the part of Donatus, if you were interrogated, you would not say: especially because those who do this seem to themselves the more just, as they have been the fewer; and certainly they are the more hidden. And through this you are uncertain, lest perhaps some few just, and for that reason least known, somewhere far against the south of Africa, before the part of Donatus severed its justice from the iniquity of the rest of men, had first separated themselves by a most equitable cause in the side of the north, and she herself be rather the Church of God as a spiritual Sion, which preceded all of you by a just separation, and much more presumptuously interpret for herself what is written, Mount Sion, the sides of the north, the city of the great king (Psal. XLVII, 3), than the part of Donatus interprets for itself, Where do you feed, where do you lie down at noon (Cant. I, 6).

26. And yet you fear lest, when you are compelled to unity by imperial laws, the name of God may be longer blasphemed by Jews and Pagans: as if the Jews did not know how the first people of Israel wished even by war to destroy those two tribes and a half, which had received lands beyond the Jordan, when they thought that they had separated themselves from the unity of their own people (Joshua XXII, 9-12). But the Pagans can rather blaspheme us concerning the laws which Christian emperors have carried out against the worshippers of idols; and yet many from them have been corrected, and converted to the living and true God, and are daily converted. But plainly both Jews and Pagans, if they thought that Christians were as few as you are, who alone proclaim yourselves to be Christians, would not even deign to blaspheme us, but would never cease to laugh. Do you not fear lest the Jews say to you: Where is it that your Paul understands your Church, where it was said, Rejoice, O barren woman, who do not bear, break forth and cry out, you who do not travail; for many are the children of the deserted woman, more than of her who has a husband (Gal. IV, 27), preferring the multitude of Christians to the multitude of Jews, if your fewness is the Church of Christ? Are you going to say this to them, Therefore we are more just, because we are few; and do you not attend that they will respond, Let you say that you are however many you like, yet you are not those concerning whom it was said, Many are the children of the deserted woman, if you have remained so scanty in number?

27. Hic tu oppositurus es exemplum justi illius in diluvio, qui cum domo sua solus liberari dignus inventus est. Vides ergo quam longe sis adhuc a justitia? Prorsus donec ad septem remaneas, quibus tu sis octavus, justum te esse non dicimus; si tamen non istam justitiam, sicut dicebam, praeripuit aliquis ante partem Donati, et cum suis septem justa aliqua causa commotus, se longe alibi separavit, et a mundi hujus diluvio liberavit. Quod cum ignoretis an factum sit, atque ita vobis inauditum, sicut multis populis Christianorum in longinquis terris constitutorum nomen Donati inauditum est, incerti estis ubi sit Ecclesia. Ibi enim erit, ubi primum forsitan factum est quod postea vos fecistis, si potuit esse ulla justa causa, qua vos a communione omnium gentium separare possetis.

CAPUT IX.

28. Nos autem ideo certi sumus, neminem se a communione omnium gentium juste separare potuisse, quia non quisque nostrum in justitia sua, sed in Scripturis divinis quaerit Ecclesiam, et ut promissa est, reddi conspicit. Ipsa est enim de qua dicitur, Sicut lilium in medio spinarum, ita proxima mea in medio filiarum (Cant. II, 2): quae nec spinae dici possunt, nisi malignitate morum; nec filiae, nisi communione Sacramentorum. Ipsa est enim quae dicit: A finibus terrae ad te clamavi, cum anxiaretur cor meum (Psal. LX, 3). Quae in alio psalmo dicit, Taedium detinuit me a peccatoribus derelinquentibus legem tuam; et, Vidi insensatos, et tabescebam (Psal. CXVIII, 53, 158). Ipsa est quae dicit sponso suo: Ubi pascis, ubi cubas in meridie; ne forte fiam sicut operta super greges sodalium tuorum (Cant. I, 6). Id est quod alibi dicitur, Dexteram tuam notam fac mihi, et eruditos corde in sapientia (Psal. LXXXIX, 12): in quibus luce fulgentibus et charitate ferventibus quasi in meridie requiescis; ne forte velut operta, id est occulta et ignota, irruam non in gregem tuum, sed in greges sodalium tuorum, id est haereticorum. Quos ita sodales dicit, sicut spinas illas filias, propter communionem Sacramentorum. De quibus alibi dicitur, Tu vero unanimis meus, et dux meus, et notus meus, qui simul mecum dulces capiebas cibos; in domo Domini ambulavimus cum consensu. Veniat mors super illos, et descendant in infernum viventes (Psal. LIV, 14-16), sicut Dathan et Abiron, impiae separationis auctores.

27. Here you are going to oppose the example of that just man in the flood, who with his house alone was found worthy to be liberated. Do you see then how far you are still from justice? Certainly until you remain at seven, of whom you may be the eighth, we do not say that you are just; if however some one did not snatch away that justice, as I was saying, before the part of Donatus, and moved by some just cause with his seven, separated himself far elsewhere, and liberated himself from the flood of this world. Since you are ignorant whether this has been done, and thus [it is] unheard of by you, just as the name of Donatus is unheard of by many peoples of Christians constituted in distant lands, you are uncertain where the Church may be. For she will be there, where perhaps it was first done what you afterwards did, if there could be any just cause by which you could separate yourselves from the communion of all nations.

CHAPTER IX.

28. We, however, are for this reason certain, that no one could have justly separated himself from the communion of all nations, because each of us seeks the Church not in his own justice, but in the divine Scriptures, and as she was promised, perceives her to be rendered. For she is the one concerning whom it is said, As a lily in the midst of thorns, so is my neighbor in the midst of daughters (Cant. II, 2): who cannot be called thorns, except by the malignity of their morals; nor daughters, except by the communion of the Sacraments. For she is the one who says: From the ends of the earth I have cried out to you, when my heart was anxious (Psal. LX, 3). Who in another psalm says, Weariness has detained me from the sinners forsaking your law; and, I saw the senseless, and I was pining away (Psal. CXVIII, 53, 158). She is the one who says to her spouse: Where do you feed, where do you lie down at noon; lest perhaps I become as one veiled over the flocks of your companions (Cant. I, 6). That is what is said elsewhere, Make your right hand known to me, and those learned in heart in wisdom (Psal. LXXXIX, 12): in whom, shining with light and fervent with charity, you rest as if at noon; lest perhaps as if veiled, that is hidden and unknown, I may rush not into your flock, but into the flocks of your companions, that is, of the heretics. Whom she calls companions in such a way, just as she calls those thorns daughters, on account of the communion of the Sacraments. Concerning whom it is said elsewhere, But you, my like-minded one, and my leader, and my known one, who together with me did take sweet foods; in the house of the Lord we walked with consent. Let death come upon them, and let them descend into hell living (Psal. LIV, 14-16), like Dathan and Abiron, authors of an impious separation.

29. Ipsa est cui continuo respondetur: Nisi cognoveris temetipsam, o pulchra inter mulieres, exi tu in vestigiis gregum, et pasce haedos tuos in tabernaculis pastorum (Cant. I, 7). O responsio dulcissimi sponsi! Nisi cognoveris temetipsam, inquit: quia utique non potest civitas abscondi supra montem constituta (Matth. V, 14); et ideo non es operta, ut incurras in greges sodalium meorum. Ego enim sum mons paratus in cacumine montium, ad quem venient universae gentes (Isai. II, 2): Nisi ergo cognoveris temetipsam, non in verbis calumniosorum, sed in testimoniis Librorum meorum. Nisi cognoveris temetipsam, quia de te dictum est: Porrige longius funiculos, et palos validos confirma: etiam atque etiam in dexteram atque sinistram extende. Semen enim tuum haereditabit gentes, et civitates quae desertae erant, inhabitabis. Non est quod metuas, praevalebis enim; nec erubescas quod detestabilis fueris. Confusionem enim in perpetuum oblivisceris; ignominiae viduitatis tuae non eris memor. Ego enim sum Dominus qui facio te, Dominus nomen ei. Et qui eruit te, ipse Deus Israel universae terrae vocabitur (Id. LIV, 2-5). Nisi cognoveris temetipsam, o pulchra inter mulieres; quia de te dictum est, Concupivit rex speciem tuam; quia de te dictum est, Pro patribus tuis nati sunt tibi filii; constitues eos principes super omnem terram (Psal. XLIV, 12, 17). Nisi ergo cognoveris temetipsam, exi tu (Cant. I, 7); non ego te ejicio, sed exi tu, ut dicatur de te: Ex nobis exierunt; sed non erant ex nobis (I Joan. II, 19). Exi tu in vestigiis gregum, non in vestigiis meis, sed in vestigiis gregum; nec unius gregis, sed gregum divisorum et errantium. Et pasce haedos tuos: non sicut Petrus, cui dicitur, Pasce oves meas (Joan. XXI, 17); sed pasce haedos tuos in tabernaculis pastorum, non in tabernaculo pastoris, ubi est unus grex et unus pastor (Id. X, 16). Cognoscit enim semetipsam, ne hoc ei contingat, quia hoc contigit eis qui se in illa non cognoverunt.

30. Ipsa est de cujus paucitate dicitur in comparatione plurimorum malorum, quia angusta et arcta via est quae ducit ad vitam, et pauci sunt qui ambulant in ea (Matth. VII, 14). Et rursus ipsa est de cujus multitudine dicitur: Sic erit semen tuum, sicut stellae coeli, et sicut arena maris (Gen. XXII, 17).

29. She is the one to whom it is immediately responded: Unless you know yourself, O beautiful among women, go out in the footsteps of the flocks, and feed your kids in the tabernacles of the shepherds (Cant. I, 7). O response of the sweetest spouse! Unless you know yourself, he says: because surely a city set upon a mountain cannot be hidden (Matth. V, 14); and therefore you are not veiled, that you should rush into the flocks of my companions. For I am the mountain prepared at the summit of the mountains, to which all nations shall come (Isai. II, 2): Unless therefore you know yourself, not in the words of the slandering ones, but in the testimonies of my Books. Unless you know yourself, because concerning you it was said: Stretch your cords further, and confirm the strong stakes: even again and again extend to the right and to the left. For your seed shall inherit the nations, and the cities which were deserted, you shall inhabit. There is nothing which you should fear, for you shall prevail; nor should you be ashamed because you have been detestable. For you shall forget the confusion forever; you shall not be mindful of the ignominy of your widowhood. For I am the Lord who make you, Lord is his name. And he who rescued you, the God of Israel himself shall be called [God] of the universal earth (Isai. LIV, 2-5). Unless you know yourself, O beautiful among women; because concerning you it was said, The king has desired your beauty; because concerning you it was said, In place of your fathers children are born to you; you shall constitute them princes over the universal earth (Psal. XLIV, 12, 17). Unless therefore you know yourself, go out (Cant. I, 7); I do not cast you out, but go out, so that it may be said of you: From us they went out; but they were not of us (I John II, 19). Go out in the footsteps of the flocks, not in my footsteps, but in the footsteps of the flocks; nor of one flock, but of divided and wandering flocks. And feed your kids: not like Peter, to whom it is said, Feed my sheep (John XXI, 17); but feed your kids in the tabernacles of the shepherds, not in the tabernacle of the shepherd, where there is one flock and one shepherd (John X, 16). For she knows herself, lest this happen to her, because this happened to those who did not know themselves in her.

30. She is the one concerning whose fewness it is said in comparison of very many evil ones, that narrow and strait is the way which leads to life, and few are they who walk in it (Matth. VII, 14). And again she is the one concerning whose multitude it is said: So shall your seed be, like the stars of heaven, and like the sand of the sea (Gen. XXII, 17).

Iidem quippe fideles sancti et boni, et in comparatione plurium malorum pauci sunt, et per se ipsi multi sunt: quia multi filii desertae, magis quam ejus quae habet virum; et multi ab oriente et occidente venient, et recumbent cum Abraham, Isaac et Jacob in regno coelorum (Matth. VIII, 11); et quia exhibet sibi Deus populum abundantem, aemulatorem bonorum operum (Tit. II, 14); et multa millia quae numerare nemo potest, videntur in Apocalypsi, ex omni tribu et lingua, in stolis albis palmisque victricibus (Apoc. VII, 9). Ipsa est quae aliquando obscuratur, et tanquam obnubilatur multitudine scandalorum, quando peccatores intendunt arcum, ut sagittent in obscura luna rectos corde (Psal. X, 3). Sed etiam tunc in suis firmissimis eminet. Et si aliqua in his verbis divinis distributio facienda est, fortasse non frustra dictum sit de semine Abrahae, Sicut stellae coeli, et sicut arena, quae est ad oram maris: ut in stellis coeli pauciores, firmiores, clarioresque intelligantur; in arena autem maritimi littoris magna multitudo infirmorum atque carnalium, quae aliquando tranquillitate temporis quieta et libera apparet, aliquando autem tribulationum et tentationum fluctibus operitur atque turbatur.

31. Tale tunc erat tempus de quo scripsit Hilarius, unde putasti insidiandum contra testimonia tot divina, tanquam perierit Ecclesia de orbe terrarum. Potes hoc modo dicere nec tot Ecclesias Galatiae tunc fuisse, quando dicebat Apostolus: O stulti Galatae, quis vos fascinavit, ut cum spiritu coeperitis, nunc carne consummemini (Gal. III, 1)? Sic enim calumniaris docto viro, qui tardicordes et timidos graviter increpabat, quos iterum parturiebat, donec Christus formaretur in eis (Id. IV, 19). Quis enim nescit illo tempore obscuris verbis multos parvi sensus fuisse delusos, ut putarent hoc credi ab Arianis, quod etiam ipsi credebant: alios autem timore cessisse et simulate consensisse, non recte ingredientes ad veritatem Evangelii, quibus tu postea correctis, sic quemadmodum ignotum est, nolles ignosci? Prorsus non nosti Litteras Dei. Lege enim quid de Petro scripserit Paulus, et quid inde etiam senserit Cyprianus; et non tibi displiceat Ecclesiae mansuetudo, quae membra Christi dispersa colligit, non collecta dispergit: quanquam et illi, qui tunc firmissimi fuerunt, et verba haereticorum insidiosa intelligere potuerunt, pauci quidem in comparatione caeterorum, sed tamen etiam ipsi quidam pro fide fortiter exsulabant, quidam toto orbe latitabant. Ac sic Ecclesia quae per omnes gentes crescit, in frumentis dominicis conservata est, et usque in finem, donec omnino gentes omnes, etiam barbaras teneat, conservabitur.

For the same faithful holy and good ones, both are few in comparison of the more evil ones, and by themselves they are many: because many are the children of the deserted woman, more than of her who has a husband; and many shall come from the east and the west, and shall recline with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven (Matth. VIII, 11); and because God exhibits to himself an abundant people, a zealot of good works (Tit. II, 14); and many thousands which no one can number, are seen in the Apocalypse, from every tribe and tongue, in white stoles and with victorious palms (Apoc. VII, 9). She is the one who is sometimes obscured, and as if clouded over by the multitude of scandals, when sinners bend the bow, that they may shoot in the dark moon the upright in heart (Psal. X, 3). But even then she stands out in her firmest ones. And if any distribution is to be made in these divine words, perhaps not in vain was it said of the seed of Abraham, Like the stars of heaven, and like the sand, which is at the shore of the sea: so that in the stars of heaven the fewer, firmer, and clearer ones may be understood; but in the sand of the maritime shore a great multitude of the weak and carnal, which sometimes in the tranquility of time appears quiet and free, but sometimes is covered over and disturbed by the waves of tribulations and temptations.

31. Such was then the time of which Hilary wrote, from where you thought to lay snares against so many divine testimonies, as if the Church had perished from the orb of the lands. You can say in this way that not even so many Churches of Galatia were then, when the Apostle was saying: O foolish Galatians, who has fascinated you, so that although you began with the spirit, now you are consumed by the flesh (Gal. III, 1)? For thus you slander a learned man, who was severely rebuking the slow-hearted and timid, whom he was again bringing forth in labor, until Christ should be formed in them (Gal. IV, 19). For who does not know that at that time many of little sense were deluded by obscure words, so that they thought this was believed by the Arians, which even they themselves believed: but that others yielded through fear and feignedly consented, not walking rightly to the truth of the Gospel, to whom afterwards corrected, just as it is unknown, you would not wish it to be forgiven? Certainly you do not know the Letters of God. For read what Paul wrote of Peter, and what Cyprian also felt therefrom; and let not the gentleness of the Church displease you, which collects the dispersed members of Christ, does not disperse the collected ones: although those also, who then were most firm, and were able to understand the insidious words of the heretics, were few indeed in comparison of the rest, but yet even they themselves, certain ones for the faith were strongly in exile, certain ones were hiding in the whole orb. And thus the Church which grows through all nations, was preserved in the lordly wheats, and even unto the end, until it altogether holds all nations, even the barbarian ones, it shall be preserved.

Ipsa est enim Ecclesia in bono semine quod seminavit Filius hominis, et usque ad messem crescere inter zizania, praenuntiavit. Ager autem mundus est, messis finis est saeculi (Matth. XIII, 24-39).

32. Hilarius ergo decem provinciarum Asianarum aut zizania non triticum arguebat, aut ipsum etiam triticum quod defectu quodam periclitabatur, quanto vehementius, tanto utilius arguendum putabat. Habent enim etiam Scripturae canonicae hunc arguendi morem, ut tanquam omnibus dicatur, et ad quosdam verbum perveniat. Quod enim Apostolus dicit ad Corinthios: Quomodo dicunt quidam in vobis, quia resurrectio mortuorum non est (I Cor. XV, 12)? manifestat utique non omnes esse tales, verumtamen et tales non extra, sed in eis fuisse testatur: a quibus ne illi seducerentur, qui non ita sentiebant, paulo post monuit dicens, Nolite seduci: corrumpunt mores bonos colloquia mala. Sobrii estote, justi, et nolite peccare: ignorantiam enim Dei quidam habent; ad reverentiam vobis loquor (Id., 33, 34). Quod autem dicit, Cum enim sint inter vos aemulatio et contentio, nonne estis carnales, et secundum hominem ambulatis (Id. III, 3)? tanquam omnibus dicit; et vides quam sit grave quod dicit. Proinde nisi in ipsa Epistola legeremus, Gratias ago Deo meo semper pro vobis, in gratia Dei quae data est vobis in Christo Jesu, quia in omnibus ditati estis in illo, in omni verbo et in omni scientia, sicut testimonium Christi confirmatum est in vobis, ita ut nihil desit vobis in ulla gratia (I Cor. I, 4-7), putaremus omnes Corinthios carnales et animales, non percipientes quae sunt spiritus Dei (Id. II, 14), contentiosos, aemulos, secundum hominem ambulantes. Itaque et totus mundus in maligno positus est (I Joan. V, 19), propter zizania quae sunt per totum mundum; et Christus propitiator est peccatorum nostrorum, non tantum nostrorum, sed et totius mundi (Id. II, 2), propter triticum quod est per totum mundum.

33. Refrigescit autem charitas multorum propter scandalorum abunduntiam, quanto magis magisque glorificato Christi nomine congregantur in communionem Sacramentorum ejus etiam maligni, et perseveranter omnino perversi, sed tamen tanquam palea de arca dominica nonnisi ultima ventilatione separandi (Matth. III, 12). Non exstinguunt isti frumenta dominica, in eorum quidem comparatione pauca, sed multa per seipsa; non exstinguunt electos Dei congregandos in fine saeculi, sicut Evangelium loquitur, a quatuor ventis, a summis coelorum usque ad terminos eorum (Id. XXIV, 31).

For she is the Church in the good seed which the Son of man sowed, and he foretold that it would grow among the tares until the harvest. But the field is the world, the harvest is the end of the age (Matth. XIII, 24-39).

32. Hilary therefore was rebuking the tares, not the wheat, of the ten Asian provinces, or he was thinking that even the wheat itself which was endangered by a certain defect, was to be rebuked the more vehemently as it was more useful. For even the canonical Scriptures have this custom of rebuking, as if it were said to all, and the word reaches to certain ones. For what the Apostle says to the Corinthians: How do certain ones among you say, that there is no resurrection of the dead (I Cor. XV, 12)? manifests surely that not all were such, yet nevertheless he testifies that such were not outside, but among them: from whom lest they should be seduced, who did not feel כך, he warned a little after saying, Do not be seduced: evil conversations corrupt good morals. Be sober, O just ones, and do not sin: for some have ignorance of God; I speak to your reverence (Id., 33, 34). But what he says, For since there are among you emulation and contention, are you not carnal, and do you walk according to man (Id. III, 3)? he says as if to all; and you see how grave is what he says. Hence unless we were reading in the same Epistle, I give thanks to my God always for you, in the grace of God which was given to you in Christ Jesus, because in all things you have been enriched in him, in every word and in every knowledge, just as the testimony of Christ was confirmed in you, so that nothing is lacking to you in any grace (I Cor. I, 4-7), we would think all the Corinthians were carnal and animal, not perceiving the things which are of the spirit of God (Id. II, 14), contentious, emulators, walking according to man. And so the whole world is set in the evil one (I John V, 19), on account of the tares which are through the whole world; and Christ is the propitiator of our sins, not only of ours, but also of the whole world (I John II, 2), on account of the wheat which is through the whole world.

But the charity of many grows cold on account of the abundance of scandals, by how much more and more, the name of Christ being glorified, there are gathered into the communion of his Sacraments even the evil ones, and the altogether perseveringly perverse, but yet as if chaff from the lordly threshing-floor not to be separated except by the last winnowing (Matth. III, 12). These do not extinguish the lordly wheats, few indeed in comparison of them, but many by themselves; they do not extinguish the elect of God to be gathered in the end of the age, as the Gospel speaks, from the four winds, from the heights of the heavens even unto the ends of them (Matth. XXIV, 31).

Ipsorum enim vox est: Salvum me fac, Domine, quoniam defecit sanctus, quoniam diminutae sunt veritates a filiis hominum (Psal. XI, 2): de quibus et Dominus dicit, inter abundantiam iniquitatis, qui perseveraverit usque in finem, hic salvus erit (Matth. XXIV, 12, 13). Denique non unum hominem, sed plures in eodem psalmo loqui consequentia docent, ubi dicitur: Tu, Domine, servabis nos, et custodies nos a generatione hac in aeternum (Psal. XI, 2, 8). Propter hanc enim abundantiam iniquitatis, quam Dominus futuram esse praedixit, etiam illud positum est: Cum venerit Filius hominis, putas inveniet fidem in terra (Luc. XVIII, 8)? Dubitatio enim cuncta scientis nostram in illo dubitationem praefiguravit, quando Ecclesia ex multis de quibus multum speravit, saepe decepta, quod aliter quam credebantur inventi sunt, sic perturbatur in suis, ut de nullo facile boni aliquid velit credere. Ipsos tamen quorum inventurus est fidem in terra, per totum agrum cum zizaniis crescere, dubitare fas non est.

34. Ipsa est ergo Ecclesia, quae intra sagenam dominicam cum malis piscibus natat, a quibus corde semper et moribus separatur atque discedit, ut exhibeatur viro suo gloriosa, non habens maculam neque rugam (Eph. V, 27). Corporalem autem separationem in littore maris, hoc est, in fine saeculi exspectat (Matth. XIII, 47-49), corrigens quos potest, tolerans quos corrigere non potest: non tamen propter eorum quos non corrigit iniquitatem, ipsa bonorum deserit unitatem.

CAPUT X.

35. Noli ergo, frater, contra divina tam multa, tam clara, tam indubitata testimonia, colligere velle calumnias ex episcoporum scriptis, sive nostrorum, sicut Hilarii; sive antequam pars Donati separaretur, ipsius unitatis, sicut Cypriani et Agrippini: primo, quia hoc genus litterarum ab auctoritate canonis distinguendum est. Non enim sic leguntur, tanquam ita ex eis testimonium proferatur, ut contra sentire non liceat, sicubi forte aliter sapuerunt quam veritas postulat. In eo quippe numero sumus, ut non dedignemur etiam nobis dictum ab Apostolo accipere, Et si quid aliter sapitis, id quoque Deus vobis revelabit. Verumtamen in quod pervenimus, in eo ambulemus (Philipp. III, 15, 16); in illa via scilicet, quae est Christus: de qua via ita Psalmus loquitur Deus misereatur nostri, et benedicat nobis; illuminet vultum suum super nos, ut cognoscamus in terra viam tuam, in omnibus gentibus salutare tuum (Psal. LXV, 2, 3).

For their voice is: Save me, O Lord, since the holy one has failed, since truths are diminished from the children of men (Psal. XI, 2): concerning whom also the Lord says, in the midst of the abundance of iniquity, he who shall have persevered even unto the end, this one shall be saved (Matth. XXIV, 12, 13). Finally, the consequences teach that not one man, but more speak in the same psalm, where it is said: You, O Lord, shall preserve us, and you shall guard us from this generation forever (Psal. XI, 2, 8). For on account of this abundance of iniquity, which the Lord foretold was to be, that also was placed: When the Son of man comes, do you think he will find faith on the earth (Luke XVIII, 8)? For the doubt of him who knows all things prefigured our doubt in him, when the Church, often deceived from many concerning whom she hoped much, because they were found otherwise than they were believed, is so perturbed in her own, that she wishes to believe something good of no one easily. Nevertheless, it is not lawful to doubt that those whose faith he is going to find on the earth, grow with the tares through the whole field.

34. This is therefore the Church, which swims within the lordly net with the bad fish, from whom she is always separated and departs in heart and morals, so that she may be exhibited to her husband glorious, not having spot or wrinkle (Eph. V, 27). But she waits for the corporal separation on the shore of the sea, that is, at the end of the age (Matth. XIII, 47-49), correcting those whom she can, tolerating those whom she cannot correct: yet not on account of the iniquity of those whom she does not correct, does she herself desert the unity of the good.

CHAPTER X.

35. Do not, therefore, brother, against so many, so clear, so indubitable divine testimonies, wish to collect slanders from the writings of bishops, whether of ours, like Hilary; or before the part of Donatus was separated, of the unity itself, like Cyprian and Agrippinus: first, because this kind of letters is to be distinguished from the authority of the canon. For they are not so read, as if from them testimony were brought forth in such a way, that it is not permitted to feel otherwise, if anywhere perhaps they felt otherwise than the truth requires. Indeed, we are in that number, so that we do not disdain to receive even what was said to us by the Apostle, And if you feel anything otherwise, that also God will reveal to you. Nevertheless, in that to which we have arrived, in that let us walk (Philip. III, 15, 16); in that way, namely, which is Christ: concerning which way the Psalm speaks thus, May God have mercy on us, and bless us; may he illuminate his countenance upon us, that we may know your way on the earth, your salvation in all nations (Psal. LXVI, 2, 3).

36. Deinde si sancti Cypriani episcopi et gloriosi martyris te delectat auctoritas, quam quidem sicut dixi, a canonica auctoritate distinguimus; cur in eo te non delectat, quod unitatem orbis terrae atque omnium gentium, et diligendo tenuit, et disputando defendit: quod eos qui se tanquam justos ab ea separare voluissent, arrogantissimos et superbissimos judicavit, irridens eos hoc sibi assumere, quod nec Apostolis concessit Dominus, ut ante tempus zizania colligerent, aut tanquam ipsis paleam ferre et aream purgare concessum sit, paleas conarentur a tritico separare: quod unumquemque peccatis alienis maculari non posse monstravit, quam sibi omnes impiae seditionis auctores solam causam separationis assumunt: quod in eo ipso, in quo aliter sapuit, collegas diversa sentientes, nec judicandos, nec a jure communionis amovendos esse decrevit: quod in ea ipsa epistola ad Jubaianum, quae in concilio, cujus auctoritatem ad rebaptizandum sequi vos dicitis, primitus recitata est, cum fateatur in praeteritum sic esse admissos in Ecclesiam qui fuerant alibi baptizati, ut denuo non baptizarentur, unde illos sine Baptismo fuisse arbitratur; tantum tamen ponit utilitatis et salubritatis in pace Ecclesiae, ut propter illam non eos credat ab Ecclesiae muneribus separari?

37. Qua in re, sicut ingenium tuum novi, facillime perspicis totam causam vestram penitus eversam et exstinctam. Si enim Sacramenta cum peccatoribus communicando, sicut putatis, periit Ecclesia quae fuerat in orbe terrarum (nam vos ideo separastis), jam prius tota perierat, cum, sicut dicit Cyprianus, in eam sine Baptismo admittebantur: ac sic nec ipse Cyprianus habebat in qua Ecclesia nasceretur; quanto magis multo posterior vester auctor paterque Donatus? Si autem illo tempore, cum in eam sine Baptismo admittebantur, erat tamen Ecclesia, quae pareret Cyprianum, pareret et Donatum, manifestum est non contaminari justos alienis peccatis, quando cum eis Sacramenta communicant. Ac per hoc separationem qua existis ab unitate, qua excusatione possitis abluere non habetis, impleturque in vobis sanctae Scripturae illud oraculum: Filius malus ipse se justum dicit, exitum autem suum non abluit.

38. Meritis autem Cypriani sic non aequatur, qui propter paria Sacramenta nec ipsos haereticos audet rebaptizare, sicut non aequatur meritis Petri, quisquis non cogit gentes judaizare.

Then if the authority of the holy bishop and glorious martyr Cyprian delights you, which indeed, as I said, we distinguish from the canonical authority; why does it not delight you in that, that he both held the unity of the orb of the earth and of all nations by loving it, and defended it by disputing: that he judged most arrogant and most proud those who would have wished to separate themselves as if just from it, deriding them for assuming this to themselves, which the Lord did not grant even to the Apostles, that they should collect the tares before the time, or as if to them it were granted to carry the chaff and to purge the floor, they should try to separate the chaff from the wheat: that he showed that each one cannot be stained by the sins of others, which all the authors of impious sedition assume to themselves as the only cause of separation: that in that very thing in which he felt otherwise, he decreed that colleagues feeling differently were neither to be judged, nor to be removed from the right of communion: that in that very epistle to Jubaianus, which was first recited in the council, whose authority you say you follow for rebaptizing, although he confesses that those who had been baptized elsewhere were previously so admitted into the Church, that they were not baptized again, whence he thinks that those were without Baptism; yet he places so much of utility and of health in the peace of the Church, that on account of it he does not believe that they are separated from the gifts of the Church?

37. In which matter, as I know your genius, you very easily perceive your whole cause to be deeply overturned and extinguished. For if by communicating Sacraments with sinners, as you think, the Church which had been in the orb of the lands perished (for you for that reason separated), it had already previously entirely perished, when, as Cyprian says, [those] were admitted into it without Baptism: and thus not even Cyprian himself had a Church in which he might be born; how much more your much later author and father Donatus? But if at that time, when [those] were admitted into it without Baptism, it was nevertheless the Church, which brought forth Cyprian, brought forth also Donatus, it is manifest that the just are not contaminated by the sins of others, when they communicate Sacraments with them. And through this the separation by which you go out from unity, you have no excuse by which you may wash it away, and that oracle of holy Scripture is fulfilled in you: An evil son says himself to be just, but he does not wash away his exit.

But he who does not dare to rebaptize even heretics themselves on account of equal Sacraments, is so not equaled to the merits of Cyprian, just as whoever does not compel the nations to judaize is not equaled to the merits of Peter.

Sed illa Petri non tantum claudicatio, verum etiam correctio Scripturis canonicis continetur: Cyprianus autem sensisse aliter de Baptismo, quam forma et consuetudo habebat Ecclesiae, non in canonicis, sed in suis et in concilii litteris invenitur; correxisse autem istam sententiam non invenitur, non incongruenter tamen de tali viro existimandum est quod correxerit, et fortasse suppressum sit ab eis qui hoc errore nimium delectati sunt, et tanto velut patrocinio carere noluerunt. Quanquam non desint qui hoc Cyprianum prorsus non sensisse contendant, sed sub ejus nomine a praesumptoribus atque mendacibus fuisse confictum. Neque enim sic potuit integritas atque notitia litterarum unius quamlibet illustris episcopi custodiri, quemadmodum Scriptura canonica, tot linguarum litteris, et ordine, et successione celebrationis ecclesiasticae custoditur, contra quam tamen non defuerunt, qui sub nominibus Apostolorum multa confingerent: frustra quidem, quia illa sic commendata, sic celebrata, sic nota est; verum quid possit adversus litteras, non canonica auctoritate fundatas, etiam hinc demonstravit impiae conatus audaciae, quod et adversus eas quae tanta notitiae mole firmatae sunt, sese erigere non praetermisit.

39. Nos tamen duas ob res, non negamus illud sensisse Cyprianum: quod et stilus ejus habet quamdam propriam faciem qua possit agnosci; et quod ibi magis contra vos nostra causa demonstratur invictior, vestraeque separationis praesumptio, videlicet ne macularemini peccatis alienis, tota facilitate subvertitur, cum apparet in Litteris Cypriani, communicata esse cum peccatoribus Sacramenta, cum admissi sunt in Ecclesiam, qui secundum vestram, et sicut vultis, illius sententiam, Baptismum non habebant, et tamen Ecclesiam non perisse, sed in sui generis dignitate per totum orbem sparsa dominica frumenta mansisse. Ac per hoc si perturbati tanquam ad aliquem portum sic ad auctoritatem Cypriani confugitis, videtis quem illic scopulum vester error offendat; si autem jam nec illuc confugere audetis, sine ullo luctamine naufragatis.

40. Porro autem Cyprianus, aut non sensit omnino quod eum sensisse recitatis; aut hoc postea correxit in regula veritatis; aut hunc quasi naevum sui candidissimi pectoris cooperuit ubere charitatis, dum unitatem Ecclesiae toto orbe crescentis, et copiosissime defendit, et perseverantissime tenuit vinculum pacis: scriptum est enim, Charitas cooperit multitudinem peccatorum (I Petr. IV, 8).

But that limping of Peter, but also his correction is contained in the canonical Scriptures: but that Cyprian felt otherwise concerning Baptism, than the form and custom of the Church was having, is found not in the canonicals, but in his own letters and in those of the council; but that he corrected that sentence is not found, yet not incongruously is it to be thought concerning such a man that he corrected it, and perhaps it was suppressed by those who were too much delighted by this error, and did not wish to lack so great a patronage as it were. Although there are not lacking those who would contend that Cyprian altogether did not feel this, but that it was feigned under his name by presumptuous and lying ones. For neither could the integrity and knowledge of the letters of one however illustrious bishop be so guarded, just as canonical Scripture, by the letters of so many languages, and by the order and succession of ecclesiastical celebration is guarded, against which nevertheless there were not lacking those who would feign many things under the names of the Apostles: in vain indeed, because that [Scripture] is so commended, so celebrated, so known; but what the effort of impious audacity could do against letters, not founded on canonical authority, it demonstrated even from here, that even against those which were confirmed by so great a mass of knowledge, it did not omit to raise itself.

39. We, however, for two reasons, do not deny that Cyprian felt that: because both his style has a certain proper face by which it can be recognized; and because there rather our cause is demonstrated more invincible against you, and the presumption of your separation, namely, lest you should be stained by the sins of others, is overturned with all facility, when it appears in the Letters of Cyprian, that the Sacraments were communicated with sinners, when those were admitted into the Church, who according to your sentence, and as you wish, his, did not have Baptism, and yet that the Church did not perish, but that the lordly wheats remained scattered through the whole orb in the dignity of their kind. And through this if perturbed you thus flee to the authority of Cyprian as to some port, you see what reef your error strikes there; but if now you do not even dare to flee there, you are shipwrecked without any struggle.

Furthermore, however, Cyprian either did not feel at all what you recite him to have felt; or he afterwards corrected this in the rule of truth; or he covered this as if a blemish of his most white breast with the abundance of charity, while he both most copiously defended the unity of the Church growing in the whole orb, and most perseveringly held the bond of peace: for it is written, Charity covers a multitude of sins (I Pet. IV, 8).

Accessit huc etiam, quod tanquam sarmentum fructuosissimum, si quid in eo fuerat emendandum, purgavit Pater falce passionis: Sarmentum enim, ait Dominus, quod in me dat fructum, purgat illud Pater meus, ut majorem fructum afferat (Joan. XV, 2). Unde, nisi quia haerens in diffusione vitis, radicem non deseruit unitatis? Nam etsi traderet corpus suum ut arderet, charitatem autem non haberet, nihil ei prodesset (I Cor. XIII, 3).

41. Attende adhuc paululum in Litteras Cypriani, ut advertas quam inexcusabilem ostenderit, qui se voluerit ab unitate Ecclesiae (quam Deus in omnibus gentibus promisit et reddidit), quasi justitiae suae causa separare, magisque intelligas quam sit vera sententia paulo ante a me commemorata: Filius malus ipse se justum dicit, exitum autem suum non abluit. Ponit in quadam epistola sua quam scripsit ad Antonianum, rem quamdam satis rei de qua nunc agimus necessariam; sed melius ejus verba inserimus. Antecessores, inquit, nostri quidam de episcopis isthic in provincia nostra, dandam pacem moechis non putaverunt, et in totum poenitentiae locum contra adulteria clauserunt: non tamen a coepiscoporum suorum collegio recesserunt, aut catholicae Ecclesiae unitatem vel duritie vel censurae suae obstinatione ruperunt, ut quia apud alios adulteris pax dabatur, qui non dabat, de Ecclesia separaretur. Manente concordiae vinculo, et perseverante catholicae Ecclesiae individuo sacramento, actum suum disponit et dirigit unusquisque episcopus, rationem propositi sui Domino redditurus (Epist. 52). Quid ad haec dicis, frater Vincenti? Nempe intueris hunc tantum virum, pacificum episcopum, et fortissimum martyrem nihil vehementius sategisse, quam ne unitatis vinculum rumperetur. Vides eum parturientem, non solum ut parvuli in Christo concepti nascantur, verum etiam ne jam nati, de sinu matris excussi, moriantur.

42. Porro autem ipsam rem quam contra impios separatores commemoravit, attende. Si adulteris communicabant, qui poenitentibus adulteris pacem dabant, numquid illi qui hoc non faciebant, collegio maculabantur istorum? si autem, quod veritas habet, et quod Ecclesia merito tenet, recte poenitentibus adulteris pax dabatur, illi qui in totum locum poenitentiae contra adulteros claudebant, impie utique agebant, qui membris Christi sanitatem negabant, et claves Ecclesiae pulsantibus subtrahebant, et misericordissimae patientiae Dei, quae illos propterea sinebat vivere, ut poenitendo sanarentur sacrificio contriti spiritus et contribulati cordis oblato, dura crudelitate contradicebant.

There was added here also, that as a most fruitful branch, if anything in him was to be amended, the Father purged it with the sickle of passion: For every branch, says the Lord, which in me gives fruit, my Father purges it, that it may bring greater fruit (John XV, 2). Whence, unless because adhering in the diffusion of the vine, he did not desert the root of unity? For even if he should deliver his body that he might burn, but should not have charity, it would profit him nothing (I Cor. XIII, 3).

41. Attend yet for a little while into the Letters of Cyprian, that you may advert how inexcusable he showed him, who should have wished to separate himself from the unity of the Church (which God promised and rendered in all nations), as if for the cause of his own justice, and rather you may understand how true is the sentence commemorated by me a little before: An evil son says himself to be just, but he does not wash away his exit. He places in a certain epistle of his which he wrote to Antonianus, a certain thing enough necessary to the matter concerning which we now act; but we better insert his words. Some, he says, of our predecessors from the bishops here in our province, did not think peace was to be given to adulterers, and they closed altogether the place of repentance against adulteries: yet they did not depart from the college of their co-bishops, or break the unity of the Catholic Church either by the hardness or by the obstinacy of their censure, so that because among others peace was given to adulterers, he who did not give it, should be separated from the Church. The bond of concord remaining, and the individual sacrament of the Catholic Church persevering, each bishop disposes and directs his own act, about to render an account of his purpose to the Lord (Epist. 52). What do you say to these things, brother Vincentius? Surely you behold this so great a man, a peaceful bishop, and a most strong martyr to have been busy about nothing more vehemently, than lest the bond of unity should be broken. You see him in labor, not only that the little ones conceived in Christ may be born, but also lest those already born, shaken from the bosom of the mother, should die.

Furthermore, however, attend to the thing itself which he commemorated against the impious separators. If they were communicating with adulterers, who were giving peace to repentant adulterers, were not those who were doing this, stained by the college of those? but if, which truth holds, and which the Church deservedly holds, peace was rightly given to repentant adulterers, those who were closing altogether the place of repentance against adulterers, were surely acting impiously, who were denying health to the members of Christ, and were withdrawing the keys of the Church from those knocking, and were contradicting the most merciful patience of God, which was permitting them for that reason to live, that by repenting they might be healed, the sacrifice of a contrite spirit and of a troubled heart being offered, with hard cruelty.

Nec tamen istos misericordes et pacificos, cum eis christiana Sacramenta communicantes, et eos intra unitatis retia tolerantes, donec ad littus perducti separarentur, tam immanis eorum error et impietas inquinabat; aut si inquinabat, jam tunc Ecclesia malorum communione deleta est, nec erat quae pareret ipsum Cyprianum. Si autem, quod certum est, permansit Ecclesia, certum est etiam peccatis alienis, in unitate Christi neminem posse maculari, non malorum factis consentientem, ne ipsis peccatis communicando polluatur, sed propter societatem bonorum, malos tanquam paleas usque ad ultimam ventilationem in area dominica tolerantem. Quae cum ita sint, ubi est praesumptio separationis vestrae? Nonne filii mali estis; ipsi vos justos dicitis, exitum autem vestrum non abluitis?

47. Sed baptizavit, inquis, post Joannem Paulus apostolus. Numquid post haereticum? Aut si forte audes illum amicum sponsi haereticum dicere, et in unitate Ecclesiae non fuisse, volo et hoc scribas.

Si autem hoc dementissimum est vel sentire, vel dicere, jam tuae prudentiae est considerare quare post Joannem Paulus apostolus baptizaverit. Si enim post aequalem, omnes post vos baptizare debetis.

Si post majorem, debes et tu post Rogatum. Si post minorem, debuit post te Rogatus, cum presbyter baptizasses. Si autem baptismus qui nunc datur, ideo pariter valet in eis quibus datur, quamvis sint imparis meriti per quos datur, quia Christi est, non eorum a quibus ministratur; puto quod jam intelligas ideo Paulum dedisse quibusdam baptismum Christi, quia Joannis baptismo fuerant baptizati, non Christi; Joannis quippe baptismus ille dictus est, sicut multis locis divina Scriptura testatur, quod et ipse Dominus dicit: Baptismus Joannis unde erat? de coelo, an ex hominibus (Matth. XXI, 25)?

Baptismus autem quem dedit Petrus, non erat Petri, sed Christi; et quem dedit Paulus non erat Pauli, sed Christi; et quem dederunt qui tempore Apostolorum non caste, sed per invidiam Christum annuntiabant (Philipp. I, 15, 17), non erat eorum, sed Christi; et quem dederunt qui tempore Cypriani fundos insidiosis fraudibus rapiebant, usuris multiplicantibus fenus augebant, non erat eorum, sed Christi. Et quia Christi erat, ideo quamvis non per aequales daretur eis, tamen quibus dabatur aequaliter proderat. Nam si tanto melius quisque baptizatur, quanto a meliore fuerit baptizatus, non recte gratias agit Apostolus, quod neminem Corinthiorum baptizaverit, nisi Crispum et Gaium et Stephanae domum (I Cor. I, 14): tanto enim melius baptizarentur quanto erat Paulus melior, si ab ipso baptizarentur. Denique cum dicit, Ego plantavi, Apollo rigavit, (Id., III, 6), videtur significare se evangelizasse, illum baptizasse. Numquid melior Apollo, quam Joannes?

And yet their error and impiety so immense did not stain these merciful and peaceful ones, communicating Christian Sacraments with them, and tolerating them within the nets of unity, until brought through to the shore they should be separated; or if it was staining, already then the Church was deleted by the communion of the evil ones, nor was she [the one] who might bring forth Cyprian himself. But if, which is certain, the Church remained, it is certain also that in the unity of Christ no one can be stained by the sins of others, not consenting to the acts of the evil ones, lest he should be polluted by communicating in the sins themselves, but on account of the society of the good ones, tolerating the evil ones as chaff even unto the last winnowing in the lordly threshing-floor. Which things since they are so, where is the presumption of your separation? Are you not evil sons; you say yourselves to be just, but you do not wash away your exit?

47. But the Apostle Paul, you say, baptized after John. Was it after a heretic? Or if perhaps you dare to call that friend of the bridegroom a heretic, and say that he was not in the unity of the Church, I wish you would write this also.

But if this is most insane even to feel or to say, it is now for your prudence to consider why the Apostle Paul baptized after John. For if after an equal, you all ought to baptize after yourselves.

If after a greater, you too ought to [baptize] after Rogatus. If after a lesser, Rogatus ought to have [baptized] after you, since you had baptized as a presbyter. But if the baptism which is now given is for that reason equally valid in those to whom it is given, although they through whom it is given are of unequal merit, because it is Christ's, not theirs by whom it is ministered; I think that you now understand that Paul for that reason gave the baptism of Christ to certain persons, because they had been baptized with the baptism of John, not of Christ; for that baptism was called John's, as in many places the divine Scripture testifies, which also the Lord Himself says: "The baptism of John, whence was it? from heaven, or from men?" (Matt. XXI, 25).

But the baptism which Peter gave was not Peter's, but Christ's; and that which Paul gave was not Paul's, but Christ's; and that which they gave who in the time of the Apostles announced Christ not chastely, but through envy (Phil. I, 15, 17), was not theirs, but Christ's; and that which they gave who in the time of Cyprian seized estates by insidious frauds, and increased their interest by multiplying usuries, was not theirs, but Christ's. And because it was Christ's, therefore although it was not given through equals to them, yet it profited equally those to whom it was given. For if each one is baptized so much better, as he shall have been baptized by a better person, the Apostle does not rightly give thanks that he baptized no one of the Corinthians, except Crispus and Gaius and the house of Stephanas (I Cor. I, 14): for they would have been baptized so much better as Paul was better, if they were baptized by him. Finally when he says, "I planted, Apollos watered," (Id., III, 6), he seems to signify that he evangelized, that the other baptized. Was Apollos better than John?

Cur ergo post istum non baptizavit, qui post Joannem baptizaverat, nisi quia iste baptismus, per quemlibet datus, Christi erat; ille autem, per quemlibet datus, quamvis Christo viam praepararet, tamen Joannis erat?

48. Invidiose dici videtur, Post Joannem baptizatum est, et post haereticos non baptizatur: sed potest et hoc invidiose dici, Post Joannem baptizatum est, et post ebriosos non baptizatur. Melius enim hoc vitium commemoro, quod nec occultare possunt in quibus regnat; et quam multi ubique sint, quis vel caecus ignorat? Et tamen inter opera carnis, quae qui agunt, regnum Dei non possidebunt, etiam hoc ponit Apostolus, ubi etiam haereses enumerat: Manifesta autem, inquit, sunt opera carnis, quae sunt fornicationes, immunditiae, luxuria, 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, 19-21). Hac ergo ratione, quamvis baptizatum sit post Joannem, non baptizatur post haereticum, qua ratione quamvis baptizatum sit post Joannem, non baptizatur post ebriosum; quoniam et haereses et ebrietates in eis operibus sunt, quae opera qui agunt, regnum Dei non possidebunt. Nonne tibi videtur quasi intolerabiliter indignum, ut cum baptizatum fuerit post eum qui non sobrie vinum bibens, sed vinum omnino non bibens, regno Dei viam paravit, non baptizetur post ebriosum, qui regnum Dei non possidebit? Quid hic respondetur, nisi quia ille baptismus erat Joannis, post quem Christi baptismo baptizavit Apostolus; iste autem baptismus Christi est, quo baptizavit ebriosus? Inter Joannem et ebriosum a contrario multum interest: inter baptismum Christi et baptismum Joannis non a contrario, sed tamen multum interest. Inter Apostolum et ebriosum multum interest: inter baptismum Christi quem dedit Apostolus, et baptismum Christi quem dedit ebriosus, nihil interest. Sic inter Joannem et haereticum, a contrario multum interest; et inter baptismum Joannis, et inter baptismum Christi quem dat haereticus, non a contrario, sed multum interest. Inter baptismum autem Christi quem dedit Apostolus, et baptismum Christi quem dat haereticus, nihil interest. Agnoscitur enim Sacramentorum species aequalis, etiam cum magna differentia est in hominum meritis.

Why therefore did he not baptize after the former, who had baptized after John, unless because this baptism, given through whomsoever, was Christ's; but that other, given through whomsoever, although it prepared the way for Christ, was nevertheless John's?

48. It seems to be said invidiously, "There was baptism after John, and there is no baptism after heretics": but this also can be said invidiously, "There was baptism after John, and there is no baptism after drunkards." For I mention this vice better, which they in whom it reigns cannot even hide; and how many there are everywhere, who even blind is ignorant? And yet among the works of the flesh, which those who do them shall not possess the kingdom of God, the Apostle also places this, where he also enumerates heresies: "Now the works of the flesh are manifest," he says, "which are fornications, uncleanness, luxury, service of idols, poisonings, enmities, contentions, emulations, animosities, dissensions, heresies, envies, drunkennness, revelings, and things like to these, which I foretell to you as I have foretold, that they who do such things shall not possess the kingdom of God" (Gal. V, 19-21). By this reason, therefore, although there was baptism after John, there is no baptism after a heretic, by which reason although there was baptism after John, there is no baptism after a drunkard; since both heresies and drunkenness are in those works, which works those who do, shall not possess the kingdom of God. Does it not seem to you as if intolerably unworthy, that when there was baptism after him who, not soberly drinking wine, but not drinking wine at all, prepared the way for the kingdom of God, there should be no baptism after a drunkard, who shall not possess the kingdom of God? What is answered here, unless because that baptism was John's, after which the Apostle baptized with the baptism of Christ; but this baptism is Christ's, with which the drunkard baptized? Between John and the drunkard there is a great difference by way of contrary: between the baptism of Christ and the baptism of John there is not a difference by way of contrary, but yet there is a great difference. Between the Apostle and the drunkard there is a great difference: between the baptism of Christ which the Apostle gave, and the baptism of Christ which the drunkard gave, there is no difference. So between John and the heretic, there is a great difference by way of contrary; and between the baptism of John, and between the baptism of Christ which the heretic gives, there is not a difference by way of contrary, but there is a great difference. But between the baptism of Christ which the Apostle gave, and the baptism of Christ which the heretic gives, there is no difference. For the species of the Sacraments is recognized as equal, even when there is a great difference in the merits of men.

49. Sed da veniam, erravi, quando te volui de ebrioso baptizante convincere; exciderat mihi cum rogatista me rem habere, non cum qualicumque donatista. Potes enim tu in tam paucis collegis tuis, et in omnibus clericis vestris nullum invenire forsitan ebriosum. Vos enim estis, qui non ex totius orbis communione, sed ex observatione praeceptorum omnium divinorum atque omnium Sacramentorum tenetis catholicam fidem: in quibus eam solis inventurus est, cum venerit Filius hominis, quando non inveniet fidem in terra; quia nec terra estis, nec in terra, sed coelestes in coelo habitatis! Nec timetis, nec attenditis quia Deus superbis resistit, humilibus autem dat gratiam? (Jacobi IV, 6.) Nec vos Evangelii locus ipse compungit, ubi Dominus ait: Cum venerit Filius hominis, putas inveniet fidem in terra (Luc. XVIII, 8)? Continuo quippe tanquam praesciens nonnullos sibi superbe arrogaturos hanc fidem, dixit ad quosdam, qui sibi justi videbantur et spernebant caeteros, similitudinem hanc: Duo quidam ascenderunt in templum orare, unus pharisaeus et alter publicanus (Id., 10), et caetera. Jam tibi quae sequuntur, ipse responde. Inspice tamen diligentius ipsos paucos vestros, utrum nullus illic baptizet ebriosus. Tam enim late vastat haec pestilentia animas, et tanta libertate dominatur, ut multum mirer si non etiam vestrum gregiculum penetravit; quamvis ante ipsum adventum Filii hominis, unius boni pastoris, jam vos oves ab haedis separasse jactetis.

CAPUT XII.

50. Audi sane per me vocem dominicorum frumentorum, in area dominica usque ad ultimam ventilationem inter paleam laborantium (Matth. III, 12), per totum scilicet mundum, quia Deus vocavit terram a solis ortu usque ad occasum (Psal. XLIX, 1), ubi etiam pueri laudant Dominum (Psal. CXII, 1-3): Quicumque vos ex occasione legis hujus imperialis, non dilectione corrigendi, sed inimicandi odio persequitur, displicet nobis. Et quamvis res quaeque terrena non recte a quoquam possideri possit, nisi vel jure divino, quo cuncta justorum sunt, vel jure humano, quod in potestate regum est terrae; ideoque res vestras falso appelletis, quas nec justi possidetis, et secundum leges regum terrenorum amittere jussi estis, frustraque dicatis, Nos eis congregandis laboravimus, cum scriptum legatis, Labores impiorum justi edent (Prov. XIII, 22): sed tamen quisquis ex occasione hujus legis, quam reges terrae Christo servientes, ad emendandam vestram impietatem promulgaverunt, res proprias vestras cupide appetit, displicet nobis.

49. But grant pardon, I erred, when I wished to convince you concerning a drunkard baptizing; it had escaped me that I have to do with a Rogatist, not with any Donatist whatever. For you can perhaps find no drunkard in those so few colleagues of yours, and in all your clerics. For you are they who, not from the communion of the whole world, but from the observation of all the divine precepts and of all the Sacraments, hold the Catholic faith: in whom alone He is to find it, when the Son of Man shall come, when He shall not find faith on the earth; because you are neither earth, nor on the earth, but celestial you inhabit in heaven! Nor do you fear, nor do you attend that "God resists the proud, but gives grace to the humble" (James IV, 6). Nor does the very place of the Gospel sting you, where the Lord says: "When the Son of Man shall come, do you think He will find faith on the earth?" (Luke XVIII, 8). For immediately, as if foreseeing that some would proudly arrogate this faith to themselves, He said to certain persons who seemed to themselves to be just and despised others, this similitude: "Two men went up into the temple to pray, one a Pharisee and the other a publican" (Id., 10), and the rest. Now answer the things which follow yourself. Nevertheless, look more diligently into those few of yours, whether no drunkard baptizes there. For so widely does this pestilence lay waste souls, and with so great liberty does it dominate, that I should much wonder if it has not also penetrated your little flock; although before the very coming of the Son of Man, the one good shepherd, you already boast that you have separated the sheep from the goats.

CHAPTER XII.

50. Hear indeed through me the voice of the lordly wheat, laboring in the lordly threshing-floor even unto the last winnowing among the chaff (Matt. III, 12), namely through the whole world, because God has called the earth from the rising of the sun even unto its setting (Psalm XLIX, 1), where even children praise the Lord (Psalm CXII, 1-3): Whoever persecutes you on the occasion of this imperial law, not with the love of correcting, but with the hatred of enmitizing, displeases us. And although each earthly thing cannot be rightly possessed by anyone, unless either by divine right, by which all things belong to the just, or by human right, which is in the power of the kings of the earth; and therefore you falsely call those things yours, which you do not possess as just men, and which you were ordered to lose according to the laws of earthly kings, and you say in vain, "We labored in gathering them," when you read it written, "The just shall eat the labors of the impious" (Prov. XIII, 22): nevertheless whoever, on the occasion of this law which the kings of the earth serving Christ promulgated for the mending of your impiety, greedily desires your own things, displeases us.

Quisquis denique ipsas res pauperum, vel basilicas congregationum, quas sub nomine Ecclesiae tenebatis, quae omnino non debentur nisi ei Ecclesiae quae vera Christi Ecclesia est, non per justitiam, sed per avaritiam tenet, displicet nobis. Quisquis pro aliquo flagitio vel facinore projectum a vobis ita suscipit, sicut suscipiuntur qui, excepto errore quo a nobis separamini, sine crimine apud vos vixerunt, displicet nobis. Sed nec facile ista monstratis; et si monstretis, nonnullos toleramus, quos corrigere vel punire non possumus: neque propter paleam relinquimus aream Domini, neque propter pisces malos rumpimus retia Domini, neque propter haedos in fine segregandos, deserimus gregem Domini, neque propter vasa facta in contumeliam, migramus de domo Domini.

CAPUT XIII.

51. Tu autem, frater, quantum mihi videtur, si vanam gloriam hominum non attendas, et insensatorum contemnas opprobrium, qui dicturi sunt, Quare modo destruis quae prius aedificabas ; sine dubio transies ad Ecclesiam, quam veram sentire te intelligo: nec hujus sententiae tuae testimonia longe peto. Tu quippe in ejusdem tuae epistolae principio, cui nunc respondeo, haec verba posuisti: Cum optime, inquis, noverim te longe adhuc a fide christiana sepositum, et studiis olim deditum litterarum, quietis et honestatis fuisse cultorem; cumque postea conversus ad christianam fidem ut ex multorum relatione cognovi, disputationibus legalibus operam dares. Certe si tu ad me illam epistolam misisti, haec verba tua sunt. Cum ergo fatearis me conversum ad christianam fidem; cum ego nec ad Donatistas, nec ad Rogatistas conversus sim, sine ulla dubitatione confirmas, et praeter Rogatistas, et praeter Donatistas esse christianam fidem. Haec ergo fides, sicut dicimus, in omnibus gentibus dilatatur, quae secundum Dei testimonium in semine Abrahae benedicuntur (Gen. XXII, 18). Quid igitur adhuc dubitas tenere quod sentis, nisi quia id quod nunc sentis, vel aliquando non sensisse, vel aliud defendisse confunderis; et dum erubescis corrigere errorem, non erubescis permanere in errore, quod utique potius erubescendum fuit?

Finally, whoever holds those very things of the poor, or the basilicas of the congregations, which you were holding under the name of the Church, which are not due at all except to that Church which is the true Church of Christ, not through justice but through avarice, displeases us. Whoever so receives one cast out from you for any disgrace or crime, as those are received who, the error by which you are separated from us excepted, have lived without crime among you, displeases us. But neither do you easily show these things; and if you should show them, we tolerate some whom we cannot correct or punish: neither on account of the chaff do we relinquish the threshing-floor of the Lord, nor on account of the bad fish do we break the nets of the Lord, nor on account of the goats to be segregated at the end do we desert the flock of the Lord, nor on account of the vessels made unto dishonor do we migrate from the house of the Lord.

CHAPTER XIII.

51. But you, brother, as it seems to me, if you do not attend to the vain glory of men, and if you despise the reproach of the senseless, who are going to say, "Why do you now destroy what you previously built up?"; without doubt you will pass over to the Church, which I understand you feel to be the true one: nor do I seek the testimonies of this your opinion from afar. For you indeed, in the beginning of that same letter of yours to which I now respond, placed these words: "Since," you say, "I have known most well that you were until now set far apart from the Christian faith, and formerly devoted to the studies of letters, were a cultivator of quiet and of honesty; and since afterwards converted to the Christian faith, as I have learned from the report of many, you gave attention to legal disputations." Certainly if you sent that letter to me, these words are yours. Since therefore you confess me converted to the Christian faith; since I was converted neither to the Donatists, nor to the Rogatists, without any doubt you confirm that there is a Christian faith besides the Rogatists and besides the Donatists. This faith therefore, as we say, is dilated in all nations, which according to the testimony of God are blessed in the seed of Abraham (Gen. XXII, 18). Why therefore do you still doubt to hold what you feel, unless because you are confounded that what you now feel, you at one time did not feel, or defended something else; and while you blush to correct the error, you do not blush to remain in error, which certainly was rather to be blushed at?

52. Hoc est illud quod Scriptura non tacuit: Est confusio adducens peccatum, et est confusio adducens gratiam et gloriam (Eccli. IV, 25). Confusio adducit peccatum, cum erubescit quisque pravam mutare sententiam ne aut inconstans putetur, aut diu errasse seipso judice teneatur: ita descendunt in infernum viventes (Psal. LIV, 16), id est, suam perditionem sentientes; quos Dathan et Abiron et Core hiatu terrae absorpti (Num. XVI, 31-33), tanto ante futuros figuraverunt. Confusio autem adducit gratiam et gloriam, cum erubescit quisque de propria iniquitate, et poenitendo in melius commutatur; quod te facere piget illa perniciosa confusione superatum; ne tibi ab hominibus nescientibus quid loquantur, objiciatur illa apostolica sententia: Si enim quae destruxi, eadem iterum aedifico, praevaricatorem meipsum constituo (Gal. II, 18). Quae si dici posset etiam in eos qui veritatem correcti praedicant, quam perversi oppugnabant, in ipsum Paulum primitus diceretur, in quo Ecclesiae Christi magnificabant Deum, audientes quod evangelizaret fidem quam aliquando vastabat (Galat. I, 23).

53. Nec quemquam putes ab errore ad veritatem, vel a quocumque seu magno seu parvo peccato ad correctionem sine poenitentia posse transire. Sed nimis impudens error est, hinc velle calumniari Ecclesiam, quam tot divinis testimoniis constat esse Ecclesiam Christi, quod aliter tractat illos qui eam deserunt, si hoc ipsum poenitendo corrigant, aliter illos qui in ea nondum fuerunt, et tunc primum ejus pacem accipiunt; illos amplius humiliando, istos lenius suscipiendo, utrosque diligendo, utrisque sanandis materna charitate serviendo. Habes epistolam prolixiorem fortasse quam velles. Esset autem multo brevior, si te tantum in respondendo cogitarem: nunc vero etiamsi tibi nihil prosit, non puto nihil eis profuturam, qui eam legere cum Dei timore, et sine personarum acceptione curaverint. Amen.

EPISTOLA XCIV . Paulinus Augustino gratias agens pro libro vel epistola ab ipso recepta, prosequitur laudes Melaniae senioris, et unici ejus filii Publicolae nuper defuncti: nonnulla de futura in coelis actione beatorum post resurrectionem.

Sancto Domini beatissimo et unice nobis unanimo, ac venerabili patri, fratri, magistro AUGUSTINO episcopo, PAULINUS et THERASIA peccatores.

52. This is that which Scripture has not kept silent: "There is a confusion bringing sin, and there is a confusion bringing grace and glory" (Ecclus. IV, 25). Confusion brings sin, when each one blushes to change a perverse opinion lest he be thought inconstant, or be held by himself as judge to have erred for a long time: so they descend living into hell (Psalm LIV, 16), that is, feeling their own perdition; whom Dathan and Abiram and Korah, absorbed by the opening of the earth (Num. XVI, 31-33), figured so long before as those about to be. But confusion brings grace and glory, when each one blushes for his own iniquity, and by repenting is changed for the better; which it irks you to do, overcome by that pernicious confusion; lest that apostolic sentence be objective to you by men not knowing what they speak: "For if I build again the things which I destroyed, I constitute myself a prevaricator" (Gal. II, 18). Which if it could be said also against those who, being corrected, preach the truth which as perverts they were impugning, it would have been said primarily against Paul himself, in whom the Churches of Christ magnified God, hearing that he evangelized the faith which at one time he was wasting (Gal. I, 23).

53. Nor should you think that anyone can pass from error to truth, or from any sin whether great or small to correction, without repentance. But it is a too impudent error to wish to calumniate the Church from this, which by so many divine testimonies it is clear is the Church of Christ, because she treats otherwise those who desert her, if they correct this very thing by repenting, otherwise those who have not yet been in her, and then first receive her peace; by humbling those more, by receiving these more gently, by loving both, by serving both to be healed with maternal charity. You have a letter longer perhaps than you would wish. But it would be much shorter, if I were thinking only of you in responding: but now even if it profits you nothing, I do not think it will be of no profit to those who shall have cared to read it with the fear of God, and without respect of persons. Amen.

EPISTLE XCIV. Paulinus giving thanks to Augustine for a book or letter received from him, pursues the praises of Melania the elder, and of her only son Publicola recently deceased: some things concerning the future action of the blessed in heaven after the resurrection.

To the most blessed and uniquely with us of one mind in the Lord, and venerable father, brother, master AUGUSTINE the bishop, PAULINUS and THERASIA, sinners.

1. Lucerna semper est pedibus meis verbum tuum, et lumen semitis meis. Ita quotiescumque litteras beatissimae Sanctitatis tuae accipio, tenebras insipientiae meae discuti sentio, et quasi collyrio declarationis infuso oculis mentis meae, purius video, ignorantiae nocte depulsa et caligine dubitationis abstersa. Quod cum saepe alias per munera epistolarum tuarum mihi donatum senserim, tum praecipue isto recentium litterarum libello, cujus mihi tam gratus quam dignus portitor fuit vir benedictus Domini frater noster Quintus diaconus: qui longo quidem posteaquam ad Urbem venerat intervallo, cum eo juxta solemnem meum morem post Pascha Domini, pro Apostolorum et martyrum veneratione venissem, benedictionem oris tui reddidit nobis; verumtamen oblitterato, quod nesciente me Romae consumpserat, tempore, recentissimus mihi visus est a conspectu tuo, ita ut tunc statim eum a te mihi venisse vix crederem, cum primum videbam et cum mihi plenum odorem suavitatis tuae in eloquiis tuis coelestis unguenti castitate fragrantibus offerebat. Fateor tamen venerandae Unanimitati tuae, non potuisse me volumen ipsum, statim ut acceperam, Romae legere. Tantae enim illic turbae erant, ut non possem munus tuum diligenter inspicere, et eo ut cupiebam perfrui; scilicet ut perlegerem jugiter, si legere coepissem. Itaque ut fieri solet secura exspectatione convivii praeparati, avidae licet mentis esuriem refrenavi, et spe certa capiendae saturitatis, cum in manu tenerem panes desiderii mei in volumine devorando, quod postea voranti mihi et in ore et in ventre dulcissimum fuit, inhiantem in favos litterarum tuarum gulam facile suspendi, donec Urbe proficiscerer, et interponendum ad itineris stativa diem, quem in oppido Formiano habuimus, totum huic operi manciparem, ut in deliciis epistolae tuae spiritualibus ab omni faece curarem et suffocatione turbarum liber epularer.

2. Quid ergo humilis et terrenus respondeam ad hanc sapientiam quae data est tibi desuper, quam hic mundus non capit, et quam nemo sapit, nisi sapientia Dei sapiens, et Dei verbo eloquens? Itaque quia experimentum habeo Christi in te loquentis, in Deo laudabo sermones tuos, et non timebo a timore nocturno. Quia docuisti me in spiritu veritatis salubre moderandi in occiduis mortalibus animi temperamentum, quo et illam beatam matrem et aviam Melaniam flevisse carnalem obitum unici filii, taciturno quidem luctu, non tamen sicco a maternis lacrymis dolore vidisti.

1. Your word is always a lamp to my feet, and a light to my paths. Thus as often as I receive the letters of your most blessed Holiness, I feel the shadows of my insipience discussed, and as if a collyrium of declaration were infused into the eyes of my mind, I see more purely, the night of ignorance having been driven away and the fog of doubt wiped away. Which although I have felt donated to me often at other times through the gifts of your letters, yet especially in this little book of recent letters, of which the blessed man of the Lord our brother Quintus the deacon was to me a carrier as grateful as he was worthy: who indeed after a long interval since he had come to the City, when I had come thither according to my solemn custom after the Easter of the Lord, for the veneration of the Apostles and martyrs, rendered to us the blessing of your mouth; nevertheless, the time which he had consumed in Rome without my knowing it having been obliterated, he seemed most recent to me from your sight, so that I then immediately hardly believed that he had come to me from you, when I first saw him and when he offered to me the full odor of your sweetness in your discourses fragrant with the chastity of celestial ointment. I confess nevertheless to your venerable Unanimity, that I could not read that volume itself immediately as I had received it in Rome. For so great crowds were there, that I could not diligently inspect your gift, and enjoy it as I desired; namely that I might read it through continuously, if I had begun to read it. Therefore as is wont to happen in the secure expectation of a prepared banquet, I restrained the hunger of my mind, albeit greedy, and with the certain hope of taking satiety, when I held in my hand the breads of my desire in the volume to be devoured, which afterwards was most sweet to me devouring it both in the mouth and in the belly, I easily suspended my gullet gaping at the honeycombs of your letters, until I should depart from the City, and should dedicate a whole day to be interposed at a station of the journey, which we had in the town of Formiae, to this work, so that in the spiritual delights of your letter I might feast free from all dregs of care and from the suffocation of crowds.

2. What therefore shall I, humble and earthly, respond to this wisdom which was given to you from above, which this world does not take, and which no one tastes, except the one wise with the wisdom of God, and eloquent with the word of God? Therefore because I have the experience of Christ speaking in you, I will praise your sermons in God, and I will not fear from the nocturnal fear. Because you taught me in the spirit of truth a salutary temperament of mind to be moderated in western mortals, by which you saw that blessed mother and grandmother Melania to have wept the carnal death of her only son, with a silent grief indeed, but not a sorrow dry from maternal tears.

Cujus quidem modestas et graves lacrymas, sicut propior vel aequalior animae ejus spiritus altius intellexisti, et perfectae in Christo feminae, salva virilis animi fortitudine, cor maternum de cordis tui similitudine melius ex aequo statu contemplatus es, ut eam primum pro naturali affectione permotam, deinde causa potiore compunctam flevisse perspiceres, non tam illud humanum, quod unicum filium conditione mortali defunctum in praesenti saeculo amisisset, quam quod propemodum in saeculari vanitate praeventum (quia necdum illum deseruerat senatoriae dignitatis ambitio), non juxta sanctam votorum suorum avaritiam cogitaret assumptum ut de conversionis gloria transisset ad gloriam resurrectionis, communem cum matre requiem, coronamque capturus, si in hujus saeculi vita matris exemplo saccum togae et monasterium Senatui praetulisset.

3. Verumtamen idem vir, ut et antea retulisse me puto Sanctitati tuae, his operibus locupletatus abscessit, ut maternae humilitatis nobilitatem si veste non gesserit, tamen mente praetulerit. Ita enim secundum verbum Domini mitis moribus fuit et humilis corde (Matth. XI, 29), ut non immerito credatur introisse in requiem Domini. Quoniam sunt reliquiae homini pacifico (Psal. XXXVI, 37), et mansueti possidebunt terram (Matth. V, 4), placentes Deo in regione vivorum (Psal. CXIV, 9). Nam certe et illud Apostoli, non solum tacito mentis affectu, sed et conspicuis religiosus implevit officiis, ut cum esset altorum hujus saeculi in ordine et honore collega, non tamen ut gloriosus terrae, alta saperet, sed ut Christi perfectus imitator humilibus consentiret (Rom. XII, 16), et tota etiam die misereri et commodare persisteret. Unde et semen ejus potens in terra factum est, inter eos qui dii fortes terrae nimium elevati sunt; ut etiam de beatissima familiae ac domus ejus visitatione sanctum hominis meritum reveletur. «Generatio,» inquit, «rectorum benedicetur. Gloria,» non caduca, «et divitiae,» non labentes, «in domo ejus» (Psal. CXI, 2, 3): domo quae aedificatur in coelis, non labore manuum, sed operum sanctitate. Sed cesso plura de memoria tam dilecti mihi quam devoti Christo hominis enarrare, cum et pristinis litteris non pauca super eo narrasse me reputem, et nihil possim de beata hujus filii matre, et sanctorum pari radice ramorum, Melania melius aut sanctius praedicare, quam Sanctitas tua in eam profari et disputare dignata est; ut quia ego peccator immunda labia habens, nihil dignum loqui potueram, ut longinquus a meritis fidei ejus animaeque virtutibus, tu ille vir Christi, doctor Israel in Ecclesia veritatis, procurante in melius Dei gratia, parareris dignior tam virilis in Christo animae praedicator, qui et mentem ejus divina virtute firmatam, ut dixi, spiritu propiore conspiceres, et mixtam cum virtute pietatem eloquio digniore laudares.

Whose modest and grave tears indeed, as a spirit closer or more equal to her soul you understood more deeply, and you contemplated from the similitude of your own heart the maternal heart of the woman perfected in Christ, the fortitude of a manly mind being saved, so that you might perceive her to have wept first moved by natural affection, then compuncted by a more powerful cause, not so much that human thing, that she had lost her only son defunct by mortal condition in the present age, as because you thought him assumed as if prevented in secular vanity (because the ambition of senatorial dignity had not yet deserted him), not according to the holy avarice of her vows, so that from the glory of conversion he might have passed to the glory of resurrection, about to take common rest and a crown with his mother, if in the life of this age, following the example of his mother, he had preferred the sackcloth to the toga and the monastery to the Senate.

3. Nevertheless the same man, as I think I have previously reported to your Holiness, departed enriched with these works, so that if he did not wear the nobility of maternal humility in his garment, nevertheless he preferred it in his mind. For he was so mild in manners and humble in heart according to the word of the Lord (Matt. XI, 29), that it is not undeservedly believed that he entered into the rest of the Lord. Since there are remains for the peaceful man (Psalm XXXVI, 37), and the meek shall possess the earth (Matt. V, 4), pleasing God in the region of the living (Psalm CXIV, 9). For certainly he religiously fulfilled that also of the Apostle, not only with a silent affection of mind, but also with conspicuous offices, so that when he was a colleague of the high ones of this age in order and honor, nevertheless he did not, as a glorious one of the earth, savor high things, but as a perfect imitator of Christ he consented to the humble (Rom. XII, 16), and persisted even all day in showing mercy and lending. Whence also his seed was made powerful on the earth, among those who as strong gods of the earth were very much elevated; so that even from the most blessed visitation of his family and house the holy merit of the man is revealed. "The generation," he says, "of the upright shall be blessed. Glory," not falling away, "and riches," not slipping, "are in his house" (Psalm CXI, 2, 3): a house which is built in the heavens, not by the labor of hands, but by the sanctity of works. But I cease to narrate more concerning the memory of a man as much beloved by me as devoted to Christ, since I consider that I have narrated not a few things about him in former letters, and I can preach nothing better or more holy concerning the blessed mother of this son, and of the branches of an equal root of saints, Melania, than your Holiness has deigned to speak and to dispute concerning her; so that because I a sinner having unclean lips, had been able to speak nothing worthy, as being far from the merits of her faith and the virtues of her soul, you that man of Christ, teacher of Israel in the Church of truth, by the grace of God procuring for the better, were prepared a more worthy preacher of so manly a soul in Christ, who might both behold her mind strengthened by divine virtue, as I said, with a closer spirit, and might praise piety mixed with virtue with a more worthy eloquence.

4. Quae vero post resurrectionem carnis in illo saeculo beatorum futura sit actio, tu me interrogare dignatus es. At ego de praesenti vitae meae statu ut magis rum et medicum spiritualem consulo, ut doceas me facere voluntates Dei, tuisque vestigiis ambulare post Christum, et morte ista evangelica prius emori, qua carnalem resolutionem voluntario praevenimus excessu; non obitu, sed sententia recedentes ab hujus saeculi vita, quae tota tentationum, vel, ut tu aliquando ad me locutus es, tota tentatio est. Utinam ergo sic dirigantur viae meae post vestigia tua, ut exemplo tuo solvens calceamentum vetus de pedibus meis, disrumpam vincula mea, et liber exsultem ad currendum viam, quo possim assequi mortem istam, qua tu mortuus es huic saeculo, ut vivas Deo in Christo vivente in te, cujus et mors et vita in corpore tuo et corde et ore cognoscitur! quia non sapit cor tuum terrena, nec os tuum loquitur opera hominum; sed verbum Christi abundat in pectore tuo, et spiritus veritatis effunditur in lingua tua superni fluminis impetu laetificans civitatem Dei.

5. Quae autem virtus hanc in nobis efficit mortem, nisi charitas, quae fortis est ut mors? Sic enim oblitterat nobis et perimit hoc saeculum, ut impleat mortis effectum per affectum Christi, in quem conversi avertimur ab hoc mundo, et cui viventes morimur ab elementis hujus mundi. Nec tanquam viventes in eorum conspectu visuque decernimus, quia portio nostra mors Christi est: cujus a mortuis resurrectionem non apprehendimus in gloria, nisi mortem ejus in cruce mortificatis membris et sensibus carnis imitemur; ut jam non nostra voluntate vivamus, sed illius, cujus voluntas sanctificatio nostra est, et qui ideo pro nobis mortuus est et resurrexit, ut jam non nobis, sed illi vivamus, qui pro nobis mortuus est et resurrexit, et dedit nobis pignus repromissionis suae spiritu suo, sicut pignus vitae nostrae posuit in coelis in corpore suo, quod est caput corporis nostri. Unde nunc exspectatio nostra Dominus est et substantia, quae ab ipso facta est apud ipsum, et in ipso, et per ipsum, qui conformatus est corpori humilitatis nostrae, ut nos conformaret corpori gloriae suae, et secum in coelestibus collocaret. Propterea et qui digni fuerint vita aeterna, erunt in gloria regni ejus, ut cum ipso sint (I Thess. IV, 16), sicut Apostolus ait, et cum ipso maneant sicut et ipse Dominus ad Patrem dixit: «Volo ut ubi ego sum, et illi sint mecum» (Joan. XVII, 24).

4. But what is to be the action of the blessed in that age after the resurrection of the flesh, you have deigned to ask me. But I consult you about the present state of my life as a master and spiritual physician, that you may teach me to do the wills of God, and to walk in your footsteps after Christ, and to die first with that evangelical death, by which we prevent carnal resolution by a voluntary excess; not by death, but by sentence receding from the life of this age, which is all of temptations, or, as you once spoke to me, is all temptation. Would that therefore my ways were so directed after your footsteps, that by your example loosening the old shoe from my feet, I might break my chains, and free I might exult to run the way, by which I might be able to attain that death, by which you are dead to this age, so that you may live to God in Christ living in you, whose both death and life is known in your body and heart and mouth! because your heart does not savor earthly things, nor does your mouth speak the works of men; but the word of Christ abounds in your breast, and the spirit of truth is poured out in your tongue with the impetus of a supernal river gladdening the city of God.

5. But what virtue effects this death in us, unless charity, which is strong as death? For thus it obliterates and perishes this age for us, that it may fulfill the effect of death through the affection of Christ, into whom converted we are turned away from this world, and to whom living we die from the elements of this world. Nor as living in their sight and vision do we discern, because our portion is the death of Christ: whose resurrection from the dead we do not apprehend in glory, unless we imitate His death on the cross with mortified members and senses of the flesh; so that we may no longer live by our own will, but by His, whose will is our sanctification, and who therefore died for us and rose again, that we might no longer live to ourselves, but to Him who died for us and rose again, and gave us the pledge of His promise by His spirit, just as He placed the pledge of our life in the heavens in His own body, which is the head of our body. Whence now our expectation is the Lord and the substance, which was made by Him with Himself, and in Him, and through Him, who was conformed to the body of our humility, that He might conform us to the body of His glory, and place us with Himself in the celestials. Therefore also those who shall have been worthy of eternal life, shall be in the glory of His kingdom, so that they may be with Him (I Thess. IV, 16), as the Apostle says, and remain with Him as also the Lord Himself said to the Father: "I will that where I am, they also may be with me" (John XVII, 24).

6. Sine dubio hoc illud est quod in Psalmis habes: «Beati qui habitant in domo tua; in saecula saeculorum laudabunt te» (Psal. LXXXIII, 5). Puto autem hanc laudationem vocibus concinentium esse promendam: etsi immutabuntur sanctorum resurgentium corpora, ut sint sicut et Domini corpus post resurrectionem apparuit; in qua utique resurrectionis humanae viva imago praefulsit, ut Dominus ipse, qui in corpore ipso quo passus fuerat et resurrexisset, quasi speculum contemplationis omnibus fuerit. Qui utique cum in eadem carne, qua mortuus et sepultus fuerat, resurrexisset, omnium omnia officia membrorum expressa oculis et auribus hominum saepe collatus exhibuit. Quod si etiam Angeli, quorum simpliciter spiritualis est creatura, linguas habere dicuntur, quibus utique laudes Domino creatori cantant et gratias referre non desinunt, quanto magis hominum, etsi spiritualia jam post resurrectionem corpora, manentibus tamen glorificatae carnis omnibus membris, et per omnia membra formis et numeris suis, et linguas habebunt in oribus suis, et linguis effantibus dabunt voces, quibus divinas laudes vel sensuum suorum gaudiorumque affectus per verba depromant. Forte etiam hoc gratiae gloriaeque appositurо sanctis suis Domino, in saeculis regni sui, ut tanto potioribus linguis et vocibus canant, quanto ad beatiorem naturam corporum beata immutatione profecerint, ut in corporibus jam spiritualibus constituti, jam forsitan non humanis, sed illis angelicis atque coelestibus, quales Apostolus audivit in paradiso (II Cor. XII, 4) sermonibus eloquantur. Et ideo forsitan homini ineffabiles eos sermones fuisse testatus est, quia sanctis, inter alias praemiorum species, jam novae linguae parantur. Quibus idcirco hominibus hujus saeculi adhuc uti non licet. ut jam his gloriae suae congruentibus immortales loquantur, de quibus dictum est, «Etenim clamabunt et hymnum dicent» (Psal. LXIV, 14); procul dubio in coelestibus, ubi cum Domino erunt, et delectabuntur in abundantia pacis, gaudentes in conspectu throni, mittentes ante pedes Agni pateras et coronas, et canentes ei canticum novum, aggregati choris Angelorum, Virtutum, Dominationum, Thronorum, ut et ipsi cum Cherubim atque Seraphim, et quatuor illis animalibus, voce perpetua concinentes dicant, «Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, Dominus Deus sabaoth» (Isai. VI, 3, et Apoc. IV, 8-10), et reliqua quae nosti.

6. Without doubt this is that which you have in the Psalms: "Blessed are they who dwell in your house; they shall praise you for ages of ages" (Psalm LXXXIII, 5). But I think that this praise is to be brought forth by the voices of those singing together: although the bodies of the rising saints will be changed, so that they may be as also the body of the Lord appeared after the resurrection; in which certainly a living image of human resurrection shone forth, as the Lord Himself, who in that very body in which He had suffered and had risen again, was as it were a mirror of contemplation to all. Who certainly when He had risen again in the same flesh in which He had died and been buried, exhibited all the offices of all the members expressed to the eyes and ears of men, often brought together. But if even the Angels, whose creature is simply spiritual, are said to have tongues, with which certainly they sing praises to the Lord the creator and do not cease to render thanks, how much more shall the bodies of men, although spiritual already after the resurrection, nevertheless with all the members of the glorified flesh remaining, and through all the members with their forms and numbers, also have tongues in their mouths, and shall give voices with their speaking tongues, by which they may bring forth divine praises or the affections of their senses and joys through words. Perhaps also the Lord will add this of grace and glory to His saints, in the ages of His kingdom, that they may sing with tongues and voices so much more powerful, as they shall have profited to a more blessed nature of bodies by a blessed mutation, so that constituted already in spiritual bodies, perhaps no longer human, but those angelic and celestial ones, they may speak in such discourses as the Apostle heard in paradise (II Cor. XII, 4). And therefore perhaps he testified those discourses to have been ineffable to man, because for the saints, among other species of rewards, new tongues are now being prepared. Which therefore it is not yet permitted to the men of this age to use. So that already immortals may speak with these things congruent to their glory, concerning whom it is said, "For they shall cry out and say a hymn" (Psalm LXIV, 14); without doubt in the celestials, where they will be with the Lord, and shall be delighted in the abundance of peace, rejoicing in the sight of the throne, sending before the feet of the Lamb bowls and crowns, and singing to Him a new song, aggregated to the choirs of Angels, Virtues, Dominations, Thrones, so that they also with the Cherubim and Seraphim, and those four animals, singing together with perpetual voice may say, "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of sabaoth" (Isaiah VI, 3, and Apoc. IV, 8-10), and the rest which you know.

7. Hoc est ergo quod egenus et pauper ego ille insipiens et parvulus tuus, quem ut verus sapiens ferre consuesti, rogo ut me scientiam vel opinionem super hoc tuam doceas (quia scio te illuminatum spiritu revelationis ab ipso duce et fonte sapientium, ut sicut praeterita cognovisti, et praesentia vides, ita etiam de futuris aestimes); quid censeas de his coelestium creaturarum, vel etiam super coelos in conspectu Altissimi agentium vocibus sempiternis, quibus tandem organis exprimantur. Quamvis enim Apostolus dicendo, «Si linguis Angelorum loquar» (I Cor. XIII, 1), proprium quemdam illos suae naturae, vel, ut ita dixerim, gentis habere sermonem ostenderit, tanto humanis sensibus et eloquiis altiorem, quanto ipsa Angelorum creatura et statio mortalibus incolis et terrenis sedibus praestat: attamen forsitan linguas Angelorum pro generibus vocum atque sermonum dixerit, sicut et de charismatum varietate disserens inter dona gratiarum numerat genera linguarum (Id. XII), utique hoc in signo esse significans, quod multarum gentium sermone loqui singulis donaretur. Sed et vox Dei saepe ad sanctos emissa de nube, ostendit posse loquelam esse sine lingua. Siquidem lingua corporis membrum sit pusillum, et magnum. Sed forte ex hoc ipso quia in hoc membro vocis officium Deus posuit, etiam incorporeae Angelorum creaturae sermones et voces linguam vocaverit, sicut Scriptura solet Deo quoque secundum species operationum, nomina assignare membrorum. Ora pro nobis, et doce nos.

8. Frater noster charissimus et dulcissimus Quintus, quam tarde ad nos remeat a vobis, tam cito a nobis ad vos redire festinat: instantiam vero ejus in litteris exigendis et haec epistola lituris quam versibus crebrior loquitur, commemorati exactoris nimiam festinationem scheda fecit. Nam pridie idus maias venit ad nos ut rescripta peteret, et idibus ante sextam dimitti obtinuit. Videte ergo utrum eum commendaverim, vel accusaverim hujusmodi testimonio. Forte enim, imo sine dubio laudabilis magis quam culpabilis judicabitur, qui a tenebris, quod in comparatione vestri luminis sumus, justissime refestinavit ad lucem suam.»

Epistola XCV.

Augustinus superiori epistolae respondens agit de praesentis vitae statu, necnon de qualitate corporis beatorum, deque membrorum officiis post resurrectionem.

Dominis charissimis et sincerissimis, sanctis et desiderabilibus et venerabilibus fratribus, sub magistro Domino Jesu condiscipulis , PAULINO et THERASIAE, AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

7. This is therefore what I, needy and poor, that insipient and little one of yours, whom as a true wise man you have been accustomed to bear, ask that you teach me your knowledge or opinion upon this (because I know you to be illuminated with the spirit of revelation by the leader and source of the wise themselves, so that just as you have known past things, and see present things, so also you may estimate concerning future things); what you think concerning these sempiternal voices of celestial creatures, or even of those acting above the heavens in the sight of the Most High, by what organs they are finally expressed. For although the Apostle by saying, "If I speak with the tongues of Angels" (I Cor. XIII, 1), showed them to have a certain proper discourse of their own nature, or, as I might so say, of their race, as much higher than human senses and elocutions as the very creature and station of Angels excels mortal inhabitants and earthly seats: nevertheless perhaps he said "tongues of Angels" for the kinds of voices and discourses, just as also in discussing the variety of charisms he numbers among the gifts of graces the kinds of tongues (Id. XII), namely signifying this to be in a sign, that it was given to each to speak in the discourse of many nations. But also the voice of God often emitted to the saints from a cloud, shows that there can be speech without a tongue. Indeed the tongue of the body is a small member, and a great one. But perhaps from this very thing because God placed the office of voice in this member, He called also the discourses and voices of the incorporeal creature of Angels "tongue," as Scripture is accustomed to assign the names of members to God also according to the species of operations. Pray for us, and teach us.

8. Our most dear and sweet brother Quintus, as slowly as he returns to us from you, so quickly he hastens to return from us to you: indeed his instance in demanding letters and this epistle more frequent with erasures than with verses speaks, the paper made for the too great haste of the mentioned exacter. For on the eve of the ides of May he came to us to seek rescripts, and on the ides before the sixth [hour] he obtained to be dismissed. See therefore whether I have commended him, or accused him with a testimony of this kind. For perhaps, nay without doubt, he will be judged more praiseworthy than culpable, who from the darkness, which we are in comparison with your light, most justly hastened back to his own light.

Epistle XCV.

Augustine responding to the superior letter acts concerning the state of the present life, as well as concerning the quality of the body of the blessed, and concerning the offices of the members after the resurrection.

To the most dear and most sincere lords, holy and desirable and venerable brothers, fellow-disciples under the master the Lord Jesus, PAULINUS and THERASIA, AUGUSTINE, health in the Lord.

1. Cum vos fratres nostri conjunctissimi nobis, quos nobiscum desiderati desiderare, et salutati resalutare consuestis, assidue vident, non tam augentur bona nostra, quam consolantur mala. Nam ipsas causas et necessitates, et quantum valemus, devitare conamur, et tamen, nescio quomodo, credo pro meritis nostris, deesse non possunt: sed cum ad nos veniunt, et vident nos, fit quod scriptum est, Secundum multitudinem dolorum meorum in corde meo, exhortationes tuae jucundaverunt animam meam (Psal. XCIII, 19). Proinde ad istam laetitiam qua vobiscum est frater Possidius , cum ex ipso audieritis quam tristis eum causa compulerit, hoc me verissime dicere cognoscetis: et tamen si quisquam nostrum propter hoc solum iret trans mare, ut vestra praesentia frueretur, quid hac causa justius, quid posset dignius inveniri? Sed id vincula nostra non ferrent, quibus religati sumus infirmorum servire languoribus, nec eos praesentia corporali relinquere, nisi cum hoc cogunt tanto imperiosius, quanto periculosius aegrotando. Utrum exerceamur his, an potius plectamur, nescio, nisi quod non secundum peccata nostra facit nobis, neque secundum iniquitates nostras retribuit nobis (Psal. CII, 10), qui tanta solatia doloribus miscet, agitque mirabili medicina, ne amemus mundum, ne deficiamus in mundo.

2. Quaesivi abs te prioribus litteris, qualisnam tibi videatur futura aeterna vita sanctorum; sed bene mihi respondisti, etiam de praesentis vitae statu adhuc esse utique consulendum: nisi quod me consulere voluisti, quod aut mecum nescis, aut mecum scis, aut magis quam ego forsitan scis; quippe qui etiam verissime dixeris evangelicam mortem prius emoriendum, quam carnalem resolutionem voluntario praeveniamus excessu, non obitu, sed sententia recedentes ab hujus saeculi vita. Simplex haec actio, et nullo dubitationis aestu fluctuat, quod ita nos vivere oportere censemus in hac vita mortali, ut vitae immortali quodammodo coaptemur. Verum omnis quaestio, quae agentes quaerentesque conturbat homines, qualis ego sum, illa est, quonam modo vivendum sit, vel inter eos, vel propter eos qui nondum vivere moriendo noverunt, non resolutione corporis, sed quodam se a corporalibus illecebris avertentes mentis affectu. Plerumque enim videtur nobis quod nisi eis aliquantulum congruamus ad ea ipsa unde illos extrahi cupimus, nihil cum eis salubriter agere poterimus.

1. When our brothers most joined to us, whom you have been accustomed to desire as desired with us, and to resalute when saluted, see [you] assiduously, our goods are not so much increased, as our evils are consoled. For we try to avoid those very causes and necessities, as much as we prevail, and yet, I know not how, I believe for our merits, they cannot be wanting: but when they come to us, and see us, that happens which is written, "According to the multitude of my sorrows in my heart, your exhortations have gladdened my soul" (Psalm XCIII, 19). Accordingly, to that gladness by which brother Possidius is with you, when you shall have heard from him what a sad cause compelled him, you will know me to say this most truly: and yet if any of us should go across the sea for this alone, that he might enjoy your presence, what could be found more just than this cause, what more worthy? But our chains would not bear it, by which we are bound to serve the languors of the infirm, nor to relinquish them of corporal presence, unless when they compel this so much more imperiously, as they are more dangerously ill. Whether we are exercised by these things, or rather punished, I know not, except that He does not to us according to our sins, nor does He repay us according to our iniquities (Psalm CII, 10), who mixes so great solaces with sorrows, and acts with a wonderful medicine, lest we love the world, lest we fail in the world.

2. I asked of you in former letters, what kind of future eternal life of the saints seems to you; but you answered me well, that even concerning the state of the present life consultation must still certainly be made: except that you wished to consult me [about] what either you do not know with me, or you know with me, or you perhaps know more than I; since you indeed most truly said that one must first die with an evangelical death, before we prevent carnal resolution by a voluntary excess, not by death, but by sentence receding from the life of this age. This action is simple, and fluctuates with no tide of doubt, that we think we ought so to live in this mortal life, that we may be in some way coadapted to immortal life. But every question, which disturbs men acting and seeking, such as I am, is that, in what way one must live, either among those, or on account of those who have not yet known how to live by dying, not by resolution of the body, but by turning away from corporal allurements by a certain affection of the mind. For for the most part it seems to us that unless we are somewhat congruent with them in those very things from which we desire them to be extracted, we shall be able to do nothing healthily with them.

Quod cum facimus, talium delectatio subrepit et nobis, ut saepe etiam loqui vana delectet, auremque praebere loquentibus, nec arridere tantum, sed etiam risu vinci ac solvi: ita pulvereis quibusdam, vel etiam luteis affectibus nostras animas aggravantes, laboriosius et pigrius levamus ad Deum, ut vivamus evangelicam vitam, moriendo evangelicam mortem. Quod si aliquando successerit, statim subjicietur, Euge, Euge; non ab hominibus; neque enim quisquam hominum sentit in alio talem mentis agnitionem; sed in quodam intus silentio, nescio unde clamatur, Euge, Euge. Propter hoc genre tentationis ab angelo colaphizatum se tantus Apostolus confitetur (II Cor. XII, 7). Ecce unde vita humana super terram tota tentatio est; quando et ibi homo tentatur, ubi quantum potest vitae coelestis similitudini coaptatur.

3. Quid dicam de vindicando, vel non vindicando? quandoquidem hoc totum ad eorum salutem proficere volumus, in quos vindicandum aut non vindicandum esse arbitramur. Quis etiam sit vindicandi modus, non solum pro qualitate vel quantitate culparum, verum etiam pro quibusdam viribus animorum, quid quisque sufferat, quid recuset, ne non solum non proficiat, sed etiam deficiat, quam profundum et latebrosum est! impendentem quoque vindictam metuentes, quae ab hominibus metuitur, nescio utrum plures correcti sunt, quam in deterius abierunt. Quid, cum saepe accidat, ut si in quemquam vindicaveris, ipse pereat; si inultum reliqueris, alter pereat? Ego in his quotidie peccare me fateor, et ignorare quando, quove modo custodiam id quod scriptum est, Peccantes coram omnibus argue, ut caeteri timorem habeant (I Tim. V, 20); et quod scriptum est, Corripe eum inter te et ipsum solum (Matth. XVIII, 15); et quod scriptum est, Nolite ante tempus judicare, ut non judicemini (I Cor. IV, 5), neque enim hic addidit ante tempus; et quod scriptum est, Tu quis es, qui judicas alienum servum? Suo domino stat aut cadit: stabit autem; potens est enim Deus statuere illum (Rom. XIV, 4); unde confirmat de his se dicere, qui intus sunt: et rursus eos judicari jubet, cum dicit, Quid enim mihi de his, qui foris sunt judicare? Nonne de his, qui intus sunt, vos judicatis? Auferte malum ex vobis ipsis (I Cor. V, 12, 13). Quod cum etiam faciendum videtur, quatenus fiat, quantae curae ac timoris est? ne forte contingat quod de illo ipso intelligitur in secunda ad eosdem Epistola cavendum admonere, ne majore tristitia absorbeatur qui ejusmodi est. Et ne quisquam hoc non multum curandum putaret, ibi ait, Ut non possideamur a satana: non enim ignoramus mentes ejus (II Cor. II, 7, 11). Quis in his omnibus tremor, mi Pauline, sancte homo Dei! quis tremor, quae tenebrae!

When we do this, a delight in such things creeps up even on us, so that often even to speak vain things delights, and to lend an ear to those speaking, nor only to smile, but even to be conquered and dissolved by laughter: thus aggravating our souls with certain dusty, or even muddy affections, we raise them more laboriously and more sluggishly to God, that we may live an evangelical life, by dying an evangelical death. If this should sometimes succeed, immediately there will be subjoined, "Well done, Well done"; not by men; for neither does any of men feel in another such an acknowledgment of mind; but in a certain silence within, I know not whence it is cried, "Well done, Well done." On account of this kind of temptation so great an Apostle confesses himself to have been buffeted by an angel (II Cor. XII, 7). Behold whence human life upon the earth is all temptation; when even there man is tempted, where as much as he can he is coadapted to the similitude of celestial life.

What shall I say of punishing, or not punishing? since we wish all this to profit to the salvation of those in whom we think punishment or non-punishment ought to be. What also is the mode of punishing, not only for the quality or quantity of the faults, but also for certain strengths of minds, what each one may suffer, what he may refuse, lest he not only not profit, but even fail, how profound and hidden it is! Fearing also impending punishment, which is feared by men, I know not whether more have been corrected, than have gone into the worse. What, when it often happens, that if you punish any one, he himself perishes; if you leave it unpunished, another perishes? I confess myself to sin daily in these things, and to be ignorant when, or in what way I should keep that which is written, "Them that sin rebuke before all, that others also may have fear" (I Tim. V, 20); and that which is written, "Chastise him between you and him alone" (Matt. XVIII, 15); and that which is written, "Judge not before the time, that you be not judged" (I Cor. IV, 5), nor indeed did he here add "before the time"; and that which is written, "Who are you that judge another's servant? To his own lord he stands or falls: but he shall stand; for God is powerful to establish him" (Rom. XIV, 4); whence he confirms that he says these things of those who are within: and again he orders them to be judged, when he says, "For what is it to me to judge those who are without? Do you not judge those who are within? Take away the evil from yourselves" (I Cor. V, 12, 13). When this also seems to be done, how far it should be done, of how great care and fear is it? lest perhaps that happen which is understood to be cautioned in the second Epistle to the same, "lest such a one be swallowed up with overmuch sorrow." And lest anyone should think this not much to be cared for, he says there, "That we be not possessed by satan: for we are not ignorant of his minds" (II Cor. II, 7, 11). What tremor in all these things, my Paulinus, holy man of God! what tremor, what darkness!

Nonne putamus de his esse dictum: Timor et tremor venerunt supra me, et contexerunt me tenebrae; et dixi, Quis dabit mihi pennas sicut columbae, et volabo et requiescam? Ecce elongavi fugiens, et mansi in deserto. Verumtamen etiam in deserto ipso fortassis expertus sit quod adjungit: Exspectabam eum qui me salvum faceret a pusillanimitate et tempestate (Psal. LIV, 6 9). Nempe ergo tentatio est vita humana super terram (Job. VII, 1).

4. Quid, ipsa divina eloquia nonne palpantur potius quam tractantur a nobis, dum in multo pluribus quaerimus potius quid sentiendum sit, quam definitum aliquid fixumque sentimus? Et ea cautio cum sollicitudinis plena sit, multo melior est tamen, quam temeritas affirmandi. Nonne in multis, si non secundum carnem homo sapiat, quam mortem dicit esse Apostolus, magno scandalo erit ei qui adhuc secundum carnem sapit (Rom. VIII, 5, 6)? ubi et dicere quid sentias periculosissimum, et non dicere laboriosissimum, et aliud quam sentis dicere perniciosissimum est. Quid? cum ea quae non approbamus in eorum, qui intus sunt, sermone vel scriptis, putantesque id ad fraternae charitatis libertatem pertinere, judicium nostrum non occultamus, et hoc non benevolentia, sed invidia facere credimur, quantum peccatur in nos! et cum similiter eos qui nostras sententias reprehendunt, laedere potius velle quam corrigere suspicamur, quantum peccamus in alios! Certe hinc existunt inimicitiae plerumque etiam inter charissimas familiarissimasque personas, dum, supra quam scriptum est, unus pro altero inflatur adversus alterum (I Cor. IV, 6), et dum mordent et comedunt invicem, timendum est ne consumantur ab invicem (Gal. V, 15). Quis ergo dabit mihi pennas sicut columbae, et volabo, et requiescam (Psal. LIV, 7)? Sive enim quia pericula, in quibus quisque versatur, graviora sunt quam inexperta, sive quia revera ita est, quaelibet pusillanimitas tempestasque deserti minus mihi videtur molesta, quam ea quae vel patimur, vel timemus in turbis.

5. Proinde multum approbo sententiam tuam, de hujus vitae statu esse agendum, vel potius cursu quam statu. Addo aliud, quia prius hoc requirendum atque tenendum est, quam illud, quale futurum sit, quo iste fert cursus. Inde ergo interrogavi quid sentias, quasi hujus vitae recta regula retenta atque servata jam securi simus, cum in tam multis, maximeque in his quae breviter, ut potui, commemoravi, periculosissime laborare me sentiam.

Do we not think it was said of these: "Fear and trembling came upon me, and darkness covered me; and I said, Who will give me wings like a dove, and I will fly and rest? Behold I have gone far away flying, and remained in the desert." Nevertheless even in the desert itself he might perhaps have experienced what he adds: "I was expecting him who should save me from pusillanimity and tempest" (Psalm LIV, 6-9). Surely therefore human life upon the earth is temptation (Job VII, 1).

What, are not the divine elocutions themselves felt rather than handled by us, while in much more we seek rather what is to be felt, than we feel anything defined and fixed? And when that caution is full of solicitude, it is nevertheless much better than the temerity of affirming. Will it not be in many things, if a man does not savor according to the flesh, which the Apostle says is death, a great scandal to him who still savors according to the flesh (Rom. VIII, 5, 6)? where both to say what you feel is most perilous, and not to say it is most laborious, and to say other than you feel is most pernicious. What? when we do not occult our judgment concerning those things which we do not approve in the discourse or writings of those who are within, thinking that this pertains to the liberty of fraternal charity, and we are believed to do this not from benevolence, but from envy, how much is sinned against us! and when similarly we suspect those who reprehend our opinions to wish rather to hurt than to correct, how much do we sin against others! Certainly hence enmities exist for the most part even between the most dear and most familiar persons, while, above that which is written, one is puffed up for another against another (I Cor. IV, 6), and while they bite and eat one another, it is to be feared lest they be consumed by one another (Gal. V, 15). Who therefore will give me wings like a dove, and I will fly, and rest? (Psalm LIV, 7)? For either because the perils in which each one is versed are heavier than those unexperienced, or because it is really so, any pusillanimity and tempest of the desert seems to me less molesting, than those things which either we suffer, or we fear in the crowds.

5. Therefore I much approve your opinion, that we must act concerning the state of this life, or rather the course than the state. I add another thing, because this is first to be sought and held, before that, what the future is to be, to which this course carries. Hence therefore I interrogated what you feel, as if the right rule of this life being retained and kept we were already secure, when in so many things, and especially in those which I have briefly commemorated as I could, I feel myself to labor most perilously.

Sed quia omnis haec ignorantia et difficultas hinc mihi videtur existere, quod in magna varietate morum, et animarum occultissimas voluntates atque infirmitates habentium, rem populi gerimus, non terreni atque Romani, sed Jerosolymitani coelestis, magis me libuit loqui tecum ex illo quod erimus, quam ex isto quod sumus. Ibi enim etsi nescimus quae bona futura sunt, non tamen de parva re certi sumus, quod ista mala ibi non erunt.

6. De agenda ergo ista temporali vita, eo modo, per quem veniendum est ad aeternam, novi concupiscentias carnales esse frenandas; tantumque remittendum in delectationes sensuum corporalium, quantum sustentandae hujusmodi agendaeque vitae satis est, omnesque molestias temporales, pro veritate Dei, et salute aeterna nostra et proximi, patienter fortiterque tolerandas. Novi etiam proximo ad hoc consulendum omni studio charitatis, ut istam vitae recte gerat propter aeternam. Praeponenda etiam nobis spiritualia carnalibus, incommutabilia mutabilibus, et haec omnia tanto magis minusve posse hominem, quanto magis minusve adjuvatur gratia Dei, per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Cur autem ille sic, ille autem sic adjuvetur, vel non adjuvetur, nescio: id tamen Deum summa sibique nota aequitate facere scio. Propter illa vero quae supra commemoravi, quemadmodum vivendum sit cum hominibus, si quid tibi exploratum liquet, edoce me, obsecro. Sin et te ita ut me movent ista, confer ea cum aliquo mansueto cordis medico, sive illic inveneris ubi degitis, sive cum Romam anniversarie pergitis, et quod per illum tibi loquentem, seu vobis colloquentibus Dominus aperuerit, scribe mihi.

7. De resurrectione autem corporum, membrorumque in illa incorruptione atque immortalitate futuris officiis, quoniam vicissim me interrogasti quid sentiam, audi breviter quod, si non satis erit, poterit, si Dominus adjuverit, latius disputari. Firmissime tenendum est, unde Scripturae sanctae verax et clara sententia est, visibilia ista corpora atque terrena quae nunc animalia dicuntur, spiritualia futura in resurrectione fidelium atque justorum. Porro spiritualis corporis qualitas inexperta nobis, quemadmodum vel comprehendi, vel insinuari possit, ignoro. Corruptio ibi certe nulla erit, ac per hoc nec isto quo nunc indigent corruptibili cibo, tunc indigebunt; nec tamen eum capere non poterunt, veraciterque consumere potestate, non necessitate. Alioquin nec Dominus eum post resurrectionem accepisset, qui nobis ita praebuit corporalis resurrectionis exemplum, ut hinc Apostolus dicat: Si mortui non resurgunt, neque Christus resurrexit (I Cor. XV, 16). Qui cum membris omnibus appareret, eorumque officiis uteretur, loca etiam vulnerum demonstravit. Quas ego cicatrices, non ipsa vulnera semper accepi, et eas ipsas potestate, non necessitate.

But because all this ignorance and difficulty seems to me to exist hence, that in a great variety of manners, and of souls having most occult wills and infirmities, we carry on the business of the people, not of the earthly and Roman, but of the celestial Jerusalem, it pleased me more to speak with you from that which we shall be, than from this which we are. For there although we know not what the future goods are, nevertheless we are certain of no small thing, that those evils will not be there.

6. Concerning the acting therefore of this temporal life, in that way, through which we must come to the eternal, I know that carnal concupiscences are to be bridled; and only so much is to be remitted into the delights of the corporal senses, as is sufficient for sustaining and acting this kind of life, and all temporal molestations, for the truth of God, and our eternal salvation and that of our neighbor, are to be patiently and bravely tolerated. I know also that we must consult for the neighbor with all study of charity to this end, that he may rightly act this life for the sake of the eternal. Also spiritual things are to be preferred by us to carnal things, incommutable to mutable things, and all these things a man can do so much more or less, as much more or less as he is aided by the grace of God, through Jesus Christ our Lord. But why he should be so aided, or another so aided, or not aided, I know not: nevertheless I know that God does this with the highest equity known to Himself. But concerning those things which I commemorated above, how we should live with men, if anything clear is explored by you, teach me, I beseech. But if these things move you even as they move me, confer them with some mild physician of the heart, whether you find him there where you dwell, or when you go to Rome as is your custom every year, and what the Lord shall have opened to you through him speaking to you, or to you speaking together, write to me.

7. But concerning the resurrection of bodies, and the future offices of the members in that incorruption and immortality, since you have interrogated me in turn what I feel, hear briefly what, if it will not be enough, can be more broadly disputed if the Lord aids. It is to be held most firmly, whence the truthful and clear sentence of the holy Scripture is, that these visible and earthly bodies which are now called animal, will be spiritual in the resurrection of the faithful and just. Furthermore, what the quality of a spiritual body is, being unexperienced to us, in what way it can be either comprehended or insinuated, I know not. Certainly there will be no corruption there, and by this they will not then need that corruptible food which they now need; nor nevertheless will they not be able to take it, and truly consume it by power, not by necessity. Otherwise neither would the Lord have taken it after the resurrection, who so afforded to us the example of corporal resurrection, that hence the Apostle says: "If the dead rise not, neither did Christ rise" (I Cor. XV, 16). Who when He appeared with all members, and used their offices, He also demonstrated the places of the wounds. Which scars I have always accepted as scars, not the wounds themselves, and those very things by power, not by necessity.

Cujus potestatis facilitatem tunc maxime ostendit, cum vel in alia forma se demonstravit, vel in domo discipulis constitutis, cum ostia clausa essent, verus apparuit (Luc. XXIV, 15-43, et Joan. XX, 14-29, et Marc. XVI, 12, 14).

8. Hinc oritur de Angelis quaestio, utrum habeant corpora suis officiis et concursationibus congrua, an tantummodo spiritus sint? si enim habere dixerimus, occurrit nobis: Quo facit Angelos suos spiritus (Psal. CIII, 4). Si autem non habere dixerimus, plus habet scrupuli, quomodo scriptum sit eos corporeis hominum sensibus sine corpore praesentatos, hospitio susceptos, pedes eis lotos, edentibus et bibentibus ministratum (Gen. XVIII, 2-9, et XIX, 1-3). Facilius enim videri potest sic esse spiritus Angelos dictos, ut homines animas, sicut scriptum est cum Jacob in Aegyptum tot animas descendisse (Gen. XLVI, 2) [neque enim corpora non habebant], quam ut illa omnia sine corporibus gesta credantur. Deinde certa quaedam in Apocalypsi Angeli statura definitur (Apoc. X), in ea mensura quae nisi corporum esse non possit, ut quod hominibus apparuerit, non ad falsitatem, sed ad illam potestatem ac facilitatem spiritualium corporum referatur. Sed sive habeant Angeli corpora, sive quisquam possit ostendere quemadmodum corpora non habentes gerere illa omnia potuerint, in illa tamen civitate sanctorum, ubi etiam per Christum redempti a generatione hac, in aeternum conjungentur millibus Angelorum, voces corporales non latentes animos indicabunt; quia in illa societate divina nihil cogitationis proximo poterit occultari, sed erit consonans in Dei laude concordia, non solum spiritu, verum etiam spirituali corpore expressa: hoc mihi videtur.

9. Interim si quid congruentius veritati vel jam tenes, vel a doctoribus audire potueris, per te nosse studiosissime exspecto. Recense sane epistolam meam, cui quoniam festinantissime te respondisse de diaconi festinatione causatus es, ideo non conqueror, sed potius commemoro, ut quod tunc omissum est, nunc reddatur. Et de otio quippe christiano ad percipiendam vel disserendam christianam sapientiam quid sentias, et de otio quod putabam tuo, cujus mihi occupationes incredibiles nuntiatae sunt, require et vide quid a te scire quaesierim. (Et alia manu.) Memores nostri, felices vivite, magna gaudia et solatia nostra sancti Dei.

The facility of which power He then especially showed, when He either demonstrated Himself in another form, or in the house where the disciples were established, when the doors were closed, He appeared true (Luke XXIV, 15-43, and John XX, 14-29, and Mark XVI, 12, 14).

8. Hence arises a question concerning the Angels, whether they have bodies congruent to their offices and courses, or are they only spirits? For if we shall have said them to have, it occurs to us: "Who makes his Angels spirits" (Psalm CIII, 4). But if we shall have said them not to have, it has more of a scruple, how it is written that they were presented to the corporal senses of men without a body, received in hospitality, their feet washed, and that they were ministered to while eating and drinking (Gen. XVIII, 2-9, and XIX, 1-3). For it can more easily be seen that the Angels are called spirits in such a way as men are called souls, as it is written that with Jacob so many souls descended into Egypt (Gen. XLVI, 2) [for indeed they were not without bodies], than that all those things should be believed to have been done without bodies. Then a certain stature of an Angel is defined in the Apocalypse (Apoc. X), in that measure which cannot be but of bodies, so that what appeared to men, should be referred not to falsity, but to that power and facility of spiritual bodies. But whether the Angels have bodies, or anyone can show in what way not having bodies they could have done all those things, nevertheless in that city of the saints, where even those redeemed through Christ from this generation will be joined for eternity to thousands of Angels, corporal voices will indicate not hidden minds; because in that divine society nothing of thought can be occulted to a neighbor, but there will be a consonant concord in the praise of God, expressed not only by the spirit, but also by the spiritual body: this seems to me.

9. In the meantime, if you already hold anything more congruent to the truth, or have been able to hear it from teachers, I most studiously expect to know it through you. Recite indeed my epistle, for which since you pleaded because you had responded most hastily on account of the haste of the deacon, therefore I do not complain, but rather commemorate, that what was then omitted, should now be rendered. And indeed concerning Christian leisure for perceiving or discoursing on Christian wisdom what you feel, and concerning the leisure which I thought was yours, whose incredible occupations have been announced to me, seek and see what I sought to know from you. (And in another hand.) Mindful of us, live happy, great joys and solaces of ours, holy ones of God.

EPISTOLA XCVI. Augustinus Olympio, quem audierat provectum recens ad novam dignitatem (scilicet Magistri officiorum, quod ipsi munus post Stilichonis necem an. 408 collatum fuit), commendat impense causam Bonifacii Cataquensis episcopi, super possessione quadam Ecclesiae ab ipsius praedecessore non sine fraude comparata.

Domino dilectissimo, et in Christi membris honorabiliter amplectendo filio OLYMPIO, AUGUSTINUS.

1. Quidquid sis secundum saeculi hujus cursum, nos tamen charissimo et sincerissimo conservo nostro Olympio christiano fidissime scribimus. Hoc enim tibi esse scimus omnigloria gloriosius, et omni sublimitate sublimius. Fama quippe ad nos pertulit, honorem te adeptum esse celsiorem; quae utrum vera esset, nondum apud nos fuerat confirmatum, cum haec scribendi provenit occasio. Sed quoniam novimus te a Domino didicisse non alta sapere, sed humilibus consentire, quolibet culmine provectus esses, non aliter quam soles litteras nostras te accepturum esse praesumimus, domine dilectissime, et in Christi membris honorabiliter amplectende fili. Temporali vero felicitate ad aeterna lucra te prudenter usurum minime dubitamus, ut quanto plus potes in hac terrena republica, tanto plus impendas coelesti illi, quae te in Christo peperit, civitati, quod tibi uberius rependatur in regione viventium, et in vera pace securorum ac sine fine manentium gaudiorum.

2. Sancti fratris et coepiscopi mei Bonifacii petitionem tuae rursus charitati commendo, ne forte nunc fieri possit quod ante non potuit. Cum enim posset sine ulla forsitan quaestione quod praecessor ejus, quamvis sub alieno nomine, comparaverat, et sub Ecclesiae nomine possidere jam coeperat, consequenter etiam ipse retinere; nolumus tamen, quoniam fisci debitor fuit, hunc scrupulum habere in conscientia. Neque enim fraus ista, quia fisco fiebat, ideo non fiebat. Et ille quidem Paulus, postquam episcopus factus est, renuntiaturus suis omnibus rebus propter immensum cumulum fiscalium debitorum, exacta quadam cautione, in qua certum ei pondus debebatur argenti, hos exiguos agellos, unde victum sustentaret, tanquam Ecclesiae comparavit, sub nomine tunc potentissimae domus, ut etiam ex ipsis, morem suum sequens, cum fisco non solveret, nullas exactorum molestias pateretur.

EPISTLE XCVI. Augustine to Olympius, whom he had heard recently promoted to a new dignity (namely, Master of Offices, which office was conferred on him after the death of Stilicho in the year 408), commends intensely the cause of Boniface, bishop of Cataquensis, concerning a certain possession of the Church acquired by his predecessor not without fraud.

To the most beloved lord, and son honorably to be embraced in the members of Christ, OLYMPIUS, AUGUSTINE.

1. Whatever you are according to the course of this world, we nevertheless most faithfully write to our most dear and sincere fellow-servant Olympius the Christian. For we know this to be more glorious to you than all glory, and more sublime than all sublimity. For fame indeed brought to us that you have attained a higher honor; which whether it was true, had not yet been confirmed among us, when this occasion of writing arose. But since we know that you have learned from the Lord not to savor high things, but to consent to the humble, to whatever height you had been promoted, we presume that you will receive our letters not otherwise than you are accustomed, most beloved lord, and son honorably to be embraced in the members of Christ. We least doubt that you will prudently use temporal felicity for eternal lucre, so that as much more as you can in this earthly republic, so much more you may expend for that celestial city, which bore you in Christ, which will be more abundantly repaid to you in the region of the living, and in the true peace of the secure and of joys remaining without end.

2. I commend again to your charity the petition of my holy brother and fellow-bishop Boniface, lest perhaps what could not be done before may now be possible. For when he could have retained consequently that which his predecessor, although under a foreign name, had acquired, and had already begun to possess under the name of the Church; we nevertheless do not wish, since he was a debtor to the fiscus, to have this scruple in conscience. For neither was that fraud, because it was done to the fiscus, therefore not a fraud. And that Paulus indeed, after he was made bishop, being about to renounce all his things on account of an immense heap of fiscal debts, a certain caution having been exacted, in which a certain weight of silver was owed to him, acquired these small fields, whence he might sustain his living, as if for the Church, under the name of a then most powerful house, so that even from them, following his custom, when he did not pay the fiscus, he might suffer no molestations of the exactors.

Iste autem qui eidem Ecclesiae illo defuncto est ordinatus, timuit hos agros suscipere: et cum posset pro solis fiscalibus debitis, quae de memoratis possessiunculis ille contraxerat, imperiale beneficium postulare, totum maluit confiteri, quod eas Paulus de argento proprio, cum esset fisco obnoxius, de hastario emerat; ut eas Ecclesia, si fieri potest, non occulta episcopi iniquitate, sed manifesta christiani imperatoris liberalitate possideat. Quod si fieri non potest, melius inopiae laborem servi Dei tolerant, quam ut necessariorum facultatem cum conscientia fraudis obtineant.

3. Ad hoc tuum suffragium petimus impartiri digneris: quia id quod primo impetratum est, noluit allegare, ne iterum supplicandi sibi intercluderet facultatem; non enim erat ad desiderata responsum. Nunc vero cum sis eadem benignitate qua soles, sed amplior potestate, non desperamus, adjuvante Domino, meritis tuis hoc facile posse concedi: cum etiamsi tuo nomine eadem loca peteres, et memoratae Ecclesiae ipse donares, quis reprehenderet, aut quis non maxime praedicaret petitionem tuam, non terrenae cupiditati, sed christianae pietati servientem? Domini Dei nostri misericordia te in Christo feliciorem tueatur, domine fili.

EPISTOLA XCVII. Augustinus Olympio, ut tueatur leges de confringendis idolis et haereticis corrigendis, quae vivo Stilichone missae sunt in Africam; faciatque pro auctoritate et industria sua ut eas ex Imperatoris voluntate constitutas esse, adeoque post Stilichonis necem nihilominus vigore intelligant Ecclesiae inimici.

Domino eximio et merito praestantissimo, multumque in Christi charitate honorando filio OLYMPIO, AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

1. Quamvis mox ut audivimus te merito sublimatum, cum ipsa fama nondum nobis certissima esset, nihil aliud de animo tuo credidimus erga Ecclesiam Dei, cujus te veraciter filium esse gaudemus, quam quod tuis litteris mox aperuisti; tamen etiam illis lectis, quibus ultro dignatus es, etiamsi pigri et cunctantes essemus, exhortationem benevolentissimam mittere ut instruente humilitate nostra, per religiosam obedientiam tuam, Dominus, cujus munere talis es, Ecclesiae suae jamjamque subveniat, majore fiducia tibi scribimus, domine eximie et merito praestantissime, multumque in Christi charitate honorande fili.

2. Et fratres quidem multi sancti collegae mei, graviter Ecclesia perturbata profecti sunt pene fugientes ad gloriosissimum comitatum, quos sive jam videris, sive litteras eorum ab urbe Roma opportunitatis cujusquam occasione acceperis:

But this one who was ordained to the same Church after he died, feared to receive these fields: and when he could have petitioned for an imperial benefit only for the fiscal debts which he had contracted from the mentioned small possessions, he preferred to confess the whole, that Paulus had bought them from his own silver, when he was obnoxious to the fiscus, at an auction; so that the Church may possess them, if it can be done, not by the occult iniquity of the bishop, but by the manifest liberality of the Christian emperor. But if it cannot be done, the servants of God better tolerate the labor of poverty, than that they should obtain the faculty of necessaries with the conscience of fraud.

3. To this we petition that you deign to impart your suffrage: because that which was first impetrated, he did not wish to allege, lest he should interclude from himself the faculty of supplicating again; for it was not a response to the things desired. But now since you are of the same benignity as you are accustomed, but of greater power, we do not despair, the Lord aiding, that this can easily be conceded by your merits: since even if you petitioned for the same places in your own name, and you yourself gave them to the mentioned Church, who would reprehend, or who would not especially preach your petition, serving not to earthly cupidity, but to Christian piety? May the mercy of the Lord our God protect you more happy in Christ, lord son.

EPISTLE XCVII. Augustine to Olympius, that he may protect the laws concerning the breaking of idols and correcting of heretics, which were sent into Africa while Stilicho was living; and that he may make it known by his authority and industry that they were constituted by the will of the Emperor, and thus that the enemies of the Church may understand that they flourish nonetheless after the death of Stilicho.

To the distinguished lord and most excellent by merit, and son much to be honored in the charity of Christ, OLYMPIUS, AUGUSTINE, health in the Lord.

1. Although as soon as we heard that you were deservedly sublimated, when that fame was not yet most certain to us, we believed nothing other concerning your mind towards the Church of God, of which we rejoice that you are truly a son, than what you soon opened in your letters; nevertheless even those having been read, in which you deigned of your own accord, even if we were slow and hesitating, to send a most benevolent exhortation that, our humility instructing, through your religious obedience the Lord, by whose gift you are such, may already succor His Church, we write to you with greater confidence, distinguished lord and most excellent by merit, and son much to be honored in the charity of Christ.

2. And indeed many holy brothers, my colleagues, the Church being gravely perturbed, have set forth almost fleeing to the most glorious court, whom whether you have already seen, or have received their letters from the city of Rome on the occasion of any opportunity:

ego tamen licet nullum consilium cum eis communicare potuerim, non potui praetermittere per hunc fratrem et compresbyterum meum, qui urgente necessitate pro salute civis sui, etiam media hieme quomodocumque ad illas partes venire compulsus est, et salutare et admonere charitatem tuam quam habes in Christo Jesu Domino nostro, ut opus tuum bonum diligentissima acceleretur instantia, quo noverint inimici Ecclesiae leges illas, quae de idolis confringendis et haereticis corrigendis vivo Stilichone in Africam missae sunt, ex voluntate Imperatoris piissimi et fidelissimi constitutas; quo nesciente vel nolente factum sive dolose jactant, sive libenter putant, atque hinc animos imperitorum turbulentissimos reddunt, nobisque periculose ac vehementer infestos.

3. Hoc autem quod petendo vel suggerendo admoneo praestantiam tuam, non dubito omnium per Africam collegarum meorum fieri voluntate; arbitrorque quacumque primitus exorta occasione facillime posse ac debere maturari, ut noverint, sicut dixi, homines vani, quorum et adversantium salutem requirimus, leges quae pro Christi Ecclesia missae sunt, magis Theodosii filium quam Stilichonem curasse mittendas. Propterea quippe memoratus presbyter harum perlator, cum de regione sit Milevitana, ab episcopo suo venerabili fratre meo Severo, qui tuam mecum sincerissimam Dilectionem multum salutat, per Hipponem-Regium, ubi ego sum, transire jussus est; quia cum forte simul essemus in magnis Ecclesiae tribulationibus et perturbationibus, quaerebamus occasionem scribendi ad Eximietatem tuam, et non inveniebamus. Jam quidem unam epistolam miseram in negotio sancti fratris et collegae mei Bonifacii episcopi Cataquensis; sed nondum ad nos pervenerant graviora, quae nos vehementius agitarent: quibus comprimendis vel corrigendis quemadmodum meliore secundum Christi viam consilio succurratur, commodius episcopi qui propterea navigaverunt, cum tanta benignitate tui cordis acturi sunt, qui potuerunt communi consilio diligentius deliberatum aliquid ferre, quantum temporis permittebat angustia. Illud tamen quo animum clementissimi et religiosissimi principis erga Ecclesiam provincia noverit, nullo modo esse differendum, sed etiam antequam episcopos qui profecti sunt, videas, quamprimum tua praestantissima pro Christi membris in tribulatione maxima constitutis vigilantia potuerit, accelerandum suggero, peto, obsecro, flagito. Neque enim parvum in his malis solatium Dominus obtulit, quod te voluit multo amplius posse quam poteras, quando jam de tuis multis ac magnis operibus bonis gaudebamus.

I nevertheless, although I could communicate no counsel with them, could not omit through this brother and fellow-presbyter of mine, who by urgent necessity for the salvation of his fellow-citizen, even in mid-winter was compelled in whatever way to come to those parts, both to salute and to admonish your charity which you have in Christ Jesus our Lord, that your good work may be accelerated with most diligent instance, by which the enemies of the Church may know those laws, which concerning the breaking of idols and correcting of heretics were sent into Africa while Stilicho was living, were constituted from the will of the most pious and faithful Emperor; whose ignorance or unwillingness they either deceitfully boast or willingly think, and hence they render the most turbulent minds of the ignorant, and most perilously and vehemently infest us.

3. But this which I admonish your excellence by petitioning or suggesting, I do not doubt is done by the will of all my colleagues through Africa; and I judge that by whatever occasion first arising it can and ought most easily to be matured, so that vain men may know, whose salvation although opposing we seek, that the laws which were sent for the Church of Christ, the son of Theodosius rather than Stilicho took care to be sent. Therefore indeed the mentioned presbyter, the bearer of these, since he is from the region of Milevitanum, was ordered by his bishop, my venerable brother Severus, who salutes much your most sincere Love with me, to pass through Hippo-Regius, where I am; because when by chance we were together in the great tribulations and perturbations of the Church, we sought an occasion of writing to your Excellence, and did not find one. I had already indeed sent one epistle in the business of my holy brother and fellow-bishop Boniface, bishop of Cataquensis; but there had not yet arrived to us more grave things, which might more vehemently agitate us: for the compressing or correcting of which how it may be succored by a better counsel according to the way of Christ, more commodiously the bishops who for that reason sailed, will act with so much benignity of your heart, who were able to bring something more diligently deliberated by common counsel, as much as the narrowness of time permitted. Nevertheless that by which the province may know the mind of the most clement and religious prince towards the Church, I suggest, petition, beseech, demand that it be deferred in no way, but even before you see the bishops who set forth, as soon as your most excellent vigilance can for the members of Christ established in greatest tribulation, it be accelerated. For the Lord offered no small solace in these evils, that He willed you to be able much more than you were able, when we were already rejoicing concerning your many and great good works.

4. Multum sane de quorumdam, neque paucorum fide firma et stabili gratulamur qui ex occasione legum ipsarum ad Christianam religionem vel catholicam pacem conversi sunt; pro quorum salute sempiterna nos in hac temporal etiam periclitari delectat. Propterea enim maxime ab hominibus nimium dureque perversis, nunc inimicitiarum graviores impetus sustinemus, quos nonnulli eorum nobiscum patientissime sustinent: sed plurimum infirmitati metuimus, donec discant et valeant adjuvante misericordissima gratia Domini, saeculum praesens et hominum diem robore cordis valentiore contemnere. Commonitorium quod misi fratribus episcopis, si, ut puto, nondum ibi sunt, ab Eximietate tua illis tradatur, cum venerint. Tantam quippe tui sincerissimi pectoris habemus fiduciam, ut, adjuvante Domino Deo nostro, non solum impertitorem auxilii te velimus, verum etiam consilii participem.

EPISTOLA XCVIII. Augustinus Bonifacio episcopo, respondens qui fiat ut infantibus in Baptismo prosit parentum fides, cum post Baptismum non noceat illis parentum impietas; deinde quomodo susceptores in Baptismo respondeant illos credere, cum parvuli revera non credant, et incertum sit an sint crediturі.

BONIFACIO coepiscopo, AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

1. Quaeris a me, utrum parentes baptizatis parvulis suis noceant, cum eos daemoniorum sacrificiis sanare conantur. Et si non nocent, quomodo eis prosit, cum baptizantur, parentum fides quorum eis non potest obesse perfidia. Ubi respondeo, tantam illius Sacramenti, hoc est Baptismi salutaris, esse virtutem in sancta compage corporis Christi, ut semel generatus per aliorum carnalem voluptatem, cum semel regeneratus fuerit per aliorum spiritualem voluntatem, deinceps non possit vinculo alienae iniquitatis obstringi, cui nulla sua voluntate consentit. Et anima enim patris mea est, inquit, et anima filii mea est. Anima quae peccaverit, ipsa morietur (Ezech. XVIII, 4): non autem peccat ipsa, cum parentes ei omnino nescienti, vel quilibet alius adhibet sacrilegia daemoniorum. Sed ideo ex Adam traxit quod Sacramenti illius gratia solveretur, quia nondum erat anima separatim vivens, id est altera anima de qua diceretur, Et anima patris mea est, et anima filii mea est. Jam itaque cum homo in seipso est, ab eo qui genuit alter effectus, peccato alterius sine sua consensione non tenetur obnoxius. Traxit ergo reatum, quia unus erat cum illo et in illo a quo traxit, quando quod traxit admissum est. Non autem trahit alter ab altero, quando sua unoquoque propria vita vivente jam est unde dicatur, Anima quae peccaverit, ipsa morietur.

4. We truly congratulate much concerning the firm and stable faith of some, and not a few, who from the occasion of those same laws have been converted to the Christian religion or catholic peace; for whose eternal salvation it delights us to be endangered even in this temporal one. For therefore especially from men excessively and harshly perverse, we now sustain more grave impulses of enmities, which some of them sustain most patiently with us: but we fear much for their infirmity, until they learn and are able, the most merciful grace of the Lord aiding, to contemn the present world and the day of men with a more valiant strength of heart. The commonitorium which I sent to the brother bishops, if, as I think, they are not yet there, let it be delivered to them by your Excellence when they come. For we have so great confidence of your most sincere breast, that, the Lord our God aiding, we wish you not only an imparter of aid, but even a participant of counsel.

EPISTLE XCVIII. Augustine to bishop Boniface, responding how it happens that the faith of parents profits infants in Baptism, when after Baptism the impiety of parents does not hurt them; then how the sponsors in Baptism respond that they believe, when the little ones truly do not believe, and it is uncertain whether they will believe.

To BONIFACE fellow-bishop, AUGUSTINE, health in the Lord.

1. You ask of me, whether parents hurt their baptized little ones, when they try to heal them by the sacrifices of demons. And if they do not hurt, how does the faith of parents profit them when they are baptized, whose perfidy cannot be a hindrance to them. Where I respond, that so great is the virtue of that Sacrament, that is of salutary Baptism in the holy frame of the body of Christ, that once generated through the carnal pleasure of others, when once he shall have been regenerated through the spiritual will of others, henceforth he cannot be bound by the bond of another's iniquity, to which he consents by no will of his own. "For the soul of the father is mine," He says, "and the soul of the son is mine. The soul that shall have sinned, the same shall die" (Ezek. XVIII, 4): but it does not sin itself, when parents, or anyone else, apply the sacrileges of demons to it while it is entirely ignorant. But therefore it drew from Adam what should be dissolved by the grace of that Sacrament, because it was not yet a soul living separately, that is another soul of which it might be said, "And the soul of the father is mine, and the soul of the son is mine." Now therefore when a man is in himself, another effect from him who begot, he is not held obnoxious by the sin of another without his own consension. He drew therefore the guilt, because he was one with him and in him from whom he drew, when that which he drew was admitted. But one does not draw from another, when each one living his own proper life there is now whence it may be said, "The soul that shall have sinned, the same shall die."

2. Ut autem possit regenerari per officium voluntatis alienae, cum offertur consecrandus, facit hoc unus Spiritus, ex quo regeneratur oblatus. Non enim scriptum est, Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex parentum voluntate, aut ex offerentium vel ministrantium fide; sed, Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et Spiritu Sancto (Joan. III, 5). Aqua igitur exhibens forinsecus sacramentum gratiae, et Spiritus operans intrinsecus beneficium gratiae, solvens vinculum culpae, reconcilians bonum naturae, regenerant hominem in uno Christo, ex uno Adam generatum. Regenerans ergo Spiritus in majoribus offerentibus, et parvulo oblato renatoque communis est: ideo per hanc societatem unius ejusdemque Spiritus prodest offerentium voluntas parvulo oblato. Quando autem in parvulum majores peccant, offerentes eum atque obligare conantes daemonum sacrilegis vinculis, non est anima utrorumque communis, ut etiam culpam possint habere communem. Non enim sic communicatur culpa per alterius voluntatem, quemadmodum communicatur gratia per sancti Spiritus unitatem. Potest enim et in hoc et in illo homine esse unus Spiritus sanctus, etiamsi invicem nesciant per quem sit utriusque gratia communis. Non autem potest spiritus hominis esse et hujus et illius, per quem peccante altero, et altero non peccante, sit tamen culpa communis. Ac per hoc potest parvulus semel ex parentum carne generatus Dei Spiritu regenerari, ut ex illis obligatio contracta solvatur. Non potest autem semel Dei Spiritu regeneratus ex parentum carne regenerari, ut obligatio quae soluta est, iterum contrahatur. Et ideo semel perceptam parvulus Christi gratiam non amittit, nisi propria impietate, si aetatis accessu tam malus evaserit. Tunc enim etiam propria incipiet habere peccata, quae non regeneratione auferantur, sed alia curatione sanentur.

3. Verumtamen recte dicuntur parentes, vel quicumque majores, filios seu quoslibet parvulos baptizatos daemoniorum sacrilegiis obligare conantes, spiritualiter homicidae. Nam in illis quidem interfectionem non faciunt, sed quantum in ipsis est, interfectores fiunt. Recte illis dicitur, quando ab hoc scelere prohibentur, Nolite occidere parvulos vestros: dicit enim et Apostolus, Spiritum nolite exstinguere (I Thess. V, 19); non quia ille exstingui potest, sed quantum in ipsis est, exstinctores ejus merito dicuntur, qui sic agunt ut exstinctum velint.

2. But that he may be able to be regenerated through the office of another's will, when he is offered to be consecrated, one Spirit does this, from whom the one offered is regenerated. For it is not written, Unless anyone shall have been born again from the will of parents, or from the faith of those offering or ministering; but, "Unless anyone shall have been born again of water and the Holy Spirit" (John III, 5). Water therefore exhibiting the sacrament of grace from without, and the Spirit operating the benefit of grace from within, dissolving the bond of fault, reconciling the good of nature, regenerate the man in one Christ, generated from one Adam. The regenerating Spirit therefore is common in the elders offering, and in the little one offered and born again: therefore through this society of one and the same Spirit the will of those offering profits the little one offered. But when the elders sin against the little one, offering him and trying to bind him by the sacrilegious bonds of demons, the soul of both is not common, so that they might even have a common fault. For fault is not so communicated through the will of another, as grace is communicated through the unity of the Holy Spirit. For the one Holy Spirit can be both in this and in that man, even if they know not each other through whom the grace of both is common. But the spirit of a man cannot be both of this and of that one, through whom when one sins and the other sins not, there is nevertheless a common fault. And by this the little one once generated from the flesh of parents can be regenerated by the Spirit of God, so that the obligation contracted from them may be dissolved. But having been once regenerated by the Spirit of God he cannot be regenerated from the flesh of parents, so that the obligation which was dissolved should again be contracted. And therefore the little one does not lose the grace of Christ once perceived, except by his own impiety, if by the access of age he should escape so evil. For then he will begin also to have his own proper sins, which should not be taken away by regeneration, but healed by another curation.

3. Nevertheless parents, or any elders, trying to bind their sons or any baptized little ones to the sacrileges of demons, are rightly called spiritual homicides. For indeed they do not make a killing in them, but as much as is in them, they become killers. It is rightly said to them, when they are prohibited from this crime, "Do not kill your little ones": for the Apostle also says, "Extinguish not the Spirit" (I Thess. V, 19); not because He can be extinguished, but as much as is in them, they are deservedly called extinguishers of Him, who so act that they wish Him extinguished.

Isto sensu recte intelligi potest quod scripsit beatissimus Cyprianus in epistola de Lapsis, cum eos qui tempore persecutionis idolis immolaverant arguens: Ac ne quid deesset, inquit, ad criminis cumulum, infantes quoque parentum manibus impositi vel attrectati, amiserunt parvuli quod in primo statim nativitatis exordio fuerant consecuti. Amiserunt, dixit, quantum attinuit ad illorum scelus, a quibus amittere coacti sunt. Amiserunt in eorum mente ac voluntate, qui in illos tantum facinus commiserunt. Nam si in seipsis amisissent, remansissent utique divina sententia sine ulla defensione damnandi. Quod si sanctus Cyprianus arbitraretur, non eorum defensionem continuo subjiceret, dicens: Nonne illi, cum judicii dies venerit, dicent, Nos nihil fecimus, nec derelicto cibo et poculo Domini, ad profana contagia sponte properavimus; perdidit nos aliena perfidia, parentes sensimus parricidas: illi nobis Ecclesiam matrem, illi patrem Dominum negaverunt, ut dum parvi et improvidi, et tanti facinoris ignari per alios ad consortium criminis jungimur, aliena fraude caperemur? Hanc defensionem non subnecteret, nisi justissimam crederet et in Dei judicio parvulis profuturam. Si enim vere dicitur, Nos nihil fecimus; Anima quae peccaverit, ipsa morietur, nec illi peribunt sub Dei justo judicio, quos parentes suo scelere quantum ad seipsos attinet, perdiderunt.

4. Illud vero quod in eadem commemoratur epistola, quamdam parvulam turbatis in fugam parentibus, nutrici derelictam, atque ab eadem nutrice daemonum sacrilegiis impactam, postea in ecclesia illatam sibi Eucharistiam miris motibus respuisse, ideo mihi videtur divinitus factum, ne majores putarent nihil se in parvulos in illa iniquitate peccare, sed potius intelligerent, per illum significantem quodammodo gestum corporis eorum qui loqui non poterant, se mirabiliter admoneri quid ipsi facere deberent, qui post tantum illud nefas sacramentis salutaribus irruebant unde se utique poenitendo abstinere deberent. Nec cum tale aliquid divina providentia per infantulos agit, ipsos id agere scientia vel ratione credendum est. Neque enim quia cujusdam prophetae dementiam Deus voluit etiam asina loquente coercere (Num. XXII, 28), ideo admiranda est asinorum sapientia.

In this sense it can be rightly understood what the most blessed Cyprian wrote in the epistle concerning the Lapsed, when arguing against those who in the time of persecution had immolated to idols: "And lest anything should be wanting," he says, "to the heap of crime, infants also being imposed or handled by the hands of parents, the little ones lost what they had attained in the first beginning of their birth." They lost, he said, as much as pertained to the crime of those, by whom they were compelled to lose. They lost in the mind and will of those, who committed so great a facinorous act against them. For if they had lost in themselves, they would have remained certainly by divine sentence to be damned without any defense. Which if holy Cyprian had arbitrated, he would not continuously subjoin their defense, saying: "Will not they, when the day of judgment shall come, say, We did nothing, nor having derelicted the food and cup of the Lord, did we hasten of our own accord to profane contagions; another's perfidy lost us, we felt parents as parricides: they denied us the Church as mother, they denied the Lord as father, so that while small and improvident, and ignorant of so great a facinorous act, we are joined by others to the consortium of crime, we were captured by another's fraud?" He would not subnect this defense, unless he believed it most just and about to profit the little ones in the judgment of God. For if it is truly said, "We did nothing"; "The soul that shall have sinned, the same shall die," nor will they perish under the just judgment of God, whom parents by their own crime, as much as pertains to themselves, have lost.

But that which is commemorated in the same epistle, that a certain little girl, her parents being troubled into flight, was derelicted to a nurse, and by the same nurse impacted with the sacrileges of demons, afterwards in the church she rejected the Eucharist brought to her with wondrous motions, seems to me therefore done by divine power, lest the elders should think themselves to sin nothing against the little ones in that iniquity, but rather they should understand, through that signifying gesture of the body of those who could not speak, that they were wondrously admonished what they themselves ought to do, who after so great a nefas rushed into the salutary sacraments, from which they certainly ought to abstain by repenting. Nor when divine providence acts any such thing through infants, is it to be believed that they themselves act it by science or reason. For neither because God willed to coerce the dementia of a certain prophet even by a speaking ass (Num. XXII, 28), therefore is the wisdom of asses to be admired.

Porro si per animal irrationale sonuit aliquid homini simillimum, quod miraculo divino, non cordi asinino tribuendum sit; ita potuit Omnipotens per infantis animam, non ubi ratio nulla erat, sed ubi adhuc sopita erat, gestu corporis ejus ostendere quid illi, qui et in se et in parvulos suos peccaverant, curare deberent. Caeterum cum infans non redeat in parentem, ut cum illo et in illo unus homo sit, sed omnino alter sit, habens carnem suam et animam suam, Anima quae peccaverit, ipsa morietur.

5. Nec illud te moveat, quod quidam non ea fide ad Baptismum percipiendum parvulos ferunt, ut gratia spirituali ad vitam regenerentur aeternam, sed quod eos putant hoc remedio temporalem retinere vel recipere sanitatem. Non enim propterea illi non regenerantur, quia non ab istis hac intentione offeruntur. Celebrantur enim per eos necessaria ministeria, et verba sacramentorum, sine quibus consecrari parvulus non potest. Spiritus autem ille sanctus qui habitat in sanctis, ex quibus una illa columba deargentata charitatis igne conflatur, agit quod agit etiam per servitutem, aliquando non solum simpliciter ignorantium, verum etiam damnabiliter indignorum. Offeruntur quippe parvuli ad percipiendam spiritualem gratiam, non tam ab eis quorum gestantur manibus (quamvis et ab ipsis, si et ipsi boni fideles sunt), quam ab universa societate sanctorum atque fidelium. Ab omnibus namque offerri recte intelliguntur, quibus placet quod offeruntur, et quorum sancta atque individua charitate ad communicationem sancti Spiritus adjuvantur. Tota hoc ergo mater Ecclesia, quae in sanctis est, facit, quia tota omnes, tota singulos parit. Nam si christiani baptismi sacramentum, quando unum atque idipsum est, etiam apud haereticos valet et sufficit ad consecrationem, quamvis ad vitae aeternae participationem non sufficiat; quae consecratio reum quidem facit haereticum extra Domini gregem habentem dominicum characterem, corrigendum tamen admonet sana doctrina, non iterum similiter consecrandum: quanto potius in catholica Ecclesia etiam per stipulae ministerium frumenta purganda portantur, ut ad massae societatem mediante area perducantur?

6. Illud autem nolo te fallat, ut existimes reatus vinculum ex Adam tractum, aliter non posse disrumpi, nisi parvuli ad percipiendam Christi gratiam a parentibus offerantur: sic enim scribens dicis, Ut sicut parentes fuerunt auctores ad eorum poenam, per fidem parentum identidem justificentur: cum videas multos non offerri a parentibus, sed etiam a quibuslibet extraneis, sicut a dominis servuli aliquando offeruntur. Et nonnunquam mortuis parentibus suis parvuli baptizantur, ab eis oblati qui illis hujusmodi misericordiam praebere potuerunt.

Furthermore if through an irrational animal there sounded something most similar to a man, which is to be attributed to a divine miracle, not to an asinine heart; so the Almighty could through the soul of an infant, not where there was no reason, but where it was yet asleep, show by the gesture of its body what those, who had sinned both against themselves and against their little ones, ought to take care of. Otherwise since an infant does not return into the parent, so that with him and in him he is one man, but he is entirely another, having his own flesh and his own soul, "The soul that shall have sinned, the same shall die."

5. Nor let that move you, that some bring little ones to receive Baptism not with that faith that they may be regenerated by spiritual grace to eternal life, but that they think they will retain or receive temporal health by this remedy. For they are not therefore not regenerated, because they are not offered by these with this intention. For the necessary ministries and the words of the sacraments are celebrated through them, without which the little one cannot be consecrated. But that Holy Spirit who dwells in the saints, from whom that one silvered dove is melted by the fire of charity, acts what He acts even through the servitude, sometimes not only of those simply ignorant, but even of those damnabily unworthy. Indeed little ones are offered to receive spiritual grace, not so much by those in whose hands they are carried (although also by them, if they themselves are also good faithful), as by the universal society of saints and of the faithful. For they are rightly understood to be offered by all, to whom it is pleasing that they are offered, and by whose holy and individual charity they are helped to the communication of the Holy Spirit. Therefore the whole mother Church, which is in the saints, does this, because the whole brings forth all, the whole brings forth each one. For if the sacrament of Christian baptism, when it is one and the same, is valid and sufficient for consecration even among heretics, although it may not suffice for participation in eternal life; which consecration indeed makes the heretic guilty having the dominical character outside the flock of the Lord, yet sound doctrine admonishes that he must be corrected, not similarly consecrated again: how much more in the Catholic Church even through the ministry of stubble are the grains to be purged carried, so that they may be led to the society of the mass by means of the floor?

6. But I do not want that to deceive you, so that you think the bond of guilt drawn from Adam cannot be otherwise broken, unless little ones are offered by parents to receive the grace of Christ: for thus you say in writing, "That just as parents were authors to their punishment, by the faith of parents they might be justified in the same way": when you see many not offered by parents, but even by any strangers, as sometimes little slaves are offered by masters. And sometimes their parents being dead, little ones are baptized, offered by those who were able to show them this kind of mercy.

Aliquando etiam quos crudeliter parentes exposuerunt nutriendos a quibuslibet, nonnunquam a sacris virginibus colliguntur, et ab eis offeruntur ad Baptismum; quae certe proprios filios nec habuerunt ullos, nec habere disponunt: ac per hoc nihil aliud hic fieri vides, nisi quod in Evangelio scriptum est, cum Dominus interrogasset quis illi a latronibus sauciato, et semivivo in via derelicto proximus fuisset; responsum est enim, Qui in illum fecit misericordiam (Luc. X, 37).

7. Difficillimam sane quaestionem tibi proposuisse visus es, in extremo inquisitionis tuae, ea videlicet intentione qua soles vehementer cavere mendacium. Si constituam, inquis, ante te parvulum, et interrogem utrum cum creverit futurus sit castus, vel fur non sit futurus; sine dubio respondebis: Nescio. Et utrum in eadem parvula aetate constitutus, cogitet aliquid boni vel mali; dices: Nescio. Si itaque de moribus ejus futuris nihil audes certi promittere, et de ejus praesenti cogitatione; quid est illud quod quando ad Baptismum offeruntur, pro eis parentes tanquam fidedictores respondent, et dicunt illos facere quod illa aetas cogitare non potest, aut si potest, occultum est? Interrogamus enim eos a quibus offeruntur, et dicimus: Credit in Deum? De illa aetate, quae utrum sit Deus ignorat, respondent: Credit; et ad caetera sic respondetur singula quae quaeruntur. Unde miror parentes in istis rebus tam fidenter pro parvulo respondere, ut dicant eum tanta bona facere quae ad horam qua baptizatur, baptizator interrogat, tamen eadem hora si subjiciam, Erit castus qui baptizatur, aut non erit fur? nescio utrum audet dicere aliquis, Aliquid horum erit, aut non erit, sicut mihi sine dubitatione respondet quod credat in Deum, et quod se convertat ad Deum. Deinde scripta tua concludens, adjungis et dicis: Ad istas ergo quaestiones peto breviter respondere digneris, ita ut non mihi de consuetudine praescribas, sed rationem reddas.

8. His litteris tuis lectis et relectis, et quantum temporis angustiae sinebant consideratis, recordatus sum Nebridium amicum meum, qui cum esset rerum obscurarum ad doctrinam pietatis maxime pertinentium diligentissimus et acerrimus inquisitor, valde oderat de quaestione magna responsionem brevem. Et quisquis hoc poposcisset, aegerrime ferebat, eumque, si ejus persona pateretur, vultu indignabundus et voce cohibebat, indignum deputans qui talia quaereret, cum de re tanta quam multa dici possent deberentque nesciret.

Sometimes also those whom parents cruelly exposed to be nourished by anyone, are sometimes gathered by holy virgins, and are offered by them to Baptism; who certainly neither had any own children, nor dispose to have them: and by this you see nothing else done here, except what is written in the Gospel, when the Lord had asked who had been neighbor to that one wounded by robbers, and left half-dead in the way; for it was answered, "He who showed mercy on him" (Luke X, 37).

7. You certainly seemed to have proposed a most difficult question at the end of your inquiry, with that intention videlicet with which you are accustomed vehemently to beware of a lie. "If I set," you say, "before you a little one, and I ask whether when he has grown he will be chaste, or will not be a thief; without doubt you will answer: I do not know. And whether constituted in that same little age, he thinks anything of good or evil; you will say: I do not know. If therefore you dare promise nothing certain about his future morals, and about his present thought; what is that which when they are offered to Baptism, the parents answer for them as guarantors, and say that they do what that age cannot think, or if it can, it is hidden? For we ask those by whom they are offered, and we say: Does he believe in God? Concerning that age, which ignores whether there is a God, they answer: He believes; and so it is answered to each of the other things which are asked. Wherefore I wonder that parents answer so confidently for the little one in these things, so that they say he does so great goods which at the hour in which he is baptized, the baptizer asks; yet at the same hour if I subjoin, Will he who is baptized be chaste, or will he not be a thief? I do not know whether anyone dares to say, He will be something of these, or he will not be, as he answers me without hesitation that he believes in God, and that he turns himself to God. Then concluding your writings, you add and say: "To these questions therefore I ask that you deign to answer briefly, so that you do not prescribe to me from custom, but render a reason."

8. These letters of yours being read and reread, and considered as much as the straits of time permitted, I remembered Nebridius my friend, who when he was a most diligent and sharp inquirer of obscure things pertaining maximally to the doctrine of piety, greatly hated a brief answer to a great question. And whoever had demanded this, he bore most hardly, and he, if his person permitted, would restrain him with an indignant countenance and voice, deputing him unworthy who should seek such things, when he was ignorant of how many things could and ought to be said about so great a matter.

Sed ego tibi non similiter, ut solebat ille, succenseo: es enim episcopus multis curis occupatus, ut ego; unde nec tibi facile vacat prolixum aliquid legere, nec mihi scribere. Nam ille tunc adolescens, qui talia breviter nolebat audire, et de multis in nostra sermocinatione quaerebat, ab otioso quaerebat otiosus: tu vero cogitans nunc quis et a quo ista flagites, breviter de re tanta respondere me jubes. Ecce facio quantum possum; Dominus adjuvet ut quod postulas possim.

9. Nempe saepe ita loquimur, ut Pascha propinquante dicamus crastinam vel perendinam Domini passionem, cum ille ante tam multos annos passus sit, nec omnino nisi semel illa passio facta sit. Nempe ipso die dominico dicimus, Hodie Dominus resurrexit; cum ex quo resurrexit tot anni transierint. Cur nemo tam ineptus est, ut nos ita loquentes arguat esse mentitos, nisi quia istos dies secundum illorum, quibus haec gesta sunt, similitudinem nuncupamus, ut dicatur ipse dies qui non est ipse, sed revolutione temporis similis ejus, et dicatur illo die fieri, propter sacramenti celebrationem, quod non illo die, sed jam olim factum est? Nonne semel immolatus est Christus in seipso, et tamen in sacramento non solum per omnes Paschae solemnitates, sed omni die populis immolatur, nec utique mentitur qui interrogatus eum responderit immolari? Si enim sacramenta quamdam similitudinem earum rerum quarum sacramenta sunt, non haberent, omnino sacramenta non essent. Ex hac autem similitudine plerumque etiam ipsarum rerum nomina accipiunt. Sicut ergo secundum quemdam modum sacramentum corporis Christi corpus Christi est, sacramentum sanguinis Christi sanguis Christi est, ita sacramentum fidei fides est Nihil est autem aliud credere, quam fidem habere. Ac per hoc cum respondetur parvulus credere, qui fidei nondum habet affectum, respondetur fidem habere propter fidei sacramentum, et convertere se ad Deum propter conversionis sacramentum, quia et ipsa responsio ad celebrationem pertinet sacramenti. Sicut de ipso Baptismo Apostolus, Consepulti, inquit, sumus Christo per Baptismum in mortem (Rom. VI, 4). Non ait, Sepulturam significavimus; sed prorsus ait, Consepulti sumus. Sacramentum ergo tantae rei nonnisi ejusdem rei vocabulo nuncupavit.

10. Itaque parvulum, etsi nondum fides illa quae in credentium voluntate consistit, jam tamen ipsius fidei sacramentum fidelem facit. Nam sicut credere respondetur, ita etiam fidelis vocatur, non rem ipsa mente annuendo, sed ipsius rei sacramentum percipiendo. Cum autem homo sapere coeperit, non illud sacramentum repetet, sed intelliget, ejusque veritati consona etiam voluntate coaptabitur.

But I am not angry with you in a similar way, as he was wont to be: for you are a bishop occupied with many cares, as I am; whence neither is there easily leisure for you to read anything prolix, nor for me to write it. For he, then an adolescent, who was unwilling to hear such things briefly, and sought concerning many things in our discourse, sought as one at leisure from one at leisure: but you now thinking who and from whom you demand these things, command me to answer briefly about so great a matter. Behold I do as much as I can; may the Lord help so that I can do what you ask.

9. Indeed we often speak so that, as Easter approaches, we say that the passion of the Lord is tomorrow or the day after tomorrow, although He suffered so many years ago, and that passion was not made at all except once. Indeed on the Lord's day itself we say, Today the Lord rose; although since He rose so many years have passed. Why is no one so inept that he should argue that we have lied in speaking so, except because we name these days according to the likeness of those in which these things were done, so that the day itself may be said to be that which is not itself, but similar to it by the revolution of time, and it may be said to be done on that day, on account of the celebration of the sacrament, which was not done on that day, but already long ago? Was not Christ immolated once in Himself, and yet in the sacrament not only through all the solemnities of Easter, but every day He is immolated for the peoples, nor indeed does he lie who being asked shall have answered that He is immolated? For if the sacraments had not a certain likeness of those things of which they are sacraments, they would not be sacraments at all. But from this likeness they mostly receive even the names of the things themselves. Therefore just as according to a certain mode the sacrament of the body of Christ is the body of Christ, the sacrament of the blood of Christ is the blood of Christ, so the sacrament of faith is faith; but to believe is nothing else than to have faith. And by this when it is answered that a little one believes, who does not yet have the affection of faith, it is answered that he has faith on account of the sacrament of faith, and that he turns himself to God on account of the sacrament of conversion, because the answer itself pertains to the celebration of the sacrament. As concerning Baptism itself the Apostle says, "We were buried with Christ through Baptism into death" (Rom. VI, 4). He did not say, We signified burial; but he says directly, We were buried. Therefore he named the sacrament of so great a thing only with the word of the same thing.

10. And so, although that faith which consists in the will of believers is not yet in the little one, yet already the sacrament of faith itself makes him a believer. For just as it is answered that he believes, so also he is called a believer, not by assenting to the thing with the mind itself, but by receiving the sacrament of the thing itself. But when the man shall have begun to be wise, he will not repeat that sacrament, but will understand it, and will be fitted to its truth even with a consonant will.

Hoc quandiu non potest, valebit sacramentum ad ejus tutelam adversus contrarias potestates; et tantum valebit ut si ante rationis usum ex hac vita emigraverit, per ipsum sacramentum commendante Ecclesiae charitate, ab illa condemnatione, quae per unum hominem intravit in mundum (Id. V, 12), christiano adjutorio liberetur. Hoc qui non credit, et fieri non posse arbitratur, profecto infidelis est, etsi habeat fidei sacramentum; longeque melior est illo parvulus, qui etiamsi fidem nondum habeat in cogitatione, non ei tamen obicem contrariae cogitationis opponit, unde sacramentum ejus salubriter percipit. Respondi, sicut existimo, quaestionibus tuis, quantum attinet ad minus capace, et ad contentiosos, non satis; quantum autem ad pacatos et intelligentes, plus forte quam sat est. Nec tibi ad excusationem meam objeci firmissimam consuetudinem, sed saluberrimae consuetudinis reddidi quam potui rationem.

Epistola XCIX.

Ex Romanorum calamitate susceptum animo dolore commiserationemque significat.

Religiosissimae atque in Christi membris merito sancteque laudabili famulae Dei ITALICAE, AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

1. Tres epistolas tuae Benignitatis acceperam, cum ista rescripsi. Unam quae adhuc meas litteras exigebat, alteram quae ad te jam pervenisse indicabat, tertiam quae benevolentissimam pro nobis curam tuam etiam de domo clarissimi et egregii juvenis Juliani, quae nostris adhaeret parietibus, continebat. Qua accepta continuo respondere non distuli, quia procurator Eximietatis tuae cito se Romam posse mittere, scripsit: cujus litteris graviter contristati sumus, quod ea quae illic in Urbe vel circa Urbem geruntur , non nobis insinuare curavit, ut certum apud nos fieret quod incertae famae credere nolebamus. Fratrum quippe litteris ante transmissis, quamvis molesta et dura, multo tamen leviora nuntiata sunt. Plus sane quam dici potest miratus sum, quod nec tanta occasione hominum tuorum fratres sancti episcopi scripserint, nec epistola tua quidquam nobis de tantis tribulationibus vestris insinuaverit; quae utique per viscera charitatis et nostrae sunt; nisi forte faciendum non putasti, quod nihil prodesse duxisti, aut nos tuis litteris moestificari noluisti. Prodest aliquid, quantum ego arbitror, etiam ista cognoscere.

As long as he cannot do this, the sacrament will be valid for his protection against contrary powers; and it will be so valid that if he shall have departed from this life before the use of reason, through the sacrament itself with the charity of the Church commending him, he may be freed by Christian aid from that condemnation which entered into the world through one man (Rom. V, 12). He who does not believe this, and thinks it cannot be done, is indeed an unbeliever, although he may have the sacrament of faith; and far better than he is the little one, who although he does not yet have faith in thought, yet does not oppose an obstacle of contrary thought, whence he healthfully receives its sacrament. I have answered, as I think, your questions; as far as pertains to the less capable, and to the contentious, not enough; but as far as to the peaceful and intelligent, more perhaps than enough. Nor did I object for my excuse the firmest custom, but I rendered as far as I could the reason for a most healthful custom.

Epistle XCIX.

It signifies the compassion and the pain conceived in the mind for the calamity of the Romans.

To the most religious and in the members of Christ worthily and holily laudable handmaid of God ITALICA, AUGUSTINE, health in the Lord.

1. I had received three epistles of your Benignity when I wrote these things. One which still demanded my letters, another which indicated that they had already reached you, the third which contained your most benevolent care for us even concerning the house of the most illustrious and egregious young man Julian, which adheres to our walls. Which being received, I did not delay to answer continuously, because the procurator of your Excellency wrote that he could soon send to Rome: by whose letters we were heavily saddened, because he did not take care to insinuate to us those things which are being done there in the City or around the City, so that what we were unwilling to believe by uncertain fame might become certain among us. Indeed by the letters of the brothers previously transmitted, although troublesome and hard, yet much lighter things were announced. I wondered certainly more than can be said, that neither with such an opportunity of your men the holy brother bishops wrote, nor did your epistle insinuate anything to us about your so great tribulations; which certainly through the bowels of charity are also ours; unless perhaps you did not think it ought to be done, because you led it to profit nothing, or you were unwilling for us to be saddened by your letters. It profits something, as much as I judge, to know even these things.

Primo, quia injustum est gaudere velle cum gaudentibus, et fleri non velle cum flentibus (Rom. XII, 15): deinde, quia tribulatio patientiam operatur, patientia probationem, probatio spem, spes autem non confundit, quia charitas Dei diffusa est in cordibus nostris per Spiritum sanctum, qui datus est nobis (Id. V, 3-5).

2. Absit itaque ut recusemus audire etiam quae amara et tristia sunt erga charissimos nostros. Nescio quo enim modo minus fit quod patitur unum membrum, si compatiuntur alia membra (I Cor. XII, 26). Nec ipsa mali relevatio fit per communionem cladis, sed per solatium charitatis, ut quamvis alii ferendo patiuntur, alii cognoscendo compatiuntur, communis sit tamen tribulatio, quibus probatio, spes, dilectio, spiritusque communis est. Omnes autem nos Dominus consolatur, qui et haec temporalia mala praedixit, et post haec bona aeterna promisit: nec debet cum praeliatur infringi, qui vult post praelium coronari, vires illo subministrante certantibus, qui praeparat ineffabilia dona victoribus.

3. Rescripta illa nostra non tibi ad nos auferant scribendi fiduciam, praesertim quia timorem nostrum non improbabili defensione lenisti. Parvulos tuos resalutamus, et in Christo tibi grandescere optamus, qui jam in hac aetate cernunt quam sit amor hujus saeculi periculosus et noxius; atque utinam cum magna et dura quatiuntur , parva et flexibilia corrigantur. De domo illa quid dicam, nisi benignissimae tuae curae gratias agam? Nam eam, quam dare possumus, nolunt; quam volunt autem, dare non possumus. Neque enim sicut falso audierunt, a decessore meo relicta est Ecclesiae, sed inter antiqua ejus praedia possidetur et antiquae alteri ecclesiae sic cohaeret, quemadmodum ista de qua agitur, alteri.

Epistola C.

Augustinus Donato proconsuli Africae, ut Donatistas coerceat, non occidat.

Domino eximio meritoque honorabili insigniterque laudabili filio DONATO , AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

1. Nollem quidem in his afflictationibus esse Africanam Ecclesiam constitutam, ut terrenae ullius potestatis indigeret auxilio. Sed quia, sicut Apostolus dicit, Non est potestas nisi a Deo (Rom. XIII, 1); procul dubio, cum per vos sincerissimos Catholicae matris filios eidem subvenitur, auxilium nostrum in nomine Domini est, qui fecit coelum et terram (Psal. CXX, 2).

First, because it is unjust to wish to rejoice with those who rejoice, and not to wish to weep with those who weep (Rom. XII, 15): then, because tribulation works patience, patience probation, probation hope, but hope does not confound, because the charity of God has been diffused in our hearts through the Holy Spirit, who has been given to us (Rom. V, 3-5).

2. Far be it therefore that we should refuse to hear even those things which are bitter and sad toward our most beloved. For I know not in what way that which one member suffers becomes less, if the other members suffer with it (I Cor. XII, 26). Nor does the relief of the evil itself happen through the communion of the slaughter, but through the solace of charity, so that although some suffer by bearing, others suffer with them by knowing, yet the tribulation is common to those for whom the probation, hope, love, and spirit are common. But the Lord consoles us all, who both foretold these temporal evils, and after these promised eternal goods: nor ought he who wishes to be crowned after the battle to be broken when he battles, He subministering strengths to those struggling, who prepares ineffable gifts for the victors.

3. May those rescripts of ours not take away from you the confidence of writing to us, especially because you mitigated our fear with a not improbable defense. We resalute your little ones, and we wish them to grow great for you in Christ, who already in this age see how dangerous and noxious is the love of this world; and would that when great and hard things are shaken, the small and flexible might be corrected. What shall I say about that house, except that I give thanks to your most benign care? For that which we can give, they do not want; but that which they want, we cannot give. For neither, as they falsely heard, was it left to the Church by my predecessor, but it is possessed among its ancient estates and so adheres to another ancient church, just as this one of which it is treated, to another.

Epistle C.

Augustine to Donatus, proconsul of Africa, that he may coerce the Donatists, not kill them.

To the lord eximious and worthily honorable and insignificantly laudable son DONATUS, AUGUSTINE, health in the Lord.

1. I would certainly not wish the African Church to be constituted in these afflictions, so that it should stand in need of the aid of any earthly power. But because, as the Apostle says, "There is no power but from God" (Rom. XIII, 1); without doubt, when it is subvened by you, the most sincere sons of the Catholic mother, our help is in the name of the Lord, who made heaven and earth (Psalm CXX, 2).

Quis enim non sentiat in tantis malis non parvam nobis consolationem divinitus missam, cum tu vir talis et Christi nominis amantissimus, proconsularibus es sublimatus insignibus, ut ab sceleratis et sacrilegis ausibus inimicos Ecclesiae bonae tuae voluntati potestas sociata cohiberet, domine eximie meritoque honorabilis insigniterque laudabilis fili? Denique unum solum est quod in tua justitia pertimescimus, ne forte, quoniam quidquid mali contra christianam societatem ab hominibus impiis ingratisque committitur, profecto gravius est et atrocius quam si in alios talia committantur, tu quoque pro immanitate facinorum, ac non potius pro lenitatis christianae consideratione censeas coercendum; quod te per Jesum Christum ne facias obsecramus. Neque enim vindictam de inimicis in hac terra requirimus, aut vero ad eas angustias animi nos debent coarctare quae patimur, ut obliviscamur quid nobis praeceperit, pro cujus veritate ac nomine patimur: diligimus inimicos nostros et oramus pro eis. Unde ex occasione terribilium judicum ac legum, ne in aeterni judicii poenas incidant, corrigi eos cupimus, non necari; nec disciplinam circa eos negligi volumus, nec suppliciis quibus digni sunt exerceri. Sic igitur eorum peccata compesce, ut sint quos poeniteat peccasse.

2. Quaesumus igitur ut cum Ecclesiae causas audis, quamlibet nefariis injuriis appetitam vel afflictam esse cognoveris, potestatem occidendi te habere obliviscaris, et petitionem nostram non obliviscaris. Non tibi vile sit, neque contemptibile, fili honorabiliter dilectissime, quod vos rogamus ne occidantur, pro quibus Dominum rogamus ut corrigantur. Excepto etiam quod a perpetuo proposito recedere non debemus vincendi in bono malum; illud quoque prudentia tua cogitet, quod causas ecclesiasticas insinuare vobis nemo praeter ecclesiasticos curat. Proinde, si occidendos in his sceleribus homines putaveritis, deterrebitis nos ne per operam nostram ad vestrum judicium aliquid tale perveniat: quo comperto illi in nostram perniciem licentiore audacia grassabuntur, necessitate nobis impacta et indicta, ut etiam occidi ab eis eligamus, quam eos occidendos vestris judiciis ingeramus. Hanc admonitionem, petitionem, obsecrationem meam ne, quaeso, aspernanter accipias. Neque enim te arbitror non recolere, magnam me ad te et multo quam nunc es altius sublimatum etiamsi episcopus non essem, fiduciam tamen habere potuisse. Cito interim per edictum Excellentiae tuae noverint haeretici Donatistae, manere leges contra errorem suum latas, quas jam nihil valere arbitrantur et jactant, ne vel sic nobis parcere aliquatenus possint.

For who does not feel in so great evils a no small consolation sent to us by divine power, when you, such a man and most loving of the name of Christ, have been sublimated with proconsular insignia, so that the power associated might restrain the enemies of the Church from wicked and sacrilegious attempts towards your good will, O lord eximious and worthily honorable and insignificantly laudable son? Finally there is only one thing which we greatly fear in your justice, lest perhaps, since whatever evil is committed by impious and ungrateful men against Christian society, it is indeed more grave and atrocious than if such things were committed against others, you also for the immanity of the crimes, and not rather for the consideration of Christian lenity, should judge it must be punished; which we beseech you through Jesus Christ that you do not do. For neither do we seek vengeance for enemies in this land, nor in truth ought those things which we suffer to straiten us to those anxieties of mind, so that we should forget what He commanded us, for whose truth and name we suffer: we love our enemies and pray for them. Wherefore from the opportunity of terrible judges and laws, lest they fall into the punishments of eternal judgment, we desire them to be corrected, not killed; nor do we wish discipline to be neglected around them, nor to be exercised with the punishments of which they are worthy. So therefore restrain their sins, so that there may be those whom it may repent to have sinned.

2. We ask therefore that when you hear the causes of the Church, however much you shall have known it to be attacked or afflicted by nefarious injuries, you forget that you have the power of killing, and that you do not forget our petition. Let it not be vile to you, nor contemptible, O son honorably most beloved, that we ask you that they may not be killed, for whom we ask the Lord that they may be corrected. Besides even that we ought not to recede from the perpetual purpose of overcoming evil in good; let your prudence also think that, that no one cares to insinuate ecclesiastical causes to you except ecclesiastics. Therefore, if you shall have thought that men ought to be killed in these crimes, you will deter us lest through our work anything such reach your judgment: which being discovered they will rage with more licentious audacity for our destruction, the necessity having been impacted and indicted for us, so that we may choose even to be killed by them, rather than we bring them to your judgments to be killed. I ask that you do not receive this admonition, petition, and obsecration of mine with contempt. For neither do I judge that you do not remember, that I could have had a great confidence in you even if I were not a bishop, you being sublimated much higher than you are now. Let the Donatist heretics know meanwhile through the edict of your Excellency, that the laws passed against their error remain, which they already judge and boast to be of no value, lest even so they can spare us to some extent.

Plurimum autem labores et pericula nostra, quo fructuosa sint, adjuvabis, si eorum vanissimam et impiae superbiae plenissimam sectam non ita cures imperialibus legibus comprimi, ut sibi vel suis videantur qualescumque molestias pro veritate atque justitia sustinere: sed eos, cum hoc abs te petitur, rerum certarum manifestissimis documentis apud Acta vel Praestantiae tuae vel minorum judicum convinci atque instrui patiaris, ut et ipsi qui te jubente attinentur, duram, si fieri potest, flectant in melius voluntatem, et ea caeteris salubriter legant. Onerosior est quippe quam utilior diligentia, quamvis ut magnum deseratur malum, et magnum teneatur bonum, cogi tantum homines, non doceri.

EPISTOLA CI . Augustinus Memorio episcopo libros ipsius de Musica flagitanti, sextum librum mittit, et caeteros si repererit, mittendos pollicetur; eaque occasione agit de disciplinis, quas falso liberales dici ostendit, nisi adsit studium christianae pietatis.

1. De libris de Musica, quos a me fieri etiam ex mea ad te epistola, si cam habes, recolere potuisti, quid sit factum, paucis accipe. Cum a me post baptizatum otium tunc esset Mediolani, coeperam scribere de singulis disciplinis per eos qui ad ista vel exercitari vel initiari cupiunt, libros interrogatorios; et tunc eisdem disciplinis perductis ad aliquem finem, vel inchoatis tantum, postquam me ad Africam reddidi, solos de Musica libros absolvere potui, quos jam apud me habebam, vel quantum potui tunc, sicut fuerunt ante scripti, recognitos et emendatos. De caeteris vero, velut ex manticis quae jam mihi oneri esse coeperant, nescio quo modo jam tum elapsis atque perditis, nihil penitus reperire potui, nisi unum de Soliloquiis librum, quem jam non interrogatorium, sed quasi mecum loquentem de his quae scire maxime cuperem, fieri volui. De Musica ergo istos sex libros, quos jam emendaveram, misi. Tuos autem noli me de hac re velle contristari, ut putes me quidquam tibi negare debere, qui multo magis me debere meipsum tibi, gratissime agnosco.

2. In his autem libris, quos emendatos misi, sextus maxime est, qui omni cura ac studio dignus existimari potest. In eo namque de his numeris qui sunt in vocibus, ad numeros qui sunt in ipsis animi motibus atque in ipsa aeterna et incommutabili veritate, si fieri possit, ratiocinando proceditur. Et quoniam haec per corporalem quandam et mutabilem similitudinem ratiocinatio fit, unde in eadem disciplina illa ratiocinatio et numeros in seipsa et motus animi in seipso percipit, qui in hac vita et in his temporalibus rebus quasi in somnis videntur, ad aeternam illam incommutabilemque veritatem, unde omnia facta sunt, si fieri potest, ratiocinando perducitur.

But you will aid our labors and dangers most greatly, that they may be fruitful, if you do not so care for their most vain sect and one most full of impious pride to be compressed by imperial laws, that it may seem to them or to theirs that they sustain whatever troubles for truth and justice: but that you allow them, when this is asked from you, to be convinced and instructed with the most manifest documents of certain things before the Acts either of your Excellency or of the minor judges, so that even those who are held by your command, may flex, if it can be, their hard will to the better, and read those things healthfully to the others. Indeed diligence is more onerous than useful, although so that a great evil may be deserted, and a great good be held, men should only be coerced, not taught.

EPISTLE CI. Augustine to Bishop Memorius demanding his books on Music, sends the sixth book, and promises that the others are to be sent if he shall find them; and on that occasion treats of the disciplines, which he shows to be falsely called liberal, unless the study of Christian piety be present.

1. Concerning the books on Music, which you could remember were being made by me even from my epistle to you, if you have it, receive in a few words what has been done. When there was leisure for me then at Milan after having been baptized, I had begun to write interrogatory books concerning each of the disciplines through those who desire either to be exercised or to be initiated in these things; and then those same disciplines being brought to some end, or only begun, after I returned myself to Africa, I was able to finish only the books on Music, which I already had with me, or as much as I was able then, recognized and emended as they had been written before. But concerning the rest, as if from knapsacks [manticis] which had already begun to be a burden to me, having already then slipped away and been lost in I know not what way, I could find nothing at all, except one book on the Soliloquies, which I wished to be made now not interrogatory, but as it were speaking with myself about those things which I would maximally desire to know. Therefore I have sent those six books on Music, which I had already emended. But do not wish me to be saddened by you concerning this matter, so that you think I ought to deny you anything, I who most gratefully acknowledge that I owe myself to you much more.

2. But in these books, which I sent emended, the sixth is maximally the one which can be estimated worthy of all care and study. For in it there is a proceeding by reasoning, if it can be done, from these numbers which are in the voices, to the numbers which are in the very motions of the mind and in the eternal and incommutable truth itself. And since this reasoning happens through a certain corporal and mutable likeness, whence in that same discipline that reasoning perceives both numbers in itself and motions of the mind in itself, which in this life and in these temporal things are seen as if in dreams, it is led by reasoning, if it can be done, to that eternal and incommutable truth, from which all things have been made.

3. Hos ergo libros meos, si tibi placuerint, etiam ad alios perferendos dabis; meque ita habeas, ut qui in Domino te multum diligat. Orantem pro nobis meminisse non desinas.

EPISTOLA CII . Sex quaestiones ab amico in hunc modum propositae: 1. De resurrectione. 2. De tempore christianae religionis. 3. De sacrificiorum distinctione. 4. De eo quod scriptum est: In qua mensura mensi fueritis, remetietur vobis. 5. De Filio Dei secundum Salomonem. 6. De Jona propheta.

Domino meo et in Christo venerabili et desiderabili fratri ac consacerdoti DEOGRATIAS, AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

1. Quaestiones tibi propositas, quas ad me mittendas putasti, non parva cum tristitia legi, non propter eas ipsas, quas facile est homini in litteris sacris exercitato dissolvere, sed propter fratrem nostrum Deogratias, quem valde doleo his quaestionibus a paganis fuisse propositis esse turbatum, ac ne quid illis responderet, nisi a me acciperet, formidasse. Quod cum vidissem, mox illis respondere decrevi, ne ista mora in illius periculum redundaret. Quamquam enim sciam non defuisse illic fratres, qui talia proposita vel interrogata facile possent dissolvere; tamen quia ad me ista pervenire voluisti, non mihi visum est aliis committendum, sed ipse potius id agere curavi.

2. Atque illud in primis scire te volo, non esse hoc munus meum, ut ad omnia quae a paganis vel ab aliis quibuslibet haereticis contra nostram fidem proponuntur, ipse respondeam. Non enim sum solus in Ecclesia, qui possim ista dissolvere; sed sunt alii multi et mihi longe anteponendi, qui hoc multo melius ac facilius possint efficere. Verumtamen quia caritas Christi urget nos, et quia tu me hoc facere voluisti, non sum passus hanc petitionem tuam sine effectu remanere.

3. Prima ergo quaestio est de resurrectione carnis, de qua illi paganorum philosophi multum ratiocinantur, et multa absurda esse arbitrantur. Aiunt enim: Quomodo fieri potest ut caro, quae semel in terram rediit et in alios corporum usus translata est, iterum eadem ipsa restituatur? Quid si ab aliis animalibus comesta sit? Quid si ab aliis hominibus, qui et ipsi postea mortui sunt? Quomodo unicuique sua caro reddetur, si jam alterius facta est? Ad haec ergo breviter respondendum est, Deum omnipotentem esse, et nihil illi esse impossibile. Qui enim ex nihilo potuit omnia creare, nonne poterit id quod fuit, iterum reparare? Nec nos debemus modis nostris et humana ratiocinatione metiri divinam potentiam, quae omnia superat et omnia continet.

3. Therefore these books of mine, if they shall please you, you will give also to others to be carried through; and have me so, as one who loves you much in the Lord. Do not cease to remember me in praying for us.

EPISTLE CII. Six questions proposed by a friend in this manner: 1. Concerning the resurrection. 2. Concerning the time of the Christian religion. 3. Concerning the distinction of sacrifices. 4. Concerning that which is written: In what measure you shall have measured, it shall be measured back to you. 5. Concerning the Son of God according to Solomon. 6. Concerning Jonah the prophet.

To my lord and venerable and desirable brother and fellow-priest in Christ DEOGRATIAS, AUGUSTINE, health in the Lord.

1. The questions proposed to you, which you thought ought to be sent to me, I read with no small sadness, not on account of those very things, which are easy for a man exercised in the sacred letters to dissolve, but on account of our brother Deogratias, for whom I greatly grieve that he was troubled by these questions proposed by pagans, and that he feared lest he should answer them anything, unless he received it from me. Which when I had seen, I soon decreed to answer them, lest that delay should redound to his danger. For although I know that brothers were not wanting there, who could easily dissolve such things proposed or asked; yet because you wished those things to reach me, it did not seem to me that it should be committed to others, but I myself took care rather to do that.

2. And that in the first place I wish you to know, that this is not my office, that I myself should answer to all things which are proposed against our faith by pagans or by any other heretics. For I am not alone in the Church, who can dissolve these things; but there are many others and far to be preferred to me, who can effect this much better and more easily. Nevertheless because the charity of Christ urges us, and because you wished me to do this, I have not suffered this petition of yours to remain without effect.

3. The first question therefore is about the resurrection of the flesh, about which those philosophers of the pagans reason much, and think many things to be absurd. For they say: How can it be done that flesh, which once returned to the earth and was translated into other uses of bodies, should be restored again the same itself? What if it was eaten by other animals? What if by other men, who themselves also died afterwards? How will his own flesh be restored to each one, if it has already become another's? To these things therefore it must be briefly answered, that God is omnipotent, and nothing is impossible to Him. For He who could create all things from nothing, will He not be able to repair again that which was? Nor ought we to measure by our modes and human reasoning the divine power, which surpasses all things and contains all things.

Deinde secunda quaestio est de tempore christianae religionis, cur scilicet post tantum tempus Christus in mundum venerit, et cur non antea hominibus subvenire voluerit. Ad quod dicendum est, illud tempus divinitus fuisse praestitutum, quod sapientia Dei ad salutem humani generis maxime opportunum judicavit. Sicut enim agricola aliud tempus eligit ad seminandum, aliud ad metendum; ita et Deus aliud tempus habuit ad legem dandam, aliud ad gratiam per Filium suum manifestandam. Nec nos debemus de illius consilio judicare, cujus judicia sunt abyssus multa.

Inter haec missae sunt mihi a Carthagine quaestiones sex, quas proposuit amicus quidam, quem cupiebam fieri christianum, ut contra Paganos solverentur, praesertim quia nonnullas earum a Porphyrio philosopho propositas dixit. Sed non eum esse arbitror Porphyrium Siculum illum, cujus celeberrima est fama. Harum quaestionum disputationes in unum librum contuli, non prolixum, cujus est titulus: «Sex quaestiones contra Paganos expositae.» Earum autem prima est de Resurrectione, secunda de tempore christianae religionis, tertia de sacrificiorum distinctione, quarta de eo quod scriptum est, «In qua mensura mensi fueritis, remetietur vobis» (Matth. VII, 2), quinta de Filio Dei secundum Salomonem, sexta de Jona propheta. In quarum secunda quod dixi, «Salus religionis hujus, per quam solam veram salus vera veraciterque promittitur, nulli unquam defuit, qui dignus fuit, et cui defuit, dignus non fuit,» non ita dixi tanquam ex meritis suis quisquam dignus fuerit, sed quemadmodum ait Apostolus, «Non ex operibus, sed ex vocante dictum esse, Major serviet minori» (Rom. IX, 12, 13): quam vocationem ad Dei propositum asserit pertinere. Unde dicit: «Non secundum opera nostra, sed secundum suum propositum et gratiam» (II Tim. I, 9). Unde item dicit: «Scimus quia diligentibus Deum omnia cooperantur in bonum, iis qui secundum propositum vocati sunt sancti» (Rom. VIII, 28). De qua vocatione ait: «Ut dignos vos habeat vocatione sua sancta» (II Thess. I, 11). Hic liber post epistolam, quae postmodum a capite addita est, sic incipit: «Movet quosdam, et requirunt.»

SEX QUAESTIONES CONTRA PAGANOS EXPOSITAE, LIBER UNUS, SEU EPISTOLA CII.

Augustinus Deogratias presbytero mittens solutionem quaestionum sex propositarum a pagano quodam quas ipse Augustino exsolvendas transmiserat.

Sincerissimo fratri et compresbytero DEOGRATIAS, AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

Then the second question is about the time of the Christian religion, why scilicet after so much time Christ came into the world, and why He did not wish to subvene earlier to men. To which it must be said, that that time was preordained by divine power, which the wisdom of God judged maximally opportune for the salvation of the human race. For just as the farmer chooses one time for sowing, another for reaping; so also God had one time for giving the law, another for manifesting grace through His Son. Nor ought we to judge concerning His counsel, whose judgments are a great abyss.

Meanwhile six questions were sent to me from Carthage, which a certain friend proposed, whom I desired to become a Christian, that they might be solved against the Pagans, especially because he said some of them were proposed by Porphyry the philosopher. But I do not judge him to be that Sicilian Porphyry, whose fame is most celebrated. The disputations of these questions I have collected into one book, not prolix, whose title is: "Six questions set forth against the Pagans." But the first of them is about the Resurrection, the second about the time of the Christian religion, the third about the distinction of sacrifices, the fourth about that which is written, "In what measure you shall have measured, it shall be measured back to you" (Matt. VII, 2), the fifth about the Son of God according to Solomon, the sixth about Jonah the prophet. In the second of which, what I said, "The salvation of this religion, through which alone true salvation is truly and veraciously promised, was never wanting to anyone who was worthy, and to whom it was wanting, he was not worthy," I did not so say as if anyone were worthy from his own merits, but just as the Apostle says, "Not from works, but from Him who calls it was said, The elder shall serve the younger" (Rom. IX, 12, 13): which vocation he asserts to pertain to the purpose of God. Whence he says: "Not according to our works, but according to His own purpose and grace" (II Tim. I, 9). Whence likewise he says: "We know that for those who love God all things work together for good, for those who are called saints according to the purpose" (Rom. VIII, 28). Concerning which vocation he says: "That He may have you worthy of His holy vocation" (II Thess. I, 11). This book, after the epistle which was afterwards added at the beginning, thus begins: "It moves certain ones, and they inquire."

SIX QUESTIONS SET FORTH AGAINST THE PAGANS, ONE BOOK, OR EPISTLE CII.

Augustine to the presbyter Deogratias, sending the solution of six questions proposed by a certain pagan, which he himself had transmitted to Augustine to be solved.

To his most sincere brother and fellow-presbyter DEOGRATIAS, AUGUSTINE, health in the Lord.

1. Quaestiones tibi propositas mihi delegare maluisti, non, ut opinior, pigritia, sed quod ea quoque ipsa quae nosti, libentius per nos audis, dum nos nimis diligis. At ego propterea malebam a te illas aperiri, quod ille ipse amicus, qui eas proposuit, quantum ex hoc conjici datur, quod mihi ad quasdam epistolas non rescripsit, quasi nos verecundatur sequi: viderit quam ob causam. Hoc tamen suspicor, nec suspicio mea vel malevola est vel absurda, cum et optime noveris quantum eum diligam, quantoque mihi dolori sit, quod nondum christianus est; et utique non inconvenienter arbitror eum, quem video mihi rescribere noluisse, nihil sibi a me scribi voluisse. Proinde obsecro te, ut quemadmodum ego tibi parui, atque inter meas arctissimas occupationes, tuam sanctam mihique charissimam voluntatem offendere timui, si non facerem quod petisti, ita tu quoque facias quod peto. Hoc est autem, ut breviter quemadmodum a te, sicut mihi indicasti, postulavit, ad omnia illi respondere non graveris, quod et ante facere potuisti. Scies enim cum legeris, nihil pene a me dictum quod ipse non noveras, aut quod me tacente nosse non poteras. Sed hoc opus meum rogo habeas cum caeteris, quorum studio scis convenire. Tuum vero illud quod flagito, habeat ipse cui hoc potissimum congruit, et caeteri quos non parum ista delectant, quemadmodum dici possunt abs te, inter quos et ipse sum. Vivas semper in Christo nostri memor.

Quaestio prima.

De Resurrectione.

2. Movet quosdam, et requirunt de duabus resurrectionibus quae conveniat promissae resurrectioni, utrumnam Christi an Lazari? Si Christi, inquiunt, quomodo potest haec convenire resurrectioni natorum ex semine, ejus qui nulla seminis conditione natus est? Si autem Lazari resurrectio convenire asseritur, ne haec quidem congruere videtur: siquidem Lazari resurrectio facta sit de corpore nondum tabescente, de eo corpore, quo Lazarus dicebatur; nostra autem multis saeculis post ex confuso eruetur. Deinde si post resurrectionem status beatus futurus est, nulla corporis injuria, nulla necessitate famis, quid sibi vult cibatum Christum fuisse, et vulnera monstravisse? Sed si propter incredulum fecit, finxit: si autem verum ostendit, ergo in resurrectione accepta futura sunt vulnera.

1. The questions proposed to you you have preferred to delegate to me, not, as I judge, from laziness, but because you more willingly hear from us those very things which you know, since you love us too much. But I for that reason preferred them to be opened by you, because that very friend who proposed them, as much as is given to be conjectured from this: that he did not write back to me to certain epistles, as if he is ashamed to follow us; let him see for what cause. This however I suspect, nor is my suspicion either malevolent or absurd, since you also know very well how much I love him, and how much it is a grief to me that he is not yet a Christian; and certainly I judge it not inconveniently that he, whom I see to have been unwilling to write back to me, has wished nothing to be written to him by me. Therefore I beseech you, that just as I have obeyed you, and among my most narrow occupations, I feared to offend your holy and most dear will to me if I did not do what you asked, so you also should do what I ask. This however is, that you should not be reluctant to answer to all things for him briefly, as he requested from you, as you indicated to me, which you could have done even before. For you will know when you have read, that almost nothing was said by me which you yourself did not know, or which you were not able to know while I was silent. But this work of mine I ask that you have with the others, to whose study you know it to be suitable. But that of yours which I demand, let him have to whom this most especially is congruent, and the others whom those things delight not a little, in the manner they can be said by you, among whom I also am. May you live always in Christ, mindful of us.

FIRST QUESTION. On the Resurrection.

2. It moves some, and they inquire concerning two resurrections which one may suit the promised resurrection, whether that of Christ or of Lazarus? If that of Christ, they say, how can this suit the resurrection of those born from seed, of Him who was born by no condition of seed? But if the resurrection of Lazarus is asserted to suit, not even this seems to be congruent: since the resurrection of Lazarus was made from a body not yet decaying, from that body by which he was called Lazarus; but ours will be extracted from what is confused many centuries after. Then if after the resurrection the state is going to be blessed, with no injury of the body, no necessity of hunger, what does it mean that Christ was fed, and showed His wounds? But if He did it on account of the unbelieving one, He feigned: but if He showed what is true, therefore in the resurrection wounds are going to be received.

3. Quibus respondetur, ideo non Lazari resurrectionem, sed potius Christi congruere promissae resurrectioni, quia Lazarus ita resurrexit ut iterum moreretur, Christus autem, sicut de illo scriptum est, surgens a mortuis, jam non moritur, et mors illi ultra non dominabitur (Rom. VI, 9). Quod etiam promissum est resurrecturis in fine saeculi, et cum illo regnaturis in aeternum. Sic autem non pertinet ad resurrectionem differentia nativitatis Christi et nostrae, quod ille sine virili semine, nos autem ex viro et femina creati sumus, sicut etiam non pertinet ad ipsius mortis differentiam. Non enim propterea illius non vera morte fuit, quia sine virili semine natus est; sicut nec ipsius primi hominis aliter exorta caro quam nostra (quandoquidem ille sine parentibus de terra creatus est, nos vero ex parentibus) aliquid attulit ad differentiam mortis, ut aliter ille moreretur, aliter nos. Sicut autem ad mortis sic nec ad resurrectionis differentiam valet diversa nativitas.

4. Sed ne hoc ipsum quod scriptum est de primo homine, similiter infideles homines nolint credere, quaerant vel animadvertant, si vel hoc possunt, quam muliorum animalium genera sine parentibus ex terra procreentur, quae tamen coeundo pariant etiam ipsa sui simile, nec propter diversitatem nativitatis intersit aliquid ad naturam eorum, quae procreata sunt ex terra, et eorum quae illis coeuntibus orta sunt. Similiter enim vivunt, similiterque moriuntur, quamvis dissimiliter nata sint. Ita non est absurdum, ut similiter resurgant corpora, quae dissimiliter orta sunt. Hujusmodi autem homines non valentes intueri ad quam rem intersit aliquid diversum, et ad quam non intersit, ubi adverterint aliquam distantiam primordiorum, etiam omnia consequent a distare oportere contendunt. Possunt tales putare oleum ex adipibus non debere natare super aquam, sicut illud quod ex oliva est, quoniam longe est utriusque origo dissimilis, quando illud ex ligno, hoc ex carne profluxerit.

5. Quantum autem attinet ad illam differentiam, quod Christi corpus, non dissolutum tabe atque putredine, die tertio resurrexit, nostra vero post longum tempus, ex quadam, quo soluta discesserant, confusione reparabuntur; humanae facultati utrumque impossibile est, divinae autem potestati utrumque facillimum. Ut enim radius oculi nostri, non citius pervenit ad propinquiora, tardius ad longinquiora, sed utraque intervalla parili celeritate contingit; ita cum in ictu oculi (I Cor. XV, 52), sicut Apostolus dicit, fit resurrectio mortuorum, omnipotentiae Dei et ineffabili nutui tam facile est quaeque recentia, quam diuturno tempore dilapsa cadavera suscitare. Incredibilia sunt haec quibusdam, quia inexperta; cum omnis natura rerum tam sit plena miraculis, ut non quasi facili pervestigatione rationis, sed videndi consuetudine, mira non sint, atque ob hoc, nec consideratione, nec inquisitione digna videantur.

3. To whom it is answered, that for that reason not the resurrection of Lazarus, but rather that of Christ suits the promised resurrection, because Lazarus so rose that he might die again, but Christ, just as it is written of Him, "rising from the dead, now dies no more, and death shall no more have dominion over Him" (Rom. VI, 9). Which also is promised to those who are to rise at the end of the age, and to reign with Him forever. In this way however the difference of the birth of Christ and ours does not pertain to the resurrection, that He was created without virile seed, but we from man and woman, just as also it does not pertain to the difference of the death itself. For not for that reason was His not a true death, because He was born without virile seed; just as neither did the flesh of the first man himself, having arisen otherwise than ours (since he was created from the earth without parents, but we from parents), bring anything to the difference of death, so that he should die in one way, we in another. But as for the difference of death, so also for the difference of resurrection a diverse birth has no force.

4. But lest even this very thing which is written concerning the first man, infidel men should similarly be unwilling to believe, let them seek or notice, if at least they can do this, how many kinds of animals are procreated from the earth without parents, which nevertheless by coition bring forth even themselves something like their own kind, nor on account of the diversity of birth does anything intervene as to the nature of those which were procreated from the earth, and of those which arose from them coming together. For they similarly live, and similarly die, although they were born dissimilarly. Thus it is not absurd, that bodies should similarly rise, which arose dissimilarly. But men of this sort, not being able to intuit for what thing something diverse matters, and for what it does not matter, when they have noticed some distance of primordia, contend that even all consequent things ought to be distant. Such men can think that oil from fats ought not to swim upon water, like that which is from the olive, since the origin of both is far dissimilar, when that has flowed from wood, this from flesh.

5. But as much as pertains to that difference, that the body of Christ, not dissolved by decay and putrefaction, rose on the third day, but ours after a long time will be repaired from a certain confusion, into which they had departed having been dissolved; to human faculty both are impossible, but to divine power both are most easy. For as the ray of our eye does not reach more quickly to nearer things, more slowly to more distant things, but touches both intervals with equal speed; so when "in the twinkling of an eye" (I Cor. XV, 52), as the Apostle says, the resurrection of the dead happens, it is as easy for the omnipotence of God and His ineffable will to raise up both recent corpses and those decayed by a long time. These things are incredible to some, because unexperienced; when all the nature of things is so full of miracles, that not as if by an easy investigation of reason, but by the custom of seeing, they are not strange, and on account of this, they seem worthy neither of consideration nor of inquiry.

Nam ego, et mecum quicumque invisibilia Dei per ea quae facta sunt intelligere moliuntur (Rom. I, 20), aut non minus aut amplius admiramur, in uno seminis tam parvulo grano, omnia quae laudamus in arbore tanquam liciata latuisse, quam mundi hujus tam ingentem sinum, quae de corporibus humanis dum dilabuntur assumit, resurrectioni futurae tota et integra redditurum.

6. Quomodo autem contrarium est, et Christum post resurrectionem cibatum, et in resurrectione quae promittitur ciborum indigentiam non futuram; cum et Angelos legamus ejusdemmodi escas eodemque modo sumpsisse, non ficto et inani phantasmate, sed manifestissima veritate; nec tamen necessitate, sed potestate? Aliter enim absorbet terra aquam sitiens, aliter solis radius candens: illa indigentia, iste potentia. Futurae ergo resurrectionis corpus, imperfectae felicitatis erit, si cibos sumere non potuerit; imperfectae felicitatis, si cibis eguerit. Possem hic de commutationibus corporalium qualitatum, et de praepotenti valentia in inferiora corpora corporum superiorum latius disputare; sed breviter mihi respondere propositum est, et talibus ingeniis hoc scribitur, quae admonere suffecerit.

7. Sciat sane qui has proposuit quaestiones, Christum post resurrectionem cicatrices, non vulnera demonstrasse dubitantibus, propter quos etiam cibum ac potum sumere voluit, non semel, sed saepius, ne illud non corpus, sed spiritum esse arbitrarentur et sibi non solide, sed imaginaliter apparere. Tunc autem illae falsae cicatrices fuissent, si nulla vulnera praecessissent; et tamen nec ipsae essent, si eas esse noluisset. Voluit autem certae dispensationis gratia, ut eis quos aedificabat in fide non ficta, non aliud pro alio, sed hoc quod crucifixum viderant, resurrexisse monstraret. Quid est ergo quod dicitur. Si propter incredulum fecit, finxit? quasi vero si quisquam vir fortis pro patria dimicans, multa adversa vulnera exciperet, et peritissimo medico, qui haec ita curare valeret ut cicatrices nullae apparerent, ipse potius diceret sic se velle sanari ut magis essent in corpore suo vestigia vulnerum, tanquam tituli gloriarum, ideo ille medicus cicatrices finxisse diceretur, quia cum per artem efficere potuerit ut non essent, certa existente causa per artem effecit potius ut essent: quae uno solo modo, sicut superius dixi, falsae convincerentur, si nulla vulnera sanarentur.

Quaestio secunda.

De tempore christianae religionis.

For I, and whoever with me strive to understand the invisible things of God through those things which have been made (Rom. I, 20), are either no less or more greatly admired, that in one so very small grain of seed, all things which we praise in a tree lay hid as if woven together, than that so vast a bosom of this world, which it assumes from human bodies while they decay, should restore them whole and entire to the future resurrection.

6. But how is it contrary, both that Christ was fed after the resurrection, and that in the resurrection which is promised there will be no need of foods; since we read that even the Angels took food of the same sort and in the same way, not in a feigned and empty phantasm, but in most manifest truth; and yet not by necessity, but by power? For in one way the thirsting earth absorbs water, in another the glowing ray of the sun: the former by need, the latter by power. Therefore the body of the future resurrection will be of imperfect happiness if it could not take foods; of imperfect happiness if it lacked foods. I could here dispute more widely about the changes of corporal qualities, and about the very powerful strength of superior bodies over inferior ones; but it is proposed to me to answer briefly, and it is written for such geniuses whom it will have sufficed to admonish.

7. Let him certainly know who proposed these questions, that Christ after the resurrection showed scars, not wounds, to those doubting, on account of whom He also wished to take food and drink, not once, but more often, lest they should judge that to be not a body, but a spirit and to appear to them not solidly, but imaginarily. But then those would have been false scars, if no wounds had preceded; and yet not even they themselves would be, if He had not wished them to be. But He wished by the grace of a certain dispensation, that to those whom He built up in a non-feigned faith, He might show not one thing for another, but that this which they had seen crucified had risen. What is it therefore that is said: "If He did it on account of the unbelieving one, He feigned"? as if indeed if any brave man fighting for his country, should receive many adverse wounds, and to a most skilled physician, who could so care for these things that no scars would appear, he himself should rather say that he wished to be so healed that there might be more vestiges of wounds in his body, as titles of glories, would that physician on that account be said to have feigned the scars, because when he could have effected by art that they should not be, a certain cause existing he rather effected by art that they should be: which in one only way, as I said above, would be convicted as false, if no wounds were being healed.

SECOND QUESTION. On the time of the Christian religion.

8. Item alia proposuerunt, quae dicerent de Porphyrio contra Christianos tanquam validiora decerpta. Si Christus se, inquiunt, salutis viam dicit, gratiam, et veritatem, in seque solo ponit animis sibi credentibus reditum (Joan. XIV, 6); quid egerunt tot saeculorum homines ante Christum? Ut dimittam, inquit, tempora ante Latium regnatum, ab ipso Latio quasi principium humani nominis sumamus. In ipso Latio ante Albam dii culti sunt. In Alba aeque religiones ritusque valuere templorum. Non paucioribus saeculis ipsa Roma, longo saeculorum tractu sine christiana lege fuit. Quid, inquit, actum de tam innumeris animis, qui omnino in culpa nulla sunt; siquidem is cui credi posset, nondum adventum suum hominibus commodarat? Orbis quoque cum ipsa Roma in ritibus templorum caluit. Quare, inquit, Salvator qui dictus est, sese tot saeculis subduxit? Sed ne, inquit, dicant lege Judaica vetere hominum curatum genus, longo post tempore lex Judaeorum apparuit ac viguit angusta Syriae regione, postea vero prorepsit etiam in fines Italos; sed post Caesarem Caium, aut certe ipso imperante. Quid igitur actum de Romanis animabus vel Latinis, quae gratia nondum advenientis Christi viduatae sunt, usque in Caesarum tempus?

9. Huic propositioni respondetur, ut primo ipsi dicant utrum profuerint hominibus deorum suorum sacra, quae constat certis temporibus instituta. Quae si negant aliquid profuisse ad animarum salutem, nobiscum ea destruunt, et esse inania confitentur. Nos quidem etiam perniciosa monstramus; sed parum non est ut ipsi interim prius inania fateantur. Si vero ea defendunt, et sapienter atque utiliter asserunt instituta; quaero quid actum sit de his qui antequam haec instituta essent, morte obierunt: hac enim utique salute atque utilitate fraudati sunt. Si autem potuerunt alio modo purgari, cur non idem modus perseveravit in posteros? quid opus erat instituere novitias consecrationes, quae antiquitus non fuerunt?

10. Hic si dicunt deos quidem ipsos semper fuisse, et ad liberandos cultores suos pariter abique valuisse, sed pro varietate rerum temporalium ac terrenarum, quae scirent certis temporibus locisque congruere, in his alias atque alias, alibi atque alibi, aliter atque aliter sibi voluisse serviri; cur hanc quaestionem christianae religioni ingerunt, in qua nobis ipsi pro diis suis aut respondere non possunt, aut si possunt, in eo ipso sibi etiam pro nostra religione respondeant,

8. Likewise they proposed other things, which they said were excerpted from Porphyry against the Christians as more valid arguments. If Christ says of Himself, they say, that He is the way of salvation, the grace, and the truth, and in Himself alone places the return for souls believing in Him (John XIV, 6); what did the men of so many centuries do before Christ? To omit, he says, the times before there was reigning in Latium, let us take from Latium itself as if the beginning of the human name. In Latium itself before Alba the gods were worshipped. In Alba equally religions and rites of temples prevailed. For not fewer centuries Rome itself, in a long tract of centuries, was without the Christian law. What, he says, was done with so many innumerable souls, who are in no fault at all; since he in whom it could be believed, had not yet accommodated his advent to men? The world also with Rome itself was heated in the rites of temples. Why, he says, did the Savior who was so called, withdraw himself for so many centuries? But lest, he says, they should say that the human race was cared for by the old Judaic law, after a long time the law of the Jews appeared and flourished in the narrow region of Syria, but afterwards it crept even into the Italian borders; but after Caesar Caius, or certainly while he himself was commanding. What therefore was done with the Roman or Latin souls, which were widowed of the grace of the not yet coming Christ, even until the time of the Caesars?»

9. To this proposition it is answered, that first they themselves should say whether the sacred rites of their gods, which it is established were instituted at certain times, profited men. Which if they deny to have profited anything for the salvation of souls, they destroy them with us, and confess them to be empty. We indeed also show them to be pernicious; but it is not a small thing that they themselves should meanwhile first confess them to be empty. But if they defend them, and assert them to have been instituted wisely and usefully; I ask what was done with those who died before these were instituted: for they certainly were defrauded of this salvation and utility. But if they could be purified in another way, why did not the same way persevere for posterity? what need was there to institute new consecrations, which anciently were not?

10. Here if they say that the gods themselves indeed always were, and were equally powerful everywhere for delivering their worshippers, but on account of the variety of temporal and earthly things, which they knew to suit certain times and places, they wished to be served in these in some ways and others, in some places and others, in one manner and another; why do they cast this question upon the Christian religion, in which they themselves either cannot answer us for their gods, or if they can, let them answer for themselves in that very matter also for our religion,

ita nihil interesse pro diversa temporum locorumque congruentia, quam diversis sacramentis colatur, si quod colitur sanctum est, sicut nihil interest pro diversa linguarum auditorumque congruentia, quam diversis sonis dicatur, si quod dicitur verum est: dum hoc sane intersit, quod linguae sonos, quibus inter se sua sensa communicent, etiam homines pacto quodam societatis sibi instituere possunt; quibus autem sacris divinitati congruerent, voluntatem Dei secuti sunt qui recte sapuerunt. Quae omnino nunquam defuit ad salutem justitiae pietatique mortalium, et si qua in aliis atque in aliis populis, una eademque religione sociatis varie celebrantur, quatenus fiat plurimum refert, quo et humana exhortetur vel toleretur infirmitas, et divina non oppugnetur auctoritas.

11. Quamobrem cum Christum dicamus Verbum Dei per quod facta sunt omnia, et ideo Filium quia Verbum, nec Verbum dictum atque transactum, sed apud incommutabilem Patrem incommutabile ipsum atque incommutabiliter manens, sub cujus regimine universa creatura spiritualis et corporalis, pro congruentia temporum locorumque administratur, cui moderandae et gubernandae, quid, quando et ubi, circa eam fieri oporteat, sapientia et scientia penes ipsum est; profecto et antequam propagaret Hebraeorum gentem, per quam sui adventus manifestationem congruis sacramentis praefiguraret, et ipsis temporibus Israelitici regni, et deinde cum se in carne de virgine accepta mortalibus mortaliter demonstravit et deinceps usque nunc, cum implet omnia quae per Prophetas ante praedixit, et abhinc usque ad finem saeculi, quo sanctos ab impiis dirempturus est, et sua cuique retributurus, idem ipse est Filius Dei, Patri coaeternus, et incommutabilis Sapientia, per quam creata est universa natura, et cujus participatione omnis rationalis anima fit beata.

12. Itaque ab exordio generis humani, quicumque in eum crediderunt, eumque utcumque intellexerunt, et secundum ejus praecepta pie et juste vixerunt, quandolibet et ubilibet fuerint, per eum procul dubio salvi facti sunt. Sicut enim nos in eum credimus et apud Patrem manentem, et qui in carne jam venerit, sic credebant in eum antiqui, et apud Patrem manentem, et in carne venturum. Nec quia pro temporum varietate nunc factum annuntiatur, quod tunc futurum praenuntiabatur, ideo fides ipsa variata, vel salus ipsa diversa est.

that thus it matters nothing, according to the diverse congruence of times and places, with what diverse sacraments it may be worshipped, if what is worshipped is holy, just as it matters nothing, according to the diverse congruence of languages and hearers, with what diverse sounds it may be said, if what is said is true: while this certainly matters, that the sounds of languages, by which they communicate their senses among themselves, men also can institute for themselves by a certain pact of society; but as to what sacred rites they might suit the divinity, those who were rightly wise followed the will of God. Which was never entirely wanting for the salvation of the justice and piety of mortals, and if some things are celebrated variously in some peoples and others, associated by one and the same religion, it matters very much to what extent it happens, by which both human infirmity may be exhorted or tolerated, and divine authority may not be attacked.

11. Wherefore since we call Christ the Word of God through which all things were made, and therefore the Son because He is the Word, nor a Word spoken and passed away, but remaining Himself incommutable and incommutably with the incommutable Father, under whose regime the entire creature, spiritual and corporal, is administered according to the congruence of times and places, the wisdom and knowledge of what, when, and where ought to be done concerning it is in His power; assuredly both before He propagated the Hebrew nation, through which He might prefigure the manifestation of His advent by suitable sacraments, and in the times of the Israelitish kingdom themselves, and then when He showed Himself mortally to mortals in the flesh accepted from the virgin, and thereafter even until now, when He fulfills all things which He foretold before through the Prophets, and from hence even until the end of the age, when He is to separate the saints from the impious, and to render to each his own, He Himself is the same Son of God, co-eternal with the Father, and the incommutable Wisdom through which the entire nature was created, and by the participation of which every rational soul becomes blessed.

12. Therefore from the beginning of the human race, whoever believed in Him, and in whatever way understood Him, and lived piously and justly according to His precepts, whenever and wherever they may have been, through Him without doubt they were made safe. For as we believe in Him both remaining with the Father, and who has now come in the flesh, so the ancients believed in Him, both remaining with the Father, and about to come in the flesh. Nor because on account of the variety of times that is now announced as done, which then was foreannounced as future, is the faith itself on that account varied, or the salvation itself diverse.

Nec quia una eademque res, aliis atque aliis sacris et sacramentis vel praedicatur aut prophetatur, ideo alias atque alias res vel alias atque alias salutes oportet intelligi. Quid autem quando fiat quod ad unam eamdemque fidelium et piorum liberationem pertineat, consilium Deo tribuamus nobis obedientiam teneamus. Proinde aliis tunc nominibus et signis, aliis autem nunc, et prius occultius, postea manifestius, et prius a paucioribus, postea a pluribus, una tamen eademque religio vera significatur et observatur.

13. Nec nos eis objicimus quod aliter Numa Pompilius deos colendos Romanis instituit, atque aliter ab eis vel Italis antea colebantur, nec quod Pythagoreis temporibus illa philosophia celebrata est, quae antea vel omnino non erat, vel in paucissimis eadem sentientibus, non tamen eodem ritu viventibus fortasse latitabat: sed utrum illi dii, veri, aut colendi sint, et utrum illa philosophia animarum saluti aliquid prosit; hoc cum eis agimus, hoc in quaestionem vocamus, hoc disputando convellimus. Desinant igitur objicere nobis quod omni sectae, et omni nomini religionis objici potest. Cum enim non fortuito labi, sed divina providentia tempora ordinari fateantur, quid cuique tempori aptum et opportunum sit, humanum consilium praetergreditur, et illinc dispertitur, unde ipsa providentia rebus consulit.

14. Si enim dixerint propterea non semper nec ubique fuisse Pythagoricam disciplinam, quia Pythagoras homo fuit, neque hoc in potestate habere potuit; numquid hoc etiam dicere possunt, eo ipso tempore quando fuit, et in his terrarum locis ubi illa philosophia viguit, omnes qui eum audire potuerunt, etiam credere sectarique voluisse? Ac per hoc magis si tantae potestatis fuisset Pythagoras, ut ubi vellet, et quando vellet, sua dogmata praedicaret, etsi haberet etiam cum ea potestate summam rerum praescientiam, nusquam et nunquam appareret, nisi ubi et quando sibi homines credituros esse praenosceret. Proinde, cum Christo non objiciant, quod ejus doctrinam non omnes sequuntur; sentiunt enim et ipsi nequaquam hoc recte objici posse, vel philosophorum sapientiae, vel etiam numini deorum suorum; quid respondebunt si excepta illa altitudine sapientiae et scientiae Dei, ubi fortassis aliud divinum consilium longe secretius latet, sine praejudicio etiam aliarum forte causarum, quae a prudentibus investigari queunt, hoc solum eis brevitatis gratia, in hujus quaestionis disputatione dicamus, tunc voluisse hominibus apparere Christum, et apud eos praedicari doctrinam suam, quando sciebat, et ubi sciebat esse qui in eum fuerant credituri?

Nor because one and the same thing is either preached or prophesied by some sacred rites and sacraments and others, is it on that account necessary to understand some things and others, or some salvations and others. But as to what may happen when, which may pertain to one and the same liberation of the faithful and pious, let us attribute the counsel to God and hold obedience for ourselves. Therefore by some names and signs then, and by others now, and earlier more hiddenly, afterwards more manifestly, and earlier by fewer, afterwards by more, one and the same true religion is nevertheless signified and observed.

13. Nor do we object to them that Numa Pompilius instituted the gods to be worshipped in one way by the Romans, and they were worshipped in another way by them or by the Italians before, nor that in Pythagorean times that philosophy was celebrated, which before either was not at all, or was perhaps latent in very few feeling the same things, yet not living by the same rite: but whether those gods are true, or to be worshipped, and whether that philosophy profits anything for the salvation of souls; this we act with them, this we call into question, this we pull down by disputing. Let them therefore cease to object to us what can be objected to every sect, and every name of religion. For since they confess that times do not glide by fortuitously, but are ordained by divine providence, what may be apt and opportune for each time, human counsel steps over, and it is distributed from thence, whence providence itself provides for things.

14. For if they should say that for that reason the Pythagorean discipline was not always nor everywhere, because Pythagoras was a man, and was not able to have this in his power; can they also say this, that at that very time when he was, and in those places of the earth where that philosophy flourished, all who were able to hear him, wished also to believe and follow him? And on account of this more, if Pythagoras had been of such power, that he might preach his dogmas where he wished, and when he wished, even if he also had with that power the highest foreknowledge of things, he would nowhere and never appear, except where and when he foreknew that men would believe him. Therefore, since they do not object to Christ, that not all follow His doctrine; for they themselves also feel that this can by no means be rightly objected, either to the wisdom of philosophers, or even to the numen of their gods; what will they answer if, that depth of the wisdom and knowledge of God being excepted, where perhaps another divine counsel lies hidden far more secretly, without prejudice also of other causes which can perhaps be investigated by the prudent, we should say this alone to them for the sake of brevity, in the disputation of this question, that Christ then wished to appear to men, and His doctrine to be preached among them, when He knew, and where He knew there were those who were going to believe in Him?

His enim temporibus et his locis, quibus Evangelium ejus non est praedicatum, tales omnes in ejus praedicatione futuros esse praesciebat, quales non quidem omnes, sed tamen multi in ejus corporali praesentia fuerunt, qui in eum nec suscitatis ab eo mortuis credere voluerunt: quales etiam nunc multos videmus, cum tanta manifestatione de illo compleantur praeconia Prophetarum, nolle adhuc credere, et malle humana astutia resistere, quam tam clarae atque perspicuae tamque sublimi et sublimiter diffamatae divinae cedere auctoritati. Quandiu parvus et infirmus est intellectus hominis, divinae debet cedere veritati. Quid ergo mirum si tam infidelibus plenum orbem terrarum Christus prioribus saeculis noverat, ut eis apparere, vel praedicari merito nollet, quos nec verbis, nec miraculis suis credituros esse praesciebat? Neque enim incredibile est tales fuisse tunc omnes, quales ab ejus adventu usque ad hoc tempus, tam multos fuisse et esse miramur.

15. Et tamen ab initio generis humani, alias occultius, alias evidentius, sicut congruere temporibus divinitus visum est, nec prophetari destitit, nec qui in eum crederent defuerunt, ab Adam usque ad Moysen, et in ipso populo Israel, quae speciali quodam mysterio gens prophetica fuit, et in aliis gentibus antequam venisset in carne. Cum enim nonnulli commemorantur in sanctis hebraicis Libris jam ex tempore Abrahae, nec de stirpe carnis ejus, nec ex populo Israel, nec ex adventitia societate in populo Israel, qui tamen hujus sacramenti participes fuerunt; cur non credamus etiam in caeteris hac atque illac gentibus, alias alios fuisse, quamvis eos commemoratos in eisdem auctoritatibus non legamus? Ita salus religionis hujus, per quam solam veram salus vera veraciterque promittitur, nulli unquam defuit qui dignus fuit, et cui defuit, dignus non fuit. Et ab exordio propagationis humanae, usque in finem, quibusdam ad praemium, quibusdam ad judicium praedicatur. Ac per hoc et quibus omnino annuntiata non est, non crediturі praesciebantur; et quibus non crediturіs tamen annuntiata est, in illorum exemplum demonstrantur: quibus autem crediturіs annuntiantur, hi regno coelorum et sanctorum Angelorum societati praeparantur.

For in these times and these places, in which His Gospel was not preached, He foreknew that all would be such in His preaching, as not indeed all, but yet many were in His corporal presence, who were unwilling to believe in Him even when the dead had been raised by Him: as we see many even now, when the proclamations of the Prophets concerning Him are fulfilled with such manifestation, still being unwilling to believe, and preferring to resist with human astuteness, rather than to yield to a divine authority so clear and conspicuous and so sublime and sublimely spread abroad. As long as the understanding of man is small and weak, it ought to yield to divine truth. What wonder therefore if Christ had known the world of the lands in prior ages to be so full of infidels, that He deservedly would not wish to appear to them, or to be preached to them, whom He foreknew would believe neither His words nor His miracles? For neither is it incredible that all were then such, as we admire so many to have been and to be from His advent even until this time.

15. And yet from the beginning of the human race, at one time more hiddenly, at another more evidently, as it seemed divinely to suit the times, neither did it cease to be prophesied, nor were those wanting who believed in Him, from Adam even to Moses, and in the people of Israel itself, which by a certain special mystery was a prophetic nation, and in other nations before He had come in the flesh. For since some are commemorated in the holy Hebrew Books already from the time of Abraham, neither from the lineage of his flesh, nor from the people of Israel, nor from an adventitious society in the people of Israel, who nevertheless were partakers of this sacrament; why should we not believe that even in the rest of the nations here and there, there were some and others, although we do not read them commemorated in the same authorities? Thus the salvation of this religion, through which alone true salvation is truly and veraciously promised, was never wanting to anyone who was worthy, and to whom it was wanting, he was not worthy. And from the beginning of human propagation, even until the end, it is preached to some for a reward, to others for judgment. And on account of this both those to whom it was not announced at all, were foreknown as not going to believe; and those to whom it was announced though not going to believe, are demonstrated for an example of those; but those to whom it is announced being about to believe, these are prepared for the kingdom of heaven and for the society of the holy Angels.

21. Dispertita autem divinis eloquiis sacrificia pro temporum congruentia, ut alia fierent ante manifestationem Novi Testamenti, quod ex ipsa vera ut unius sacerdotis victima, hoc est, ex effuso Christi sanguine ministratur, et aliud nunc quod huic manifestationi congruum, qui jam declarato nomine christiani appellamur, offerimus, non solum evangelicis, verum etiam propheticis Litteris demonstratur. Mutatio quippe non Dei, non ipsius religionis, sed sacrificiorum et sacramentorum impudenter nunc videretur praedicata, nisi fuisset ante praedicta. Quemadmodum enim unus idemque homo, si Deo mane aliud offerat, aliud vespere, pro congruentia diurni temporis, non Deum mutat, nec religionem, sicut nec salutem qui alio modo mane, alio vespere salutat: ita in universo tractu saeculorum, cum aliud oblatum est ab antiquis sanctis, aliud ab eis qui nunc sunt offertur, non humana praesumptione, sed auctoritate divina, temporibus congrua sacra mysteria celebrantur, non Deus aut religio commutatur.

Quaestio quarta.

De eo quod scriptum est: In qua mensura mensi fueritis, remetietur vobis (Matth. VII, 2).

22. Jam nunc deinde videamus quale sit quod de mensura peccati atque supplicii proposuit, sic Evangelio calumniatus: Minatur, inquit, Christus sibi non credentibus, aeterna suplicia (Joan III, 18); et alibi ait: «In qua mensura mensi fueritis, remetietur vobis.» Satis, inquit, ridicule atque contrarie: nam si ad mensuram redditurus est poenam, et omnis mensura circumscripta est fine temporis, quid sibi volunt minae infiniti supplicii?

23. Istam quaestionem a qualicumque philosopho esse objectam atque propositam, difficile est credere: quippe qui ait, Omnis mensura circumscribitur tempore, quasi non soleat nisi temporum esse mensura, sicut horarum et dierum et annorum; vel sicut dicimus brevem syllabam simplum habere temporis, ad syllabam longam. Puto enim modios et rabones, urnas et amphoras, non temporum esse mensuras. Quomodo ergo omnis mensura circumscribitur tempore? Nonne ipsi dicunt, solem istum sempiternum esse? qui tamen quantus sit ad terram, mensuris geometricis perscrutari audent et renuntiare.

21. Moreover, that the sacrifices distributed by the divine elocutions according to the fitness of the times, so that some were performed before the manifestation of the New Testament, which is ministered from that very truth as the victim of the one priest, that is, from the shed blood of Christ, and another now which is suitable to this manifestation, we who are already called by the declared name of Christians offer, is demonstrated not only by the evangelical but also by the prophetic Writings. Indeed, a change not of God, nor of the religion itself, but of the sacrifices and sacraments, would now seem impudently preached, unless it had been predicted before. For just as one and the same man, if he should offer one thing to God in the morning, another in the evening, according to the fitness of the time of day, does not change God nor the religion, just as he who greets in one way in the morning and another in the evening does not change his greeting: so in the whole tract of the ages, when one thing was offered by the ancient saints, and another is offered by those who are now, the sacred mysteries are celebrated not by human presumption but by divine authority, suitable to the times, and neither God nor religion is changed.

Question four.

Concerning that which is written: "In what measure you have measured, it shall be measured back to you" (Matt. VII, 2).

22. Now, then, let us see of what kind is that which he proposed concerning the measure of sin and of punishment, thus slandering the Gospel: "Christ," he says, "threatens eternal punishments to those not believing in Him" (John III, 18); and in another place He says: "In what measure you have measured, it shall be measured back to you." "Ridiculous and contrary enough," he says: "for if He is going to return punishment according to a measure, and every measure is circumscribed by an end of time, what do the threats of infinite punishment mean?"

23. That this question was objected and proposed by any kind of philosopher at all, is difficult to believe: especially one who says, "Every measure is circumscribed by time," as if there were not accustomed to be a measure except of times, such as of hours and days and years; or as we say that a short syllable has a single time, in relation to a long syllable. For I think that modii and baskets, urns and amphorae, are not measures of times. How then is every measure circumscribed by time? Do they not themselves say that this sun is everlasting? who nevertheless dare to scrutinize and report by geometric measures how great it is in relation to the earth.

Quod sive possint, sive non possint, constat eum tamen propriam sui orbis habere mensuram. Quia et si comprehendunt quantus sit, mensuram ejus comprehendunt; et si hoc non assequuntur, mensuram ejus utique non comprehendunt: nec ideo nulla est, quia homines eam nosse non possunt. Potest igitur aliquid et sempiternum esse, et certam sui modi habere mensuram. Secundum ipsos enim de solis aeternitate locutus sum, ut sua sententia convincantur, atque concedant esse posse aliquid cum mensura sempiternum. Ac sic non ideo putent non esse credendum de supplicio sempiterno quod minatus est Christus, quia idem dixerat: In qua mensura mensi fueritis, remetietur vobis.

24. Si enim dixisset, Quod mensi fueritis, hoc metietur vobis; etiam sic non omnino ad eamdem rem ex omni parte necesse esset referre sententiam. Possumus enim recte dicere, Quod plantaveris, hoc decerpes; quamvis nemo plantet pomum sed lignum, decerpat autem pomum magis quam lignum: sed illud dicimus secundum arboris genus, quia non ficum plantat unde nucem decerpat. Ita dici posset, Quod feceris patieris: non ut si stuprum fecerit, stuprum patiatur; sed quod peccato isto fecit legi, hoc ei lex faciat, id est, quia legem talia prohibentem de sua vita abstulit, auferat eum etiam ipsa lex de hominum vita quam regit. Item si dixisset, Quantum mensi fueritis, tantum remetietur vobis; nec sic esset consequens ut omni modo aequales peccatis poenas intelligere deberemus. Neque enim aequalia sunt, verbi gratia, triticum et hordeum; et profecto dici posset, Quantum mensi fueritis, tantum remetietur vobis, hoc est, quantum tritici, tantum hordei. Quod si de doloribus ageretur atque diceretur, Quantum dolorem ingesseritis, tantus ingeretur vobis; fieri posset ut tantus dolor esset, quamvis tempore diuturnior, hoc est mora major, vi par. Neque enim si de duabus lucernis dicamus, Tantum ignis iste caluit, quantum ille; ideo falsum erit, quia una earum forte citius exstincta est. Non itaque si aliquid secundum aliud tantum est, secundum aliud non est tantum, quia non omni modo tantum est, ideo falsus est modus in quo tantum est.

25. Cum vero dixerit, In qua mensura mensi fueritis, remetietur vobis, cumque manifestum sit, aliud esse mensuram in qua metitur aliquid, aliud ipsam rem quae metitur; jam fieri potest ut in qua mensura homines mensi essent, verbi gratia, modium tritici, in ea illis metirentur millia modiorum, ut et tam multum interesset in quantitate frumenti, et nihil in mensura:

Whether they can or cannot do this, it is certain nevertheless that it has its own measure of its orb. Because even if they comprehend how great it is, they comprehend its measure; and if they do not attain this, they surely do not comprehend its measure: nor is it therefore none, because men cannot know it. Therefore something can be both everlasting, and have a certain measure of its own mode. For I have spoken according to them concerning the eternity of the sun, that they might be convinced by their own opinion, and might concede that something can exist with an everlasting measure. And thus they should not think that the eternal punishment which Christ threatened is not to be believed, because He also said: "In what measure you have measured, it shall be measured back to you."

24. For if He had said, "What you have measured, this shall be measured to you"; even so it would not be altogether necessary to refer the sentence to the same thing in every part. For we can rightly say, "What you have planted, this you shall pluck"; although no one plants a fruit but a wood, but plucks a fruit rather than a wood: but we say that according to the genus of the tree, because he does not plant a fig from which he may pluck a nut. So it could be said, "What you have done you shall suffer": not so that if he has committed adultery, he may suffer adultery; but what he did to the law by that sin, this the law should do to him, that is, because he took away from his life the law prohibiting such things, the law itself should also take him away from the life of men which it governs. Likewise if He had said, "As much as you have measured, so much shall be measured back to you"; neither so would it be a consequence that we ought to understand punishments equal to the sins in every way. For wheat and barley are not equal, for example; and surely it could be said, "As much as you have measured, so much shall be measured back to you," that is, as much of wheat, as much of barley. But if it were dealt with concerning pains and it were said, "As much pain as you have inflicted, so much shall be inflicted on you"; it could happen that the pain might be so great, although longer in time, that is, of greater delay, but equal in force. For neither if we say concerning two lamps, "This fire grew hot as much as that one"; will it therefore be false, because one of them was perhaps extinguished sooner. Not therefore if something is so much according to one thing, and is not so much according to another, because it is not so much in every way, therefore is the mode in which it is so much false.

25. But when He said, "In what measure you have measured, it shall be measured back to you," and since it is manifest that the measure in which something is measured is one thing, and the thing itself which is measured is another; it can now happen that in the measure in which men had measured, for example, a modius of wheat, in that same measure thousands of modii might be measured to them, so that there might be so great a difference in the quantity of the grain, and none in the measure:

ut taceam de ipsarum rerum diversitate; quia non solum fieri potest ut in qua mensura quis mensus fuerit hordeum, in ea illi metiatur triticum, sed in qua mensura mensus fuerit frumentum, in ea illi metiatur aurum, et frumenti sit unus modius, auri autem, quamplurimi. Ita cum sine comparatione rerum ipsarum, et genus, et quantitas differat, dici tamen rectissime potest: In qua mensura mensus est, in ea illi metitum est. Unde autem hoc dixerit Christus, paulo superius satis elucet: Nolite, inquit, judicare, ut non judicemini: in quo enim judicio judicaveritis, judicabimini. Numquid si iniquo judicio judicabunt, iniquo judicabuntur? Absit. Nulla quippe iniquitas apud Deum. Sed ita dictum est, In quo judicio judicaveritis, in eo judicabimini, tanquam diceretur: In qua voluntate benefeceritis, in ipsa liberabimini; vel, in qua voluntate malefeceritis, in ipsa puniemini. Velut si quisquam ad turpem concupiscentiam oculis utens, excaecari juberetur, recte utique audiret: In quibus oculis peccasti, in eis supplicium meruisti. Judicio enim quisque animi sui, seu bono seu malo, utitur vel ad benefaciendum vel ad peccandum. Unde non iniquum est ut in quo judicat in eo judicetur, hoc est, ut in ipso animi sui judicio poenas luat, cum ea mala patitur quae male judicantem animum consequuntur.

26. Alia namque sunt manifesta tormenta quae post futura praeparantur, etiam ipsa ex eodem malae voluntatis cardine attracta : in ipso autem animo, ubi appetitus voluntatis humanorum omnium est mensura factorum, continuo poena sequitur culpam, plerumque major non sentientis caecitate graviore. Ideo cum dixisset, In quo judicio judicaveritis, judicabimini, secutus adjunxit: Et qua mensura mensi fueritis, metietur vobis. In voluntate quippe propria metietur bonus homo bona facta, et in ea metietur ei beatitudo. Itemque in voluntate propria metietur malus homo mala opera, et in ea metietur ei miseria; quoniam ubi quisque bonus est, cum bene vult, ibi etiam malus cum male vult. Ac per hoc ibi etiam fit vel beatus vel miser, hoc est in ipso suae voluntatis affectu, quae omnium factorum meritorumque mensura est. Ex qualitatibus quippe voluntatum, non ex temporum spatiis, sive recte facta sive peccata metimur. Alioquin majus peccatum haberetur, arborem dejicere quam hominem occidere.

to say nothing of the diversity of the things themselves; because not only can it happen that in the measure in which one measured barley, in that wheat may be measured to him, but in the measure in which he measured grain, in that gold may be measured to him, and of the grain there may be one modius, but of the gold, very many. Thus, when without comparison of the things themselves, both the genus and the quantity differ, it can nevertheless be most rightly said: "In what measure he measured, in that it was measured to him." But from where Christ said this, is clear enough a little above: "Judge not," He says, "that you be not judged: for in what judgment you have judged, you shall be judged." Shall they, if they judge with an unjust judgment, be judged with an unjust judgment? Far be it. For there is no iniquity with God. But it was so said, "In what judgment you have judged, in that you shall be judged," as if it were said: In what will you have done good, in that same you shall be liberated; or, in what will you have done evil, in that same you shall be punished. As if anyone using his eyes for base concupiscence were ordered to be blinded, he would surely rightly hear: "In those eyes in which you sinned, in them you have deserved punishment." For each one uses the judgment of his own mind, whether good or evil, either for doing good or for sinning. Wherefore it is not unjust that in that in which he judges he should be judged, that is, that he should pay the penalties in the very judgment of his own mind, when he suffers those evils which follow upon a mind that judges wrongly.

26. For there are other manifest torments which are prepared for the future, even these being drawn from the same hinge of an evil will: but in the mind itself, where the appetite of the will is the measure of all human deeds, punishment immediately follows the fault, often a greater punishment in the heavier blindness of the one who does not feel it. Therefore when He had said, "In what judgment you have judged, you shall be judged," He followed by adding: "And in what measure you have measured, it shall be measured to you." For in his own will a good man will measure good deeds, and in that same will beatitude shall be measured to him. And likewise in his own will an evil man will measure evil works, and in that same will misery shall be measured to him; since where each one is good, when he wills well, there he is also evil when he wills ill. And on account of this he also becomes there either blessed or miserable, that is, in the very affection of his own will, which is the measure of all deeds and merits. For from the qualities of the wills, not from the spaces of times, do we measure either deeds rightly done or sins. Otherwise it would be held a greater sin to fell a tree than to kill a man.

Illud enim fit longa mora, ictibus multis; hoc uno ictu, brevissimo tempore: pro quo tamen exigui temporis tam grandi peccato, si perpetua deportatione homo puniretur, etiam mitius cum illo actum, quam dignus fuerat, diceretur; quamvis in spatio temporali longitudo poenae cum brevitate facinoris nullo modo sit comparanda. Quid ergo contrarium est, si erunt pariter longa, vel etiam pariter aeterna supplicia, sed aliis alia mitiora, vel acriora; ut quibus tempus aequale est, non sit aequalis asperitas, propter mensuram etiam peccatorum, non in productione temporum, sed in voluntate peccantum?

27. Voluntas quippe ipsa punitur, sive animi supplicio sive corporis; ut quae delectatur in peccatis, ipsa plectatur in poenis, et ut qui judicat sine misericordia, sine misericordia judicetur: et in hac quippe sententia, ad hoc solum eadem mensura est, ut quod non praestitit, non ei praestetur; atque ita quod ipse judicatur aeternum erit, quamvis quod judicavit, aeternum esse nequiverit. In eadem igitur mensura, quamvis non aeternorum malefactorum, aeterna supplicia remetiuntur; ut quia aeternam voluit habere peccati perfructionem , aeternam vindictae inveniat severitatem. Non autem sinit proposita brevitas responsionis meae, ut colligum omnia, vel certe quamplurima quae de peccatis et de peccatorum poenis sancti Libri habent, atque ex his unam eruam sine ulla ambiguitate sententiam, si tamen id valeam viribus mentis, etiamsi congruum nanciscar otium. Nunc tamen arbitror satis esse monstratum, non esse contrarium aeternitati suppliciorum, quod in eadem mensura redduntur, in qua peccata commissa sunt.

Quaestio quinta.

De Filio Dei secundum Salomonem.

28. Post hanc quaestionem, qui eas ex Porphyrio proposuit, hoc adjunxit: Sane etiam de illo, inquit, me dignaberis instruere, si vere dixit Salomon, Filium Deus non habet.

29. Cito respondetur: Non solum hoc non dixit, verum etiam dixit quod Deus habeat Filium. Apud eum enim Sapientia loquens ait: Ante omnes colles genuit me (Prov. VIII, 25). Et quid est Christus, nisi Dei Sapientia? Item quodam loco Proverbiorum: Deus, inquit, docuit me sapientiam, et scientiam sanctorum cognovi. Quis ascendit in coelum, et descendit? quis collegit ventos in sinum? quis convertit aquam in vestimento? quis tenuit fines terrae? quod nomen est ei, aut quod nomen est Filii ejus (Id. XXX, 4)?

For that is done with long delay and many blows; this with one blow, in a very short time: for which so great a sin of so small a time, if a man were punished with perpetual deportation, it would even be said that he had been dealt with more mildly than he was worthy of; although in temporal space the length of the punishment is by no means to be compared with the brevity of the crime. What then is contrary, if there shall be likewise long, or even likewise eternal punishments, but some milder than others, or sharper; so that for those to whom the time is equal, the harshness may not be equal, on account of the measure of the sins also, not in the production of times, but in the will of those sinning?

27. For the will itself is punished, whether by a punishment of the mind or of the body; so that she who is delighted in sins, may herself be punished in penalties, and that he who judges without mercy, may be judged without mercy: and in this sentence, indeed, the same measure is for this alone, that what he did not provide, may not be provided to him; and thus that which he himself is judged will be eternal, although that which he judged could not be eternal. In the same measure, therefore, although of non-eternal misdeeds, eternal punishments are measured back; so that because he wished to have an eternal enjoyment of sin, he may find an eternal severity of vengeance. But the proposed brevity of my response does not permit me to collect all things, or certainly as many as possible which the holy Books have concerning sins and concerning the punishments of sins, and from these to draw out one sentence without any ambiguity, if indeed I should be able to do this by the powers of my mind, even if I should obtain suitable leisure. Now, however, I think it has been shown sufficiently, that it is not contrary to the eternity of punishments, that they are rendered in the same measure in which the sins were committed.

Question five.

Concerning the Son of God according to Solomon.

28. After this question, he who proposed them from Porphyry added this: "Truly also concerning that," he says, "you will deign to instruct me, if Solomon truly said, God has no Son."

29. It is quickly answered: Not only did he not say this, but he even said that God has a Son. For in his writings Wisdom, speaking, says: "Before all the hills He begat me" (Prov. VIII, 25). And what is Christ, if not the Wisdom of God? Likewise in a certain place of the Proverbs: "God," he says, "has taught me wisdom, and I have known the knowledge of the saints. Who has ascended into heaven, and descended? who has gathered the winds in his bosom? who has turned the water in a garment? who has held the ends of the earth? what is his name, or what is the name of his Son?" (Id. XXX, 4).

Horum duorum quae in extremo commemoravi, unum retulit ad Patrem, id est, Quod nomen est ei, propter quod dixerat, Deus docuit me sapientiam: et alterum evidenter ad Filium, cum ait, aut quod nomen est Filii ejus, propter caetera, quae de Filio magis intelliguntur, hoc est, Quis ascendit in coelum, et descendit; quod Paulus ita commemorat, Qui descendit, ipse est et qui ascendit super omnes coelos (Ephes. IV, 10): Quis collegit ventos in sinum? id est, animas credentium in occultum atque secretum; quibus dicitur, Mortui enim estis, et vita vestra abscondita est cum Christo in Deo (Coloss. III, 3): Quis convertit aquam in vestimento? ut dici posset, Quotquot in Christum baptizati estis, Christum induistis (Gal. III, 27): Quis tenuit fines terrae? qui dixit discipulis suis, Eritis mihi testes in Jerusalem, et in tota Judaea, et Samaria, et usque in fines terrae (Act. I. 8).

Quaestio sexta.

De Jona propheta.

30. Postrema quaestio proposita est de Jona, nec ipsa quasi ex Porphyrio, sed tanquam ex irrisione Paganorum; sic enim posita est: Deinde quid sentire, inquit, debemus de Jona, qui dicitur in ventre ceti triduo fuisse; quod ἀπιθανὸν est et incredibile, transvoratum cum veste hominem, fuisse in corde piscis. Aut si figura est, hanc dignaberis pandere. Deinde quid sibi etiam illud vult supra evomitum Jonam cucurbitam natam (Jonae II, 1, et IV, 6): quid causae fuit, ut haec nasceretur? Hoc enim genus quaestionis, multo cachinno a Paganis graviter irrisum animadverti.

31. Ad hoc respondetur, quod aut omnia divina miracula credenda non sint; aut hoc cur non credatur, causa nulla sit. In ipsum autem Christum, quod tertio die resurrexerit, non crederemus, si fides Christianorum cachinnum metueret Paganorum. Cum autem hinc quaestionem non proposuerit amicus noster, Utrum credendum sit, vel Lazarum resuscitatum esse quarto die, vel ipsum Christum tertio die resurrexisse; multum miror hoc quod factum est de Jona, eum pro incredibili posuisse: nisi forte facilius putat mortuum de sepulcro resuscitari, quam vivum in tam vasto ventre belluae potuisse servari.

Of these two which I mentioned at the end, he referred one to the Father, that is, "What is his name," on account of what he had said, "God has taught me wisdom": and the other evidently to the Son, when he says, "or what is the name of his Son," on account of the rest, which are better understood of the Son, that is, "Who has ascended into heaven, and descended"; which Paul mentions thus, "He who descended, He it is also who ascended above all the heavens" (Ephes. IV, 10): "Who has gathered the winds in his bosom?" that is, the souls of the believers in a hidden and secret place; to whom it is said, "For you are dead, and your life is hidden with Christ in God" (Coloss. III, 3): "Who has turned the water in a garment?" so that it might be said, "As many of you as have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ" (Gal. III, 27): "Who has held the ends of the earth?" He who said to His disciples, "You shall be my witnesses in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and Samaria, and even to the ends of the earth" (Acts I, 8).

QUESTION SIX. Concerning the prophet Jonah.

30. The last question was proposed concerning Jonah, not even as if from Porphyry, but as if from the mockery of the Pagans; for it was thus posed: "Then what," he says, "ought we to feel concerning Jonah, who is said to have been in the belly of a whale for three days; which is unlikely (apithanon) and incredible, that a man swallowed with his garment should have been in the heart of a fish." Or if it is a figure, you will deign to unfold this. Then what does that also mean, that above the vomited Jonah a gourd was born (Jonah II, 1, and IV, 6): what was the cause that this was born? For I have noticed this kind of question mocked with much laughter by the Pagans.

31. To this it is answered, that either all divine miracles are not to be believed; or there is no cause why this should not be believed. For we would not believe in Christ Himself, that He rose on the third day, if the faith of Christians feared the laughter of the Pagans. But since our friend did not propose a question from this, whether it is to be believed either that Lazarus was raised on the fourth day, or that Christ Himself rose on the third day; I wonder much that he has posed this which was done concerning Jonah as incredible: unless perhaps he thinks it easier for a dead man to be raised from the tomb, than for a living man to have been able to be preserved in so vast a belly of a beast.

Ut enim omittam commemorare quanta magnitudo belluarum marinarum ab eis qui experti sunt indicetur; venter quem costae illae muniebant, quae Carthagine in publico fixae populo notae sunt, quot homines in spatio suo capere posset, quis non conjiciat, quanto hiatu patebat os illud, quod velut janua speluncae illius fuit? Nisi forte, ut posuit, vestis esset impedimento ne Jonas vorari posset illaesus, quasi per angusta sese coarctaverit, qui per abruptum acris praecipitatus, sic exceptus est, ut prius reciperetur ventre bestiae quam dente laceraretur. Quanquam Scriptura neque nudum neque vestitum in illud antrum dejectum esse dixerit, ut possit intelligi illuc etiam nudus irruisse, si forte opus erat, tanquam ovo corium, ita illi vestem detrahi, quo facilius sorberetur. Sic enim sunt homines de prophetae hujus veste solliciti, quasi aut per fenestram parvam repsisse, aut in balneas intrasse dicatur; quo etiamsi necesse esset intrare vestitum, vix molestum esset, non tamen mirum.

32. Sed habent revera quod non credant in divino miraculo, vaporem ventris quo cibi malescunt, potuisse ita temperari ut vitam hominis conservaret. Quanto incredibilius ergo proponerent tres illos viros, ab impio rege in caminum missos, deambulasse in medio ignis illaesos? Quapropter si nulla isti divina miracula volunt credere, alia disputatione refellendi sunt. Neque enim debent unum aliquid tanquam incredibile proponere, et in quaestionem vocare, sed omnia quae vel talia, vel etiam mirabiliora narrantur. Et tamen si hoc quod de Jona scriptum est, Apuleius Madaurensis, vel Apollonius Tyaneus fecisse diceretur, quorum multa mira nullo fideli auctore jactitant, quamvis et daemones nonnulla faciant Angelis sanctis similia, non veritate sed specie, non sapientia sed plane fallacia: tamen, si de istis, ut dixi, quos magos vel philosophos laudabiliter nominant, tale aliquid narraretur, non jam in buccis creparet risus, sed typhus. Ita rideant Scripturas nostras: quantum possunt, rideant, dum per singulos dies rariores paucioresque se videant, vel moriendo, vel credendo; dum implentur omnia quae praedixerunt qui hos contra veritatem inaniter pugnaturos, vane latraturos, paulatim defecturos, tanto ante riserunt, nobisque posteris suis, non solum ea legenda dimiserunt, verum experienda promiserunt.

For to omit mentioning how great a magnitude of sea-beasts is indicated by those who have experienced it; how many men that belly which those ribs protected—which, fixed in public at Carthage, are known to the people—could contain in its space, who would not guess, by how great a gap that mouth lay open, which was like the door of that cave? Unless perhaps, as he posed, the garment were an impediment lest Jonah could be swallowed unharmed, as if he had squeezed himself through narrow passages, who, precipitated through the abruptness of the air, was so received that he was first received by the belly of the beast before he was lacerated by the tooth. Although Scripture says neither that he was cast into that cavern naked nor clothed, so that it can be understood that he rushed in there even naked, if perhaps there was need, just as the skin from an egg, so the garment might be pulled from him, that he might be swallowed more easily. For men are so solicitous concerning the garment of this prophet, as if he were said either to have crept through a small window or to have entered into baths; where even if it were necessary to enter clothed, it would scarcely be troublesome, yet not wonderful.

32. But they have indeed what they may not believe in a divine miracle, that the vapor of the belly by which foods are softened, could have been so tempered that it might preserve the life of a man. How much more incredible therefore would they propose those three men, sent into the furnace by an impious king, to have walked in the midst of the fire unharmed? Wherefore if they will to believe no divine miracles, they are to be refuted by another disputation. For they ought not to propose one thing as if incredible, and call it into question, but all things which either such, or even more wonderful things are narrated. And yet if this which is written concerning Jonah were said to have been done by Apuleius of Madaura, or Apollonius of Tyana, of whom they boast many wonders with no faithful author, although even demons do some things similar to the holy Angels, not in truth but in appearance, not in wisdom but clearly in fallacy: yet, if concerning these, as I said, whom they praisefully name as magi or philosophers, something of the kind were narrated, laughter would no longer crackle in their cheeks, but pride (typhus). Thus let them laugh at our Scriptures: as much as they can, let them laugh, while through each day they see themselves becoming rarer and fewer, either by dying or by believing; while all things are fulfilled which they predicted who laughed so long before at those about to fight in vain against the truth, to bark in vain, to fail by degrees, and left those things not only to be read by us their posterity, but promised them to be experienced.

33. Non sane absurde, neque importune requiritur quid ista significent, ut cum hoc expositum fuerit, non tantum gesta, sed etiam propter aliquam significationem conscripta esse credantur. Prius ergo non dubitet Jonam prophetam in alvo ingenti marinae belluae triduo fuisse, qui vult scrutari cur hoc factum sit: non enim frustra factum est, sed tamen factum est. Si enim movent ad fidem quae figurate tantum dicta, non facta sunt; quanto magis movere debent quae figurate non tantum dicta, sed facta sunt? Nam sicut humana consuetudo verbis, ita divina potentia etiam factis loquitur. Et sicut sermoni humano verba nova, vel minus usitata, moderate ac decenter aspersa, splendorem addunt; ita in factis mirabilibus congruenter aliquid significantibus, quodammodo luculentior est divina eloqentia.

34. Proinde quid praefiguraverit quod prophetam bellumilla devoratum, tertio die vivum reddidit, cur a nobis quaeritur, cum hoc Christus exponat? Generatio, inquit, prava et adultera signum quaerit, et signum non dabitur ei, nisi signum Jonae prophetae: sicut enim Jonas fuit in ventre ceti tribus diebus et tribus noctibus; sic erit Filius hominis in corde terrae tribus diebus et tribus noctibus (Matth. XII, 39, 40). De ipso autem triduo mortis Domini Christi, quomodo ratio reddatur, cum a parte totum intelligitur, in die primo et novissimo, ut toti tres dies, id est cum suis noctibus computentur, longum est disserere, et in aliis sermonibus jam saepissime dictum est. Sicut ergo Jonas ex navi in alvum ceti, ita Christus ex ligno in sepulcrum vel in mortis profundum. Et sicut ille pro his qui tempestate periclitabantur, ita Christus pro his qui in hoc saeculo fluctuant. Et sicut primo jussum est ut praedicaretur Ninivitis a Jona, sed non ad eos pervenit praedicatio Jonae, nisi posteaquam eum cetus evomuit; ita prophetia praemissa est ad Gentes, sed nisi post resurrectionem Christi non pervenit ad Gentes.

35. Jamvero quod tabernaculum sibi constituit, et consedit ex adverso civitatis Ninive, quid ei futurum esset exspectans, alterius significationis personam Propheta gestabat. Praefigurabat enim carnalem populum Israel. Nam huic erat et tristitia de salute Ninivitarum, hoc est de redemptione et liberatione Gentium. Unde venit Christus vocare, non justos, sed peccatores in poenitentiam (Luc. V, 32).

33. Not indeed absurdly, nor unseasonably is it required what these things signify, so that when this shall have been set forth, they may be believed not only to have been done, but also to have been written on account of some signification. First, therefore, let him not doubt that the prophet Jonah was in the huge belly of a sea-beast for three days, who wishes to scrutinize why this was done: for it was not done in vain, but nevertheless it was done. For if those things move to faith which are only said figuratively, and not done; how much more ought those things to move which are not only said figuratively, but done? For as human custom speaks with words, so divine power speaks even with deeds. And as new words, or those less used, moderately and decently sprinkled, add splendor to human speech; so in wonderful deeds consistently signifying something, divine eloquence is in a certain way more brilliant.

34. Hence, why is it asked of us what that prefigured, that the beast rendered the swallowed prophet alive on the third day, since Christ sets this forth? "A wicked and adulterous generation," He says, "seeks a sign, and a sign shall not be given to it, except the sign of the prophet Jonah: for as Jonah was in the belly of the whale three days and three nights; so shall the Son of man be in the heart of the earth three days and three nights" (Matt. XII, 39, 40). But concerning that three-day period of the death of the Lord Christ, how the account is rendered, since the whole is understood from a part, in the first and the last day, so that the whole three days, that is with their nights, are computed, it is long to discuss, and in other sermons it has already been said very often. As therefore Jonah from the ship into the belly of the whale, so Christ from the wood into the tomb or into the depth of death. And as he was for those who were in danger from the tempest, so Christ for those who fluctuate in this world. And as at first it was commanded that it should be preached to the Ninevites by Jonah, but the preaching of Jonah did not reach them except after the whale vomited him; so the prophecy was sent before to the Gentiles, but except after the resurrection of Christ it did not reach the Gentiles.

35. Now truly that he established a booth for himself, and sat down opposite the city of Nineveh, waiting for what would happen to it, the Prophet bore the person of another signification. For he prefigured the carnal people of Israel. For to this people there was also sadness concerning the salvation of the Ninevites, that is, concerning the redemption and liberation of the Gentiles. Whence Christ came to call, not the just, but sinners to repentance (Luke V, 32).

Umbraculum ergo cucurbitae super caput ejus, promissiones erant Veteris Testamenti, vel ipsa jam munera, in quibus erat utique, sicut dicit Apostolus, umbra futurorum (Coloss. II, 17), tanquam ab aestu temporalium malorum in terra promissionis defensaculum praebens. Vermis autem matutinus, quo rodente cucurbita exaruit, idem ipse rursus Christus occurrit, ex cujus ore Evangelio diffamato, cuncta illa quae temporaliter apud Israelitas vel ut umbratili prius significatione viguerunt, evacuata marcescunt. Et nunc ille populus amisso Jerosolymitano regno, et sacerdotio, et sacrificio, quod totum umbra erat futuri, in captiva dispersione magno aestu tribulationis aduritur, sicut Jonas, quod scriptum est, a solis ardore (Jonae IV, 8), et dolet graviter; et tamen dolori ejus atque umbrae quam diligebat, salus gentium poenitentiumque praeponitur.

36. Adhuc cachinnent Pagani, et jam vermem Christum, et hanc interpretationem prophetici sacramenti superbiore garrulitate derideant, dum tamen et ipsos sensim paulatimque consumat. Nam de omnibus talibus Isaias prophetat, per quem nobis dicit Deus: Audite me qui scitis judicium, populus meus, in quorum corde lex mea est: opprobria hominum nolite metuere, et detractione eorum ne superemini, nec quod vos spernant magni duxeritis. Sicut enim vestimentum, ita per tempus absumentur, et sicut lana a tinea comedentur; justitia autem mea in aeternum manes (Isai. LI, 7, 8). Nos ergo agnoscamus vermem matutinum, quia et in illo psalmo cujus titulus inscribitur, Pro susceptione matutina, hoc se ipse nomine appellare dignatus est: Ego, inquit, sum vermis, et non homo; opprobrium hominum, et abjectio plebis. Hoc opprobrium de illis opprobriis est quae jubemur non metuere per Isaiam dicentem: Opprobria hominum nolite metuere. Ab isto verme tanquam a tinea comeduntur, qui sub ejus dente evangelico per singulos dies paucitatem suam deficiendo mirantur. Nos hunc agnoscamus, et pro salute divina, humana opprobria sufferamus. Vermis est propter humilitatem carnis; fortassis etiam propter virginis partum. Nam hoc animal plerumque de carne, vel de quacumque re terrena, sine ullo concubitu nascitur. Matutinus est, quia diluculo resurrexit. Poterat utique illa cucurbita et sine ullo vermiculo arescere. Postremo si habebat Deus ad hoc vermem necessarium, quid opus erat addere matutinum, nisi ut ille vermis agnosceretur, qui cantat pro susceptione matutina: Ego autem sum vermis, et non homo?

The shadow therefore of the gourd over his head were the promises of the Old Testament, or even those very gifts, in which was surely, as the Apostle says, "a shadow of things to come" (Coloss. II, 17), providing as it were a defense from the heat of temporal evils in the land of promise. But the morning worm, by whose gnawing the gourd withered, is the same Christ again, from whose mouth, when the Gospel was spread abroad, all those things which flourished temporally among the Israelites or as in a shadowy signification before, being emptied out, wither away. And now that people, having lost the Jerusalem kingdom, and the priesthood, and the sacrifice, all of which was a shadow of the future, is parched in a captive dispersion by the great heat of tribulation, just as Jonah, as it is written, by the burning of the sun (Jonah IV, 8), and grieves heavily; and yet to its grief and to the shadow which it loved, the salvation of the Gentiles and of those repenting is preferred.

36. Let the Pagans still laugh, and already deride Christ as a worm, and this interpretation of the prophetic sacrament with a more proud garrulity, while nevertheless He consumes them also gradually and by degrees. For concerning all such Isaiah prophesies, through whom God says to us: "Hearken unto me, ye that know judgment, my people, in whose heart is my law: fear ye not the reproach of men, neither be ye overcome by their detractions, nor think it a great matter that they despise you." For as a garment, so shall they be consumed by time, and as wool they shall be eaten by the moth; but my justice remains for ever (Isai. LI, 7, 8). Let us therefore recognize the morning worm, because also in that psalm whose title is inscribed, "For the morning undertaking," He deigned to call Himself by this name: "I," He says, "am a worm, and no man; a reproach of men, and an outcast of the people." This reproach is from those reproaches which we are commanded not to fear through Isaiah saying: "Fear ye not the reproach of men." By this worm as by a moth they are eaten, who under His evangelical tooth see themselves each day failing in their fewness. Let us recognize Him, and for the sake of divine salvation, let us suffer human reproaches. He is a worm on account of the humility of the flesh; perhaps also on account of the virgin's birth. For this animal is mostly born from flesh, or from any earthly thing, without any sexual intercourse. He is morning, because He rose at dawn. That gourd surely could have withered even without any small worm. Finally if God had a worm necessary for this, what need was there to add "morning," except that that worm might be recognized, who sings for the morning undertaking: "But I am a worm, and no man"?

37. Quid ista prophetia jam ipso rerum effectu et adimpletione lucidius ? Si irrisus est vermis iste cum penderet in cruce, sicut in eodem psalmo scriptum est, Locuti sunt labiis, et moverunt caput. Speravit in Deum, eruat eum; salvum faciat eum, quoniam vult eum, cum completa sunt quae ibi praedixit, Foderunt manus meas et pedes, dinumeraverunt omnia ossa mea. Ipsi vero consideraverunt, et conspexerunt me, diviserunt sibi vestimenta mea, et super vestem meam miserunt sortem; quod tanta manifestatione futurum in libro antiquo prophetatur, quanta manifestatione factum in novo Evangelio recitatur: sed si in hac humilitate, ut dicere coeperam, iste vermis irrisus est, numquid adhuc irridendus est cum ea compleri cernimus, quae consequentia psalmus ipse habet, Commemorabuntur et convertentur ad Dominum universi fines terrae, et adorabunt in conspectu ejus universae patriae gentium; quoniam Domini est regnum, et ipse dominabitur gentium (Psal. XXI, 7-29). Sic commemorati sunt Ninivitae, et conversi sunt ad Dominum. Hanc salutem poenitentiae Gentium tanto ante praefiguratam in Jona, dolebat Israel, sicut nunc dolet umbra nudatus, et aestu sauciatus. Liceat sane cuilibet quamlibet aliter, dum tamen secundum regulam fidei, caetera omnia quae de Jona propheta mysteriis operta sunt, aperire. Illud plane quod in ventre ceti triduo fuit, fas non est aliter intelligere, quam ab ipso coelesti magistro in Evangelio commemoravimus revelatum.

38. Proposita exposuimus ut potuimus: sed ille qui proposuit, jam sit christianus, ne forte cum exspectat ante Librorum sanctorum finire quaestiones, prius finiat vitam istam, quam transeat a morte ad vitam. Ferri enim potest, quod antequam christianis sacramentis imbuatur, quaerit de resurrectione mortuorum. Concedendum etiam fortassis quod de Christo quaesivit, cur tanto post venerit, vel si quae sunt aliae paucae et magnae quaestiones, quibus caetera inserviunt. Si autem qualis est illa, In qua mensura mensi fueritis, metietur vobis, vel qualis ista de Jona, etiam omnes tales antequam sit christianus finire cogitat, perparum cogitat vel conditionem humanam, vel aetatem jam suam. Sunt enim innumerabiles, quae non sunt finiendae ante fidem ne finiatur vita sine fide. Sed plane retenta jam fide, ad exercendam piam delectationem mentium fidelium studiosissime requirendae, et quod in eis eluxerit, sine typho arrogantiae communicandum: quod autem latuerit, sine salutis dispendio tolerandum.

37. What is more lucid than that prophecy by the very effect and fulfillment of things? If this worm was mocked when He hung on the cross, as it is written in the same psalm, "They spoke with their lips, and wagged their head." "He hoped in God, let Him deliver him; let Him save him, since He wills him," when those things were fulfilled which He there predicted, "They pierced my hands and my feet, they numbered all my bones." But they themselves considered and beheld me, they divided my garments among them, and upon my vesture they cast lots; which is prophesied with such manifestation to come in the ancient book, as it is recited with such manifestation having been done in the new Gospel: but if in this humility, as I had begun to say, this worm was mocked, is He still to be mocked when we discern those things to be fulfilled, which the psalm itself has following, "All the ends of the earth shall be remembered and shall be converted to the Lord, and all the kindreds of the nations shall adore in His sight; for the kingdom is the Lord's, and He shall have dominion over the nations" (Psal. XXI, 7-29). Thus were the Ninevites remembered, and they were converted to the Lord. At this salvation of the repentance of the Gentiles prefigured so long before in Jonah, Israel grieved, as it now grieves naked of its shadow, and wounded by the heat. Let it surely be allowed to anyone to open all other things which are covered by mysteries concerning the prophet Jonah in any other way at all, provided it be according to the rule of faith. That clearly which was in the belly of the whale for three days, it is not lawful to understand otherwise than we have mentioned revealed by the heavenly Master Himself in the Gospel.

38. We have set forth the proposed things as we were able: but let him who proposed them already be a Christian, lest perhaps while he expects to finish the questions of the holy Books before, he should first finish this life, before he passes from death to life. For it can be borne, that before he is imbued with Christian sacraments, he asks concerning the resurrection of the dead. It is to be conceded also perhaps that he asked concerning Christ, why He came so long after, or if there are some other few and great questions, which the rest serve. But if concerning such as that one is, "In what measure you have measured, it shall be measured to you," or such as this one concerning Jonah, he thinks to finish even all such before he becomes a Christian, he thinks very little either of the human condition, or of his own age already. For there are innumerable things, which are not to be finished before faith lest life should be finished without faith. But clearly with faith already retained, they are to be most studiously sought for the exercise of the pious delight of the minds of the faithful, and what has shone out in them is to be communicated without the pride of arrogance: but what has remained hidden, is to be tolerated without loss of salvation.

EPISTOLA CIII . Nectario petenti veniam tribui civibus suis rescripserat Augustinus in Epist. 97, non decere christianam benevolentiam, ut insigne illud Calamensium scelus impunitum omnino dimittatur. Huic rursum scribit Nectarius, blandiens ac suppliciter suadens ut iis parcatur sine ulla exceptione.

Domino recte ac merito suscipiendo et omnibus modis honorando fratri AUGUSTINO, NECTARIUS, in Domino salutem.

1. Sumptis litteris Eximietatis tuae, quibus idolorum cultum, et templorum cerimonias destruxisti, audire mihi visus sum philosophi vocem, non illius quem in Academiae Licaeo memorant, tenebrosis humo angulis residentem, ex profunda quadam cogitatione demersum, reductis ad frontem caput implicuisse genibus, ut aliorum praeclara inventa doctrinae egenus quidam calumniator oppugnet, assertaque praeclare, cum suum nihil defendat, accuset: sed plane excitatus oratione tua ante oculos stetit M. Tullius consularis, qui innumeris civium capitibus conservatis, forensis campi signa victricia stupentibus Graeciae scholis laureatus inferret, tubamque illam canorae vocis et linguae, quam in criminum reos et reipublicae parricidas, spiritu justae indignationis inflaverat, anhelus inverteret, togamque ipsam rugarum paginis resolutis, palliorum imitatus speciem, retorqueret.

2. Ergo cum nos ad exsuperantissimi Dei cultum religionemque compelleres, libenter audivi; cum coelestem patriam intuendam esse suaderes, gratanter accepi. Non enim illam mihi civitatem dicere videbare, quam muralis aliquis gyrus coercet, nec illam quam philosophorum tractatus mundanam memorans communem omnibus profitetur; sed quam magnus Deus, et bene meritae de eo animae habitant atque incolunt, quam omnes leges diversis viis et tramitibus appetunt, quam loquendo exprimere non possumus, cogitando forsitan invenire possemus. Haec ergo licet principaliter appetenda atque diligenda sit, tamen illam non arbitror deserendam, in qua nati et gemti sumus: quae prima nobis usum lucis hujus infudit, quae aluit, quae educavit, et, ut quod ad causam proprie pertinet dicam, de qua bene meritis viris, doctissimi homines ferunt, post obitum corporis in coelo domicilium praeparari, ut promotio quaedam ad supernam praestetur, his hominibus, qui bene de genitalibus urbibus meruerunt; et hi magis cum Deo habitent, qui salutem dedisse, aut consiliis, aut operibus patriae doceantur.

EPISTLE CIII. To Nectarius asking that pardon be granted to his citizens Augustine had written back in Epist. 97, that it did not become Christian benevolence that that signal crime of the Calamensians should be dismissed altogether unpunished. To him Nectarius writes back, flattering and suppliantly persuading that they be spared without any exception.

To his Lord rightly and deservedly to be received and in all ways honored brother AUGUSTINE, NECTARIUS, greeting in the Lord.

1. Having received the letters of your Excellency, by which you have destroyed the cult of idols and the ceremonies of the temples, I seemed to myself to hear the voice of a philosopher, not of that one whom they mention in the Lyceum of the Academy, residing in dark corners of the ground, immersed from a certain profound thought, who having drawn back his head to his brow has folded it with his knees, so that some needy slanderer may attack the illustrious inventions of the doctrine of others, and accuse those things clearly asserted, while he defends nothing of his own: but clearly excited by your oration, there stood before my eyes M. Tullius the consular, who, having preserved innumerable heads of citizens, would bring the victorious signs of the forensic field, laureate, to the stupified schools of Greece, and would breathless turn back that trumpet of a canorous voice and tongue, which he had inflated against those guilty of crimes and the parricides of the republic, with the spirit of just indignation, and would twist back that very toga, its pages of wrinkles having been loosened, having imitated the appearance of cloaks.

2. Therefore when you compelled us to the cult and religion of the most high God, I heard gladly; when you persuaded that the heavenly fatherland is to be gazed upon, I accepted gratefully. For you did not seem to me to speak of that city which some mural circuit constrains, nor that which the treatise of philosophers mentioning as mundane professes to be common to all; but which the great God, and souls having well deserved of Him, inhabit and dwell in, which all laws by diverse ways and paths seek, which we are not able to express by speaking, but might perhaps be able to find by thinking. This therefore although it is principally to be sought and loved, nevertheless I do not think that one is to be deserted, in which we were born and begotten: which first infused into us the use of this light, which nourished, which educated, and, that I may say what properly pertains to the cause, concerning which most learned men report that for well-deserving men, after the death of the body a domicile is prepared in heaven, so that a certain promotion to the supernal may be provided to those men who have well deserved of their natal cities; and these dwell more with God, who are shown to have given salvation, either by counsels or by works, to their fatherland.

Jam illud quod joculariter dignatus es dicere, urbem nostram non armis, sed flammis incendiisque flagrare, et spinas magis ingenerare quam flores, non est maxima reprehensio, cum sciamus flores ex spinis plerumque generari. Nam et rosas ex spinis gigni quis dubitat, et fruges ipsas aristarum vallo sepiri, ita ut asperis suavia plerumque misceantur.

3. Postremum fuit in litteris Praestantiae tuae non caput aut sanguinem in Ecclesiae postulari vindictam, sed quibus rebus maxime metuunt spoliandos. Ego autem, nisi me opinio fallit, sic arbitror, gravius esse spoliari facultalibus quam occidi. Siquidem quod frequentatum in litteris nosti, mors malorum omnium aufert sensum, egestosa vita aeternam parit calamitatem: gravius est enim male vivere, quam mala morte finire. Hoc etiam operae vestrae indicat ratio, in quibus pauperes sustinetis, morbidos curatione relevatis, medicinam afflictis corporibus adhibetis; id postremo modis omnibus agitis, ut diuturnitatem calamitatis afflicti non sentiant. Quod autem ad modum pertinet peccatorum, nihil interest quale videatur esse peccatum cui indulgentia postulatur. Primum enim si poenitentia et veniam tribuit et purgat admissum, poenitet utique illum qui rogat, qui pedes complectitur, et, si, ut quibusdam philosophis placet, omnia peccata paria sunt, indulgentia omnibus debet esse communis. Petulantius locutus est aliquis, peccavit; convicia aut crimina ingessit, aeque peccavit; aliena quisquam diripuit, inter delicta numeratur; loca profana sacrave violavit, non est ab indulgentia secernendus. Postremo nullus esset veniae locus, nisi peccata praecederent.

4. Nunc quoniam non quantum debui, sed quantum potui, majus ut dicitur, minusve respondi, oro atque obsecro, utinam praesentem possem, ut etiam lacrymas meas pervideres, ut qui sis, quid profitearis, quid agas, etiam atque etiam cogites; intendas quae sit illius species civitatis, ex qua ad supplicium ducendi extrahuntur; quae sit matrum, quae conjugum, quae liberorum, quae parentum lamentatio; quo pudore ad patriam venire possint liberati, sed torti; quos renovat dolores aut gemitus consideratio vulnerum et cicatricum. Et his omnibus pertractatis, Deum primo consideres, hominumque cogites famam, bonitatem amicam potius, familiaremque conjunctionem, et ignoscendo potius laudem, quam vindicando conquiras. Atque haec de his dicta sint, quos verus confessionis suae reatus astringit. Quibus quidem legis contemplatione, quod laudare non desino, veniam tribuistis. Jam illud explicari vix potest quantum crudelitatis sit, innocentes appetere, et eos, quos a crimine constat esse discretos, in judicium capitis devocare. Quos si purgari contigerit, cogites, quaeso, quanta accusatorum liberabuntur invidia, cum reos sponte dimiserint victi, reliquerint innocentes. Deus summus te custodiat, et legis suae te conservet praesidium atque ornamentum nostrum.

Already that which you deigned to say jocularly, that our city burns not with arms but with flames and conflagrations, and engenders thorns rather than flowers, is not a very great reprehension, since we know that flowers are mostly generated from thorns. For who doubts that even roses are born from thorns, and that the fruits themselves are hedged in by a rampart of awns, so that sweet things are mostly mixed with harsh ones.

3. The last thing in the letters of your Excellence was that not the head or blood was demanded in vengeance of the Church, but that they are to be despoiled of those things by which they most fear. But I, unless opinion deceives me, think thus, that it is more grievous to be despoiled of means than to be killed. If indeed, as you know frequent in letters, death takes away the sense of all evils, a needy life produces an eternal calamity: for it is more grievous to live badly, than to end by a bad death. The reason of your work also indicates this, in which you sustain the poor, relieve the sick by healing, apply medicine to afflicted bodies; you do this finally in all ways, so that the afflicted may not feel the long duration of the calamity. But what pertains to the mode of sins, it matters nothing what kind of sin it seems to be for which indulgence is demanded. For first if repentance both gives pardon and purges the thing admitted, he surely repents who asks, who embraces the feet, and, if, as it pleases certain philosophers, all sins are equal, indulgence ought to be common to all. Someone has spoken more petulantly, he has sinned; he has heaped up reproaches or crimes, he has equally sinned; anyone has plundered the things of others, it is numbered among delicts; he has violated profane or sacred places, he is not to be separated from indulgence. Finally there would be no place for pardon, unless sins preceded.

4. Now since I have responded not as much as I ought, but as much as I was able, more as it is said, or less, I pray and beseech, would that I were able to be present, so that you might also perceive my tears, that you might think again and again who you are, what you profess, what you are doing; that you might intend what is the appearance of that city, from which those to be led to punishment are dragged out; what is the lamentation of mothers, what of spouses, what of children, what of parents; with what shame those liberated but tortured could come to their fatherland; what pains or groans the consideration of wounds and scars renews. And all these things having been thoroughly handled, you should first consider God, and think of the reputation of men, a friendly goodness rather, and a familiar conjunction, and seek praise by forgiving rather than by punishing. And let these things be said of those whom a true guilt of their own confession binds. To whom indeed by the contemplation of the law, which I do not cease to praise, you have granted pardon. Now that can scarcely be explained how much cruelty it is, to attack the innocent, and to call into capital judgment those whom it is certain are separated from crime. Whom if it should happen to be purged, think, I ask, by how great envy of the accusers they will be liberated, when they shall have spontaneously dismissed the guilty, being overcome, and left the innocent. May the highest God keep you, and preserve you a protection of His law and our ornament.

Epistola CIV.

Ad superioris epistolae capita singula respondet Augustinus; id praeter alia refellens, quod ex Stoicorum placito Nectarius induxerat, omnia peccata esse paria.

Domino eximio meritoque honorabili ac suscipiendo fratri NECTARIO, AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

CAP. PRIMUM.

1. Legi litteras Benignitatis tuae quibus mihi longe postea respondistis, quam meas ad te perferendas dedi. Nam ego rescripseram, cum adhuc nobiscum esset, neque navigasset sanctus frater, et coepiscopus meus Possidius. His autem quas mei causa illi dignatus es reddere, accepi VI cal. april., post menses ferme octo, quam scripseram. Cur ergo ad te tam sero mea scripta pervenerint, aut ad me tua, prorsus ignoro. Nisi forte modo rescribere prudentiae tuae placuerit, quod facere ante contempseras. Hoc sita est, miror unde sit. An aliquid audisti, quod nos adhuc latet, fratrem meum Possidium adversus cives tuos (quos, pace tua dixerim, multo salubrius diligit ipse quam tu) quo plectantur severius impetrasse. Nam hoc et epistola tua te metuere indicat, cum admones ut mihi ante oculos constituam, qualis illa sit species civitatis, ex qua ad supplicium ducendi extrahuntur; quae sit matrum, quae conjugum, quae liberorum, quae parentum lamentatio; quo pudore ad patriam venire possint liberati, sed torti; quos renovet dolores aut gemitus consideratio vulnerum et cicatricum. Absit ut ista cuiquam inimicorum nostrorum vel per nos, vel per quemquam, quod ingerantur, instemus; sed, ut dixi, si aliquid tale ad te fama pertulit, apertius edissere, ut noverimus vel quid agere ne ista fiant, vel quid haec credentibus respondere debeamus.

2. Litteras meas potius intuere, quibus te rescribere piguit; illic enim satis expressi animum nostrum: sed, ut opinor, oblitus quid tibi rescripserim, omnino mihi alia longe diversa et dissimilia retulisti. Quippe quasi recordatus quod in litteris meis posui. hoc tuis inseruisti quod omnino non posui. Postremum enim fuisse in litteris meis dicis, non caput aut sanguinem in Ecclesiae postulari vindictam, sed rebus, quibus maxime metuunt spoliandos. Deinde ostendens quantum sit hoc mali, adjungis atque contexis, nisi te opinio fallit, arbitrari gravius esse spoliari facultatibus quam occidi.

Epistle CIV.

To the individual heads of the superior epistle Augustine responds; refuting this among other things, that Nectarius had introduced from the tenet of the Stoics, that all sins are equal.

To the distinguished and deservedly honorable and to be received brother NECTARIUS, AUGUSTINE, greeting in the Lord.

CHAPTER ONE.

1. I read your Benignity's letter in which you responded to me long after I sent mine to be delivered to you. For I had written back while our holy brother and fellow bishop Possidius was still with us and had not yet sailed. However, these letters which you deigned to return to him for my sake, I received on the 6th of the Kalends of April, almost eight months after I had written. Why my writings reached you so late, or yours reached me, I am entirely ignorant. Unless, perhaps, it has only now pleased your prudence to write back, which you had previously disdained to do. Wherever the cause lies, I wonder where it is. Or have you heard something that is still hidden from us—that my brother Possidius has obtained a more severe punishment against your citizens (whom, if I may say so with your leave, he himself loves much more healthily than you do)? For your letter indicates that you fear this, when you warn me to set before my eyes what kind of spectacle that city would be from which those to be led to punishment are dragged; what the lamentation of mothers, of wives, of children, of parents would be; with what shame those set free but tortured could come to their fatherland; what sorrows or groans the consideration of wounds and scars would renew. Far be it from us to insist that such things be inflicted on any of our enemies, either through us or through anyone else; but, as I said, if rumor has brought anything of the sort to you, explain it more clearly, so that we may know either what to do so that these things do not happen, or what we ought to respond to those who believe these things.

2. Look rather at my letters, which you were loath to answer; for there I expressed our mind sufficiently: but, as I think, having forgotten what I wrote back to you, you have related to me things altogether different and dissimilar. Indeed, as if remembering what I placed in my letters, you have inserted into yours what I did not place at all. For you say it was the last thing in my letters, that neither head nor blood is demanded in the Church's vengeance, but the things for which they most fear being despoiled. Then, showing how great an evil this is, you join and weave in, unless opinion deceives you, that you judge it to be more grievous to be despoiled of resources than to be killed.

Atque ut apertius exponas de quibus facultatibus dixeris, pergis atque addis, me frequentatum in litteris nosse quod mors malorum omnium adferat sensum, egestosa autem vita aeternam pariat calamitatem. Deinde conclusisti, gravius esse in malis vivere quam mala morte finire.

3. Et ego quidem nec in nostris, ad quas me serius fateor animum applicuisse quam vellem, nec in vestris, quas ab ineunte aetate didici, litteris uspiam legisse recolo quod egestosa vita aeternam pariat calamitatem. Nam nec unquam peccatum est laboriosa paupertas, et est aliquanta restrictio et coercitio peccatorum. Ac per hoc non est metuendum ne cuiquam post hanc brevem vitam, hoc ad aeternam valeat animae calamitatem, quod pauper hic vixerit; et in hac ipsa quam in terris degimus, nullo modo ulla calamitas aeterna esse poterit, cum eadem vita aeterna esse non possit, quae nec saltem diuturna est, ad quamlibet aetatem senectutemque pervenerit. Hoc enim potius in illis litteris legi, quoniam vita ipsa qua fruimur brevis est, in qua tu arbitraris, et frequentatum in litteris jam mones, aeternam esse posse calamitatem: mortem autem malorum omnium esse finem, habent quidem vestrae litterae, sed nec ipsae omnes; Epicureorum est quippe ista sententia, et si qui alii mortalem animam putant. At illi quos Tullius quasi consulares philosophos appellat. quod eorum magnipendat auctoritatem, quoniam cum extremum diem fungimur, non exstingui animam, sed emigrare censent, et ut merita quoque ejus asserunt seu bona, seu mala, vel, ad beatitudinem, vel ad miseriam permanere. Hoc congruit et Litteris sacris, quarum me cupio litteratorem. Malorum ergo finis est mors, sed in eis quorum casta, pia, fidelis, innocens vita, non in eis qui temporalium nugarum et vanitatum cupiditate flagrantes, et cum hic sibi felices videntur. ipsa voluntatis pravitate miseri convincuntur, et post mortem graviores miserias non habere tantum, verum etiam sentire coguntur.

4. Haec ergo cum et vestris quibusdam, quas honorabilius habetis, et nostris omnibus litteris frequententur, o bone dilector etiam terrenae patriae tuae, luxuriosam vitam time civibus tuis, non egestosam: aut si egestosam times, illam potius egestatem mone devitandam, quae magna licet rerum terrenarum prosperitate circumfluat, eis tamen insatiabiliter inhiando, ut vestrorum ipsorum verbis utar auctorum, neque copia neque inopia minuitur. Verumtamen in illis, quibus respondisti litteris meis, inimicos Ecclesiae cives tuos, nec illa egestate dixi emendandos, ubi necessaria naturae desunt, cui succurrit misericordia, de qua nobis etiam praescribendum putasti, quod operum nostrorum hoc indicet ratio, quibus pauperes sustinemus, morbidos curatione relevamus, medicinam afflictis corporibus adhibemus; quanquam et sic egere utilius sit quam ad satiandam nequitiam rebus omnibus abundare. Sed absit ut ego illa coercitione ad hanc aerumnam eos de quibus agimus, redigendos esse censuerim.

And so that you might more clearly explain about which resources you spoke, you go on and add that I know from frequent reading in literature that death brings a sense of all evils, but a needy life produces eternal calamity. Then you concluded that it is more grievous to live in evils than to end evils by death.

3. And indeed, I do not recall having read anywhere, neither in our literature, to which I confess I applied my mind later than I would have wished, nor in yours, which I learned from early age, that a needy life produces eternal calamity. For laborious poverty has never been a sin, and it is a certain restriction and coercion of sins. And through this, it is not to be feared that for anyone after this brief life, this might avail for the eternal calamity of the soul—that he lived poor here; and in this very life which we spend on earth, in no way can any calamity be eternal, since that same life cannot be eternal, which is not even long-lasting, to whatever age or senility it may reach. For I read this rather in those letters: since the very life we enjoy is short, in which you judge, and now warn from frequent reading, that there can be eternal calamity. That death is the end of all evils, your letters indeed have, but not even all of them; for that is the opinion of the Epicureans, and if there are any others who think the soul is mortal. But those whom Tully calls, as it were, consular philosophers, because he weighs their authority greatly, judge that when we experience our last day, the soul is not extinguished, but emigrates, and they assert that its merits also, whether good or evil, remain either for beatitude or for misery. This agrees also with the Sacred Letters, of which I desire to be a student. Death, therefore, is the end of evils, but in those whose life is chaste, pious, faithful, and innocent, not in those who, burning with the desire for temporal trifles and vanities, even when they seem happy to themselves here, are proven wretched by the very depravity of their will, and are compelled not only to have but even to feel more grievous miseries after death.

4. Therefore, since these things are frequent both in some of your writings, which you hold more honorably, and in all of our writings, O good lover even of your earthly fatherland, fear a luxurious life for your citizens, not a needy one: or if you fear a needy one, warn rather that that neediness is to be avoided which, though it may overflow with great prosperity of earthly things, yet by gasping for them insatiably—to use the words of your own authors—is diminished neither by plenty nor by want. Nevertheless, in those letters of mine to which you responded, I did not say that your citizens, the enemies of the Church, were to be corrected even by that neediness where the necessities of nature are lacking, which mercy succors—concerning which you also thought fit to prescribe to us, because the reason of our works indicates this, by which we sustain the poor, relieve the sick by healing, apply medicine to afflicted bodies; although even so, it is more useful to be in need than to abound in all things for the satisfying of iniquity. But far be it from me to have judged that those of whom we are treating should be reduced to this misery by that coercion.

CAPUT II.

5. Recense epistolam meam, si tamen dignam habuisti, si non quam relegeres, cum ei fuisset respondendum, saltem quam ita reponeres, ut tibi jubenti, cum volueris proferretur, et attende quid dixerim; hoc profecto invenies, cui te non respondisse, quantum existimo, fatearis. Nam ex epistola illa mea verba nunc insero: Non praeterita, inquam, vindicando pascere iram nostram studemus, sed misericorditer in futurum consulendo satagimus. Habent homines mali ubi et per Christianos non solum mansuete, verum etiam utiliter salubriterque plectantur. Habent enim quod corpore incolumi vivunt, habent unde vivunt, habent unde male vivunt. Duo prima salva sint, ut quos poeniteat, sint; hoc optamus, hoc, quantum in nobis est, etiam impensa opera instamus. Tertium vero si Dominus voluerit, tanquam putre noxiumque resecare, valde misericorditer puniet. Haec verba mea si recensuisses, cum mihi rescribere dignareris, non solum de morte, sed et de tormentis corporalibus evitandis eorum pro quibus agis, nos invidiosius, quam officiosius rogandos putares; quorum dixi, velle nos in eis salvum esse quod incolumes corpore vivunt. Nec egestosam vitam, ut victu indigeant ab aliis impartito, per nos eis utique formidares; quorum et illud secundum dixi velle nos salvum, quod habent unde vivunt. Tertium vero quod habent unde male vivunt, id est, ut nihil aliud dicam, certe unde falsorum deorum argentea fabrica vere simulacra, pro quibus vel servandis, vel adorandis, vel sacrilego ritu adhuc colendis, usque ad ecclesiae Dei prosiliatur incendium, et religiosissimorum pauperum sustentacula infelici vulgo diripienda praebeantur, sanguisque fundatur, tu qui tuae consulis civitati, quare metuis resecari, ne omnimodo impenitate perniciosa nutriatur et roboretur audacia? Hoc nobis edissere, hoc doce circumspecta disputatione quid mali sit; diligenter attende quod dicimus, ne id quod vobis dicimus, velut specie petendi quodammodo accusatione obliqua objicere videaris.

6. Sint honesti cives tui, probis moribus, non superfluis facultatibus: non eos volumus ad aratrum Quintii, et ad Fabricii focum per nos illa coercitione perduci. Qua paupertate illi Romanae reipublicae principes non solum non viluerunt civibus suis, sed ob eam fuerunt praecipue chariores, et patriae gubernandis opibus aptiores. Ne illud quidem optamus aut agimus, ut patriae tuae divitibus illius Ruffini bis consulis argenti solum decem pondo remaneant ; quod tunc laudabiliter severa censura adhuc resecandum tanquam vitium judicavit.

CHAPTER II.

5. Review my letter, if indeed you held it worthy, if not to be reread when it had to be answered, at least to be put away so that it might be brought forth for you when you wished; and attend to what I said; you will surely find this, which I think you would confess you have not answered. For I now insert my words from that letter: "We do not strive," I say, "to feed our anger by avenging past things, but we are busy by mercifully consulting for the future. Evil men have the means by which they may be punished through Christians not only mildly, but even usefully and healthfully. For they have the fact that they live with an uninjured body, they have that from which they live, they have that from which they live badly. Let the first two remain safe, so that there may be those who repent; this we desire, this, as much as in us lies, we even insist upon with spent labor. But if the Lord wills to cut away the third, as if it were rotten and harmful, He will punish most mercifully." If you had reviewed these words of mine when you deigned to write back to me, you would have thought that we were to be asked for the avoiding not only of death but also of corporal tortures for those on whose behalf you act, more invidiously than dutifully; since I said we wish that what they live with an uninjured body be safe in them. Nor would you surely dread through us a needy life for them, such that they would lack sustenance imparted by others; for I said we wish that second thing also to be safe, that they have from which they live. But as for the third, that they have from which they live badly—that is, to say nothing else, certainly that from which the silver fabric of false gods, truly idols, for the sake of either preserving or adoring or still worshipping with sacrilegious rite, they might even rush to the burning of the church of God, and that the supports of the most religious poor be offered to be plundered by the unhappy mob, and blood be shed—you who consult for your city, why do you fear it being cut away, lest an audacity nourished and strengthened by pernicious impunity should grow altogether? Explain this to us, teach this with circumspect disputation, what evil there is; carefully attend to what we say, lest you seem to object to that which we say to you as if by a certain oblique accusation under the guise of asking.

6. Let your citizens be honest, with upright morals, not with superfluous resources: we do not wish them to be led by that coercion through us to the plow of Quintius and to the hearth of Fabricius. By which poverty those princes of the Roman republic not only were not cheapened to their citizens, but for that reason were especially dearer, and more fit for governing the wealth of the fatherland. Nor do we desire or act so that only ten pounds of silver remain to the rich of your fatherland, like that of Ruffinus, twice consul; which then a laudably severe censure judged still to be cut away as a vice.

Tantum nos consuetudo decoloris aetatis nimium marcidas animas mitius contrectare persuadet, ut mansuetudini christianae, quod illis censoribus justum visum est, nimium videatur: et vides quam multum intersit, utrum jam punienda culpa sit tantum habere, an propter alias gravissimas culpas, ut tantum quis habeat permittere; quod tunc jam fuit peccatum, nunc volumus sit saltem poena peccati. Sed est quod fieri possit et debeat, ut nec usque ad ista progrediatur severitas, nec nimis secura laetetur et debacchetur impunitas, et imitationis exemplum ad gravissimas et occultissimas poenas infelicibus proponatur. Saltem concede ut nimium superfluis suis timeant, qui necessaria nostra incendere ac vastare moliuntur. Liceat et hoc beneficium tribuere inimicis nostris, ut dum metuunt rebus quas noxium non est amittere, quod sibi noxium est non conentur admittere. Neque enim haec dicenda est vindicta peccati, sed tutela consilii; non est hoc irrogare supplicium, sed ab excipiendo supplicio communire.

7. Quisque imprudentem cum aliquo sensu doloris privat, ne supervacuis sceleribus assuefactus poenas atrocissimas pendat, puero capillos vellit, ne serpentibus plaudat; atque ita, ubi molesta dilectio est, nullum membrum laeditur, unde autem deterret, salus et vita periclitatur. Non tunc benefici sumus, cum id quod a nobis petitur facimus, sed cum id facimus quod non obsit petentibus. Nam pleraque non dando prosumus, et noceremus si dedissemus. Unde illud proverbium: Nec puero gladium. Tu vero, inquit Tullius, ne unico quidem filio. Quo enim quemquam maxime diligimus, eo minus ei debemus, in quibus magno periculo peccatur, committere. Et de divitiis, ni fallor, cum haec agerer, loquebatur. Proinde quae periculose male utentibus committuntur, salubriter etiam plerumque detrahuntur. Medici cum vident secandam urendamque putredinem, saepe adversus multas lacrymas misericorditer obsurdescunt. Si quoties parvuli, vel etiam grandiusculi veniam peccantes deprecati sumus, toties a parentibus vel magistris accepissemus, quis nostrum tolerandus crevisset? quis aliquid utile didicisset? providenter ista, non crudeliter fiunt. Ne, quaeso, in hac causa nihil aliud intendas, nisi quemadmodum apud nos efficias quod rogaris a tuis: omnia vero diligenter considera. Si praeterita negligis, quae fieri jam infecta non possunt, aliquantum prospice in posterum; non quid cupiant, qui te rogant, sed quid eis expediat prudenter attende. Non sane fideliter eos amare convincimur, si hoc solum intuemur, ne, non faciendo quod poscunt, minuatur quod amamur ab eis. Et ubi est, quod et vestrae litterae illum laudant patriae rectorem qui populi utilitate magis consulat quam voluntati?

Only the custom of a discolored age persuades us to handle too withered souls more mildly, so that what seemed just to those censors seems too much to Christian mildness: and you see how much difference there is, whether it is a fault already to be punished to have so much, or because of other most grave faults, to permit that someone have so much; what then was already a sin, now we wish to be at least the penalty of sin. But there is what can and ought to be done, so that severity does not proceed even to those things, nor a too secure impunity rejoice and rage, and an example of imitation be proposed to the unhappy for most grave and hidden punishments. At least concede that those who strive to burn and devastate our necessities should fear for their too superfluous things. Let it be allowed to bestow also this benefit on our enemies, so that while they fear for things which it is not harmful to lose, they may not attempt to commit what is harmful to themselves. For neither is this to be called a vengeance for sin, but a protection of counsel; this is not to inflict punishment, but to fortify against receiving punishment.

7. Whoever deprives the imprudent of something with some sense of pain, lest he pay most atrocious penalties having become accustomed to superfluous crimes, pulls a boy's hair, lest he clap his hands at serpents; and thus, where the love is troublesome, no limb is injured, but where it deters, health and life are in danger. We are not beneficent then when we do that which is asked of us, but when we do that which may not hinder the petitioners. For we profit many by not giving, and we would harm them if we had given. Whence that proverb: "Neither to a boy a sword." "But you," says Tully, "not even to an only son." For in that by which we love anyone most, in that we ought least to commit to him those things in which one sins with great danger. And if I am not mistaken, he was speaking about riches when he dealt with these things. Accordingly, things which are dangerously committed to those using them badly are even often healthfully taken away. Physicians, when they see a rot to be cut and burned, often mercifully grow deaf against many tears. If as often as we, when little or even somewhat grown, prayed for pardon for our sins, we had received it from parents or teachers, which of us would have grown up to be tolerable? Who would have learned anything useful? These things are done providently, not cruelly. Do not, I pray, in this cause intend nothing else than how you may effect with us what you are asked by your people: but consider all things diligently. If you neglect past things, which having been done cannot now be undone, look forward somewhat for the future; prudently attend not to what they desire who ask you, but to what is expedient for them. We are surely not proven to love them faithfully if we only look to this, lest, by not doing what they demand, the fact that we are loved by them should be diminished. And where is it that even your writings praise that ruler of the fatherland who consults for the utility of the people rather than for their will?

CAPUT III.

8. Nihil interest, inquis, quale videatur esse peccatum cum indulgentia postulatur. Recte hoc diceres si de puniendis, non de corrigendis hominibus ageretur. Absit enim a corde christiano, ut libidine ulciscendi ad poenam cujusque rapiatur. Absit ut in dimittendo cuique peccatum, aut non praeveniat preces rogantis, aut certe continuo subsequatur: sed hoc utique ne oderit hominem, ne malum pro malo retribuat, ne nocendi inflammetur ardore, ne vindicta etiam lege debita pasci desideret; non autem ne consulat, ne prospiciat, ne compescat a malis. Fieri enim potest ut vehementius adversando, emendationem quisque negligat hominis quem gravius odit, et nonnulla molestia reddat coercendo meliorem, quem maxime diligit.

9. Nam et poenitentia, sicut scribis, impetrat veniam, et purgat admissum: sed illa quae in vera religione agitur, quae futurum judicium Dei cogitat; non illa quae ad horam hominibus, aut exhibetur, aut fingitur, non ut a delicto anima purgetur in aeternum, sed ut interim a praesenti metu molestiae vita cito peritura liberetur. Hinc est quod Christianis confitentibus atque deprecantibus, qui delicto illo fuerant implicati, vel non succurrendo arsurae ecclesiae, vel de sceleratissimis rapinis aliquid auferendo, poenitentiae dolorem fructuosum esse credidimus, eisque ad correctionem sufficere existimavimus, quod inest cordibus eorum fides, qua considerare possent quid de divino judicio formidare deberent. Quae autem poenitentia sanare potest eos, qui fontem ipsum indulgentiae non solum agnoscere negligunt, verum etiam irridere ac blasphemare non desinunt? et contra hos tamen inimicitias in corde non retinemus, quod illi patet ac nudum est, cujus et in praesenti et in futura vita et timemus judicium, et speramus auxilium. Sed arbitramur nos etiam pro ipsis aliquid providere, si homines qui Deum non timent, aliquid timeant, quo non eorum laedatur utilitas, sed vanitas castigetur; ne ab eis Deus ipse quem spernunt, noxia securitate, audaciores factis gravius offendatur, et ne aliis ad imitandum, eadem ipsa securitas multo perniciosius proponatur. Denique pro quibus abs te rogamur, nos pro illis Deum rogamus uti eos ad se convertat, ut fide mundans corda eorum, veracem ac salubrem agere poenitentiam doceat.

CHAPTER III.

8. "It matters not," you say, "what kind of sin it seems to be when indulgence is asked." You would say this rightly if it were a matter of punishing men, not of correcting them. For far be it from a Christian heart to be snatched to the punishment of anyone by the lust for revenging. Far be it that in dismissing a sin for anyone, he either does not anticipate the prayers of the petitioner or surely follows them immediately: but this at least, lest he should hate the man, lest he should repay evil for evil, lest he be inflamed by the heat of harming, lest he should desire to be fed even by a vengeance due by law; but not lest he consult, lest he look forward, lest he restrain from evils. For it can happen that by opposing more vehemently, one neglects the correction of the man whom he hates more gravely, and by some trouble in coercing makes better him whom he loves most.

9. For "repentance also," as you write, "obtains pardon and purges the committed act": but that which is done in true religion, which thinks of the future judgment of God; not that which for the hour is either exhibited or feigned to men, not so that the soul may be purged from fault forever, but so that in the meantime life, quickly about to perish, may be freed from the present fear of trouble. Hence it is that for Christians confessing and praying, who had been involved in that fault, either by not succoring the church about to burn, or by taking away something from most wicked plunderings, we believed the pain of repentance to be fruitful, and we thought it sufficient for their correction, because the faith is in their hearts, by which they could consider what they ought to fear concerning the divine judgment. But what repentance can heal those who not only neglect to acknowledge the very fountain of indulgence but also do not cease to mock and blaspheme? And yet against these we do not retain enmities in our heart, which is open and naked to Him whose judgment we fear and whose help we hope for both in the present and in the future life. But we think that we also provide something for them if men who do not fear God should fear something by which their utility is not harmed, but their vanity is chastised; lest God Himself, whom they spurn, should be more gravely offended with a harmful security by more audacious deeds, and lest that same security should be proposed to others for imitation much more perniciously. Finally, for those on whose behalf we are asked by you, we ask God for them that He may convert them to Himself, so that, cleansing their hearts by faith, He may teach them to perform true and healthful repentance.

10. Ecce quanto eos, quibus nos arbitraris irasci, pace tua dixerim, ordinatius quam tu, utiliusque diligimus, pro quibus et ad evitanda tanto majora mala, et ad consequenda tanto majora bona, deprecamur. Quos etiam tu, si ex Dei coelesti munere non ex hominum terreno more diligeres, sinceriterque mihi rescriberes quod cum te ad exsuperantissimi Dei cultum religionemque compellerem, libenter audieris, non solum haec eis optares, sed eis ad haec ipse praeires. Sic omne apud nos tuae petitionis negotium cum magno et sano gaudio finiretur. Sic illam coelestem patriam, quam cum intuendam esse suaderem, libens te accepisse dixisti, ex hujus etiam, quae te carnaliter genuit, vera et pia dilectione promereris; vere consulens tuis non ad vanitatem laetitiae temporalis nec ad impunitatem perniciosissimam sceleris, sed ad gratiam sempiternae felicitatis.

11. Habes expositas in hac causa cogitationes et vota pectoris mei. Quid autem lateat in consilio Dei, fateor, homo sum, nescio: quidquid illud est, id est justius, atque sapienties, et firmissime stabilitum, incomparabili excellentia prae omnibus mentibus hominum. Verum est quippe quod legitur in Libris nostris, Multae cogitationes sunt in corde viri, consilium autem Domini manet in aeternum (Prov. XIX, 21). Proinde quid tempus afferat, quid nobis facultatis aut difficultatis oriatur, quid postremo voluntatis ex rerum praesentium, vel correctione, vel spe, subito possit existere, utrum Deus sic indignetur his factis, ut ea, quam petunt, impunitate magis severiusque puniantur, an illo modo quo nobis placet coercendos misericorditer judicet, an aliqua duriore, sed salubriore eorum praecedente correctione, nec ad hominum, sed ad suam misericordiam veraci conversione quidquid terroris praeparabatur, avertat et convertat in gaudium, jam novit ipse, nos autem ignoramus. Quid ergo hic ante tempus, inter nos ego et Praestantia tua frustra laboremus? Seponamus paululum curam cujus hora non est, et quod semper instat, si placet, agamus. Nudum enim tempus est, quo non deceat et oporteat agere, unde Deo placere possimus; quod in hac vita usque ad eam perfectionem impleri, ut nullum omnino peccatum insit in homine aut non potest, aut forte difficilimum est: unde praecisis omnibus dilationibus, ad illius gratiam confugiendum est, cui verissime dici potest quod carmine adulatorio nescio cui nobili dixit, qui tamen ex Cumaeo, tanquam ex prophetico carmine se accepisse confessus est: Te duce, si qua manent sceleris vestigia nostri, Irrita perpetua solvent formidine terras. (Virg. Eclog. 4.) Hoc enim duce, solutis omnibus dimissisque peccatis, hac via ad coelestem patriam pervenitur, cujus habitatione cum eam tibi amandam, quantum potui, commendarem, admodum delectatus es.

10. Behold how much more orderly and usefully than you—if I may say so with your leave— we love those for whom you think we are angry, and for whom we pray both to avoid so much greater evils and to follow so much greater goods. Whom you also, if you loved them from God's heavenly gift and not from men's earthly custom, and if you would sincerely write back to me that you gladly heard me when I compelled you to the worship and religion of the most high God, you would not only desire these things for them, but you would yourself lead them to these things. Thus the whole business of your petition with us would be finished with great and sound joy. Thus you would merit that heavenly fatherland, which you said you gladly accepted when I persuaded you that it ought to be gazed upon, even from the true and pious love of this one which gave you carnal birth; truly consulting for your people, not for the vanity of temporal gladness nor for the most pernicious impunity of crime, but for the grace of everlasting happiness.

11. You have the thoughts and vows of my breast set forth in this cause. But what may lie hidden in the counsel of God, I confess, I am a man, I do not know: whatever that is, it is more just, and wiser, and most firmly established, with incomparable excellence above all the minds of men. For it is true what is read in our Books: "Many thoughts are in the heart of a man, but the counsel of the Lord remains forever" (Prov. XIX, 21). Accordingly, what time may bring, what of facility or difficulty may arise for us, what finally of will may suddenly exist from the correction or hope of present things—whether God is so indignant at these deeds that they are punished more severely by that very impunity which they seek, or whether He judges in that way which pleases us that they are to be mercifully coerced, or whether, some harder but more healthful correction of them preceding, and a true conversion not to men but to His mercy, He may avert whatever of terror was being prepared and turn it into joy —He Himself already knows, but we are ignorant. Why therefore should I and your Excellence labor here in vain before the time? Let us lay aside for a little while the care for which the hour is not, and let us do, if it please you, what is always pressing. For it is an empty time in which it is not becoming and necessary to act, whence we may be able to please God; which in this life either cannot be fulfilled unto that perfection so that no sin at all is in a man, or perhaps it is most difficult: whence, all delays being cut off, one must flee to the grace of Him to whom it can most truly be said what someone said in a flattering poem to some nobleman, who yet confessed that he had received it from the Cumaean as if from a prophetic poem: "With you as leader, if any traces of our crime remain, they shall loose the lands from perpetual dread, being made void" (Virg. Eclog. 4). For with Him as leader, all sins being loosed and dismissed, by this way one arrives at the heavenly fatherland, with the habitation of which you were greatly delighted when I commended it to your love as much as I could.

CAPUT IV.

12. Sed quia dixisti quod omnes eam leges diversis viis et tramitibus appetant; vereor ne forte, cum putas etiam illam viam, in qua nunc constitutus es, eo tendere, pigrior sis ad eam tenendam quae illuc sola perducit. Sed rursus verbum quod posuisti diligenter attendens, videor mihi tuam non impudenter aperire sententiam: neque enim dixisti, quam omnes leges diversis viis et tramitibus assequuntur, aut ostendunt, aut inveniunt, aut ingrediuntur, aut obtinent, aut aliquid ejusmodi, sed dicendo, appetunt, librato verbo, atque perpenso, non adeptionem significasti, sed adipiscendi cupiditatem. Ita nec illam quae vera est, exclusisti, nec alias quae falsae sunt, admisisti, et illa quippe appetit quae perducit, nec perducit omnis quae hoc appetit; quo quisquis perducitur, sine ulla dubitatione beatus est. Beati autem omnes esse volumus, hoc est, appetimus, nec tamen omnes qui volumus possumus, hoc est, quod apperimus adipiscimur. Ille ergo adipiscitur qui viam tenet non solum qua id appetit, sed qua etiam pervenitur, relinquens alios in itineribus appetendi, sine fine adipiscendi. Quoniam nec error esset si nihil appeteretur, nec si appetita veritas teneretur. Si vero diversas vias ita dixisti, ut non intelligamus adversas, sicut dicimus diversa praecepta, quae tamen omnia bonam aedificent vitam, alia de castitate, alia de patientia, alia de fide, alia de misericordia, et si quae sunt caetera; non solum appetitur viis et tramitibus ita diversis illa patria, verum etiam reperitur. Nam et in Scripturis sanctis et viae leguntur, et via: viae, sicut illud est, Docebo iniquos vias tuas, et impii ad te convertentur (Psal. L, 15); via, sicut illud, Deduc me in via tua, et ambulabo in veritate tua (Psal. LXXXV, 11). Non aliae, illae, alia ista; sed omnes una, de quibus alio loco eadam sancta Scriptura dicit, Universae viae Domini misericordia et veritas (Psal. XXIV, 10): quae si diligenter considerentur, copiosum pariunt sermonem, intellectumque suavissimum; quod si opus fuerit, in tempus aliud differam.

13. Nunc autem, quod satis esse arbitror pro suscepto officio rescribendi Praestantiae tuae, quoniam Christus dixit. Ego sum via (Joan. XIV, 6). in illo quaerenda est misericordia et veritas; ne si alibi quaesierimus erremus, tenentes appetentem viam, sed non etiam perducentem. Velut si hanc ipsam tenere vellemus, unde quiddam commemorasti, omnia peccata esse paria; nonne ab illa patria veritatis et beatitatis nos longe exsules mitteret?

CHAPTER IV.

12. But because you said that all laws seek it by different ways and paths, I fear lest perhaps, while you think that even that way in which you are now established tends thither, you may be more sluggish to hold that which alone leads thither. But again carefully attending to the word which you placed, I seem to myself not impudently to open your meaning: for you did not say, which all laws by different ways and paths "attain," or "show," or "find," or "enter," or "obtain," or anything of the sort, but by saying "seek" (appetunt), with a balanced and weighed word, you did not signify attainment, but the desire of acquiring. Thus you neither excluded that which is true, nor admitted others which are false; for that indeed seeks which leads thither, but not every one which seeks this leads thither; whither whoever is led is without any doubt blessed. But we all wish to be blessed, that is, we seek it, yet not all of us who wish are able, that is, we do not all obtain what we seek. He therefore obtains who holds the way not only by which he seeks it, but by which he also arrives, leaving others in the journeys of seeking without end of obtaining. Since there would neither be error if nothing were sought, nor if the sought truth were held. But if you called the ways "different" in such a way that we do not understand them as "contrary," just as we say different precepts, all of which yet build a good life—some concerning chastity, others concerning patience, others concerning faith, others concerning mercy, and if there are any others—not only is that fatherland sought by ways and paths so different, but it is even found. For in the Holy Scriptures both "ways" are read, and "a way": ways, as in that: "I will teach the unjust your ways, and the impious shall be converted to you" (Psal. L, 15); a way, as in that: "Lead me in your way, and I will walk in your truth" (Psal. LXXXV, 11). Not those "others," and this "other"; but all are one, concerning which in another place the same Holy Scripture says: "All the ways of the Lord are mercy and truth" (Psal. XXIV, 10): which, if they are carefully considered, produce a copious discourse and a most sweet understanding; which if it should be necessary, I will defer to another time.

13. But now, which I think to be enough for the undertaken office of writing back to your Excellence, since Christ said: "I am the way" (John XIV, 6), in Him mercy and truth are to be sought; lest if we seek elsewhere we should err, holding a seeking way, but not also a leading one. As if we wished to hold this very one, whence you mentioned something, that all sins are equal; would it not send us far away as exiles from that fatherland of truth and beatitude?

Quid enim absurdius, quid insanius dici potest, quam ut ille qui aliquanto immoderatius riserit, et ille qui patriam truculentius incenderit, peccasse judicentur aequaliter? Quam quidem tu ex quorumdam philosophorum opinione non diversam viam, quae tamen ducat ad coelestem habitationem, sed plane perversam, quae ducit ad perniciosissimum errorem, non pro tuo sensu, sed pro causa civium tuorum adhibendam putasti; ut sic ignoscamus eis quorum saevientium ignibus arsit Ecclesia, quemadmodum ignosceremus, si ab eis aliquo petulanti convicio appeteremur.

14. Sed quemadmodum id adstruxeris vide: Et si ut quibusdam, inquis, philosophis placet, omnia peccata paria sunt, indulgentia omnibus debet esse communis. Deinde cum quasi moliris ostendere omnia paria esse peccata, subjungis et dicis: Petulantius locutus est aliquis, peccavit; convicia aut crimina ingessit, aeque peccavit. Hoc non est docere, sed id quod perverse sentitur, sine ulla documentorum a tructione proponere. Ad hoc enim quod dicis, aeque peccavit, cito respondetur, non aeque peccavit. Exigis fortassis ut probem: quid enim tu quod aeque peccaverit, jam probasti? An illud quod jungis audiendum est? Aliena quisque diripuit, inter delicta numeratur. Hic etiam tu ipse verecundatus es: puduit enim te dicere quod peccavit aequaliter; sed, inter delicta, inquis, numeratur. Non autem ibi quaestio est utrum et hoc inter delicta numeretur, sed utrum hoc illi delicto aequalitate jungatur. Aut si propterea sunt paria, quia utraque delicta sunt, mures et elephanti pares erunt, quia utraque sunt animalia; muscae et aquilae, quia utraque volatilia.

15. Adhuc etiam progrederis et conjectas: Loca profana sacraque violavit, non est ab indulgentia secernendus. Hic sane de violatis sacris locis ad facinus tuorum civium pervenisti: verum locutioni petulanti, nec tu ipse coaequasti; tantummodo eis petisti indulgentiam, quae recte petitur a Christianis propter abundantem miserationem, non propter peccatorum parilitatem. Ego autem supra posui scriptum in Litteris nostris: Universae viae Domini misericordia et veritas (Psal. XXIV, 10). Consequentur itaque misericordiam, si non oderint veritatem. Quae non quasi aeque peccantibus, ac si petulantius locuti sint; sed de scelere immanissimo atque impio recte poenitentibus christiano jure debetur. Tu vero, vir merito laudabilis, ne quaeso ista paradoxa Stoicorum sectanda doceas Paradoxum tuum, quem tibi optamus vera pietate ac felicitate grandescere. Nam quid generosus adolescens sapere iniquius, et tibi ipsi periculosius potest, quam si convicio in quemlibet extraneum jaculato, non dico parricidium, sed ipsum in patrem convicium coaequaverit?

For what more absurd, what more insane thing can be said, than that he who laughed somewhat immoderately, and he who more truculently burned his fatherland, should be judged to have sinned equally? Which indeed you thought fit to be applied from the opinion of certain philosophers, not as a different way which yet leads to the heavenly habitation, but as a plainly perverse one which leads to most pernicious error, not according to your own sense, but for the cause of your citizens; so that we might so pardon those by whose raging fires the Church burned, as we would pardon if we were attacked by them with some petulant insult.

14. But see how you have built that up: "And if," you say, "as pleases certain philosophers, all sins are equal, indulgence ought to be common to all." Then, as you strive as it were to show all sins to be equal, you subjoin and say: "Someone spoke too petulantly, he sinned; he heaped on insults or crimes, he sinned equally." This is not to teach, but to propose that which is perversely felt, without any structure of documents. For to this which you say, "he sinned equally," it is quickly answered: he did not sin equally. You perhaps demand that I prove it: for what have you already proved, that he sinned equally? Or is that to be heard which you join? "Each plundered another's goods, it is numbered among delicts." Here even you yourself were ashamed: for it shamed you to say that he sinned equally; but "it is numbered," you say, "among delicts." But the question there is not whether this also is numbered among delicts, but whether this is joined to that delict in equality. Or if they are equal for this reason, because both are delicts, mice and elephants will be equal because both are animals; flies and eagles, because both are winged things.

15. You still even go further and conjecture: "He violated profane and sacred places, he is not to be separated from indulgence." Here indeed you have come to the deed of your citizens concerning violated sacred places: but you did not even yourself equate it to petulant speech; you only asked for them indulgence, which is rightly asked from Christians because of abundant commiseration, not because of the equality of sins. But I placed above what is written in our Letters: "All the ways of the Lord are mercy and truth" (Psal. XXIV, 10). They will therefore follow mercy if they do not hate truth. Which is due by Christian right not as to those sinning equally as if they spoke too petulantly, but to those rightly repenting of a most monstrous and impious crime. But you, O man deservedly praiseworthy, I pray do not teach those paradoxes of the Stoics to be followed by your Paradoxus, whom we desire for you to grow great in true piety and happiness. For what can a noble youth know more unjustly, and more dangerously to yourself, than if, an insult having been hurled at any stranger, he should equate—I do not say parricide—but that very insult against his father?

16. Convenienter itaque apud nos pro civibus tuis agis, ingerendo nobis misericordiam Christianorum, non duritiam Stoicorum: quae causae a te susceptae, non modo nihil suffragatur, verum etiam multum adversatur. Nam ipsam misericordiam, quam si non habeamus, nulla tua petitione, nullis illorum precibus flecti poterimus, in vitio Stoici ponunt, eamque a sapientis animo penitus expellunt, quem prorsus ferreum et inflexibilem volunt. Melius itaque tibi occurreret de tuo Cicerone quod diceres, qui Caesarem laudans: Nulla, inquit, de virtutibus tuis admirabilior, vel gratior misericordia est (Orat. pro Q. Ligario). Quanto magis debet ea in Ecclesiis praevalere, quando eum sequuntur qui dixit, Ego sum via (Joan. XIV, 6); et legunt, Universae viae Domini misericordia et veritas. Noli ergo metuere innocentibus ne moliamur exitium, qui nec nocentes volumus ad dignum supplicium pervenire; prohibente nos illa misericordia quam in Christo cum veritate diligimus. Sed qui vitiis nutriendis parcit et fovet, ne contristet peccantium voluntatem, tam non est misericors quam qui non vult cultrum rapere puero, ne audiat plorantem, et non timet ne vulneratum doleat vel exstinctum. Serva ergo tempori opportuno quod apud nos agas, pro his hominibus, in quorum dilectione (da veniam) non solum nos minime praecedis, sed nec adhuc sequeris; et rescribe potius quid te de hac via moveat quam tenemus, et in qua nobiscum ad supernam patriam, qua te delectari novimus et gaudemus, ut gradiaris instamus.

17. Cives autem carnalis patriae tuae, etsi non omnes, sed quosdam innocentes quidem dixisti; verumtamen, quod relecta illa epistola mea debes advertere, non defendisti. Quorum non flores, sed spinas nos sensisse cum dicerem, respondens ad illud quod scripseras, florentem te cupere patriam relinquere, jocari me putasti. Hoc scilicet in malis tantis libeat! ita est prorsus. Fumant adhuc ruinae incensae ecclesiae, et in ea causa nos jocamur! Et ego quidem quamvis innocentes illic mihi non occurrerent, nisi qui aut absentes fuerunt, aut mala illa perpessi sunt, aut nullis ad prohibendum viribus vel auctori ate valuerunt, tamen nocentiores a minus nocentibus in rescribendo distinxi, aliamque causam posui eorum qui timuerunt offendere potentes inimicos Ecclesiae, aliam eorum qui hoc committi voluerunt: aliam corum qui commiserunt, aliam eorum qui immiserunt; nihil agi de immissoribus volens, quia hoc sine tormentis corporalibus a proposito nostro abhorrentibus fortasse non potest inveniri.

16. Fitly therefore you act with us for your citizens, by bringing before us the mercy of Christians, not the hardness of Stoics: which not only supports nothing of the cause undertaken by you, but even opposes it much. For the Stoics place mercy itself—which if we have not, we can be bent by no petition of yours, by no prayers of theirs—among vices, and they expel it utterly from the mind of the wise man, whom they want to be altogether of iron and inflexible. Better therefore would it occur to you from your Cicero what you might say, who, praising Caesar, says: "None of your virtues is more admirable or more pleasing than mercy" (Orat. pro Q. Ligario). How much more ought it to prevail in the Churches, when they follow Him who said: "I am the way" (John XIV, 6); and they read: "All the ways of the Lord are mercy and truth." Do not therefore fear for the innocent that we may plot destruction, who do not even wish the guilty to arrive at worthy punishment; that mercy prohibiting us which we love in Christ along with truth. But he who spares and fosters the nourishing of vices, lest he sadden the will of those sinning, is as much not merciful as he who does not want to snatch a knife from a boy, lest he hear him crying, and does not fear lest he grieve for him wounded or dead. Keep therefore for an opportune time what you may do with us for these men, in the love of whom (pardon me) you not only do not at all precede us, but you do not even yet follow; and write back rather what moves you concerning this way which we hold, and in which we insist that you should walk with us toward the supernal fatherland, with which we know and rejoice that you are delighted.

17. But as for the citizens of your carnal fatherland, although you said not all, but some indeed were innocent; nevertheless, which you ought to observe having reread that letter of mine, you did not defend them. When I said that we felt not the flowers, but the thorns of those men, responding to that which you had written, that you desire to leave a flourishing fatherland, you thought I was joking. As if it would be pleasing to joke in such great evils! It is exactly so. The ruins of the burned church are still smoking, and in that cause we joke! And indeed, although the innocent there did not occur to me, except those who either were absent, or suffered those evils, or were able by no strengths or authority to prohibit them, nevertheless I distinguished the more guilty from the less guilty in writing back, and I placed one cause for those who feared to offend the powerful enemies of the Church, another for those who willed this to be committed: another for those who committed it, another for those who instigated it; wishing nothing to be done concerning the instigators, because this perhaps cannot be found out without corporal tortures abhorrent to our purpose.

Stoici autem tui omnes aequaliter nocentes esse concedunt, quibus placet omnia paria esse peccata; qui etiam duritiam suam qua misericordiam vituperant, huic sententiae sociantes, nullo modo censent omnibus pariter ignoscendum, sed omnes pariter esse puniendos. Remove ergo illos quam longissime potes a patrocinio causae istius, et opta potius ut tanquam christiani agamus, ut, sicut optamus, nos in Christo eos quibus parcimus, acquiramus, ne perniciosa illis dissolutione parcamus. Deus misericordiosus et verax et felicitate vera donare dignetur.

EPISTOLA CV . Donatistas ad unitatem exhortans, ostendit leges juste necessarioque in eos latas fuisse ab imperatoribus catholicis. Baptismi sanctitatem ex divini muneris gratia, non ex ministri hominis meritis pendere probat. Deinde catholicam Ecclesiam in sacris Scripturis agnosci: ac demum repertos in ea malos tolerari oportere.

AUGUSTINUS episcopus catholicus, Donatistis.

CAPUT PRIMUM.

1 Charitas Christi, cui omnem hominem, quantum ad nostram pertinet voluntatem, lucrari volumus, tacere nobis non permittit. Si propterea nos odistis, quia pacem vobis catholicam praedicamus, nos Domino servimus dicenti, Beati pacifici, quoniam ipsi filii Dei vocabuntur (Matth. V, 9); et in Psalmo scriptum est: Cum iis qui oderunt pacem, eram pacificus; cum loquebar eis, debellabant me gratis (Psal. CXIX, 7). Propterea mandaverunt nobis quidam presbyteri partis vestrae, dicentes: Recedite a plebibus nostris, si non vultis ut interficiamus vos. Quanto justius eis nos dicimus: Imo vos non recedite, sed accedite pacati ad plebes non nostras, sed illius cujus omnes sumus; aut si non vultis et impacati estis, vos potius recedite a plebibus, pro quibus Christus suum sanguinem fudit: quas ideo vultis vestras facere ne Christi sint, quamvis eas sub ejus nomine possidere conemini; tanquam si servus furetur oves de grege domini sui, et quaecumque ex illis nata fuerint, characterem domini sui eis infigat, ne furtum ejus possit agnosci. Sic enim fecerunt majores vestri; separaverunt ab Ecclesia Christi populos habentes baptismum Christi, et quicumque illis accreverunt, baptismo Christi eos baptizaverunt . Sed Dominus et fieres punit, si non se correxerint, et oves ab errore revocat ad gregem, nec in eis suum exterminat characterem.

But your Stoics concede all to be equally guilty, to whom it pleases that all sins are equal; who also, joining to this sentence their hardness by which they vituperate mercy, in no way judge that all are to be pardoned alike, but that all are to be punished alike. Remove them therefore as far as you can from the patronage of this cause, and desire rather that we should act as Christians, so that, as we desire, we may acquire in Christ those whom we spare, lest we spare them with a pernicious dissolution. May the merciful and true God deign to gift you with true happiness.

EPISTLE CV. Exhorting the Donatists to unity, he shows that laws were justly and necessarily passed against them by the Catholic emperors. He proves that the sanctity of baptism depends on the grace of the divine gift, not on the merits of the human minister. Then that the Catholic Church is to be acknowledged in the sacred Scriptures: and finally that the evil found in it ought to be tolerated.

AUGUSTINE, Catholic bishop, to the Donatists.

CHAPTER ONE.

1. The charity of Christ, for whom we wish to gain every man as much as pertains to our will, does not permit us to be silent. If you hate us for this reason, because we preach Catholic peace to you, we serve the Lord who says: "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the sons of God" (Matt. V, 9); and it is written in the Psalm: "With those who hated peace, I was peaceful; when I spoke to them, they fought against me without cause" (Psal. CXIX, 7). For this reason certain presbyters of your party sent word to us, saying: "Depart from our peoples, if you do not want us to kill you." How much more justly we say to them: Nay, do you not depart, but come near peacefully to the peoples not ours, but His whose we all are; or if you do not want to and are unpeaceful, do you rather depart from the peoples for whom Christ shed His blood: whom you therefore wish to make yours lest they be Christ's, although you attempt to possess them under His name; just as if a servant should steal sheep from the flock of his lord, and whatever should be born from them, he should fix upon them the character of his lord, lest his theft could be recognized. For so your elders did; they separated from the Church of Christ peoples having the baptism of Christ, and whoever were added to them, they baptized them with the baptism of Christ. But the Lord both punishes the thieves, if they have not corrected themselves, and recalls the sheep from error to the flock, nor does He exterminate His character in them.

2. Dicitis nos traditores; quod nec majores vestri in majores nostros potuerunt, nec vos in nos probare ullo modo poteritis. Quid vobis vultis faciamus, qui quando vobis dicimus ut causam nostram et vestram patienter audiatis, non nostis nisi superbire et insanire? Nam utique ostenderemus vobis, quia potius illi traditores fuerunt, qui Caecilianum et socios ejus quasi traditionis crimine damnaverunt. Et dicitis, recedite a plebibus nostris; quas docetis ut vobis credant, et Christo non credant. Vos enim eis dicitis, propter traditores, quos non ostenditis, remansisse Ecclesiam Christi in sola Africa partis Donati: quod non de Lege, non de Propheta, non de Psalmo, non de Apostolo, non de Evangelio, sed de corde vestro, et de parentum vestrorum calumniis recitatis. Christus autem dicit praedicari in nomine suo poenitentiam et remissionem peccatorum, per omnes gentes incipientibus ab Jerusalem (Luc. XXIV, 47): cui Ecclesiae ex ore Christi manifestatae vos non communicatis, et alios in vestram perditionem trahentes, liberari non vultis.

CAPUT II.

3. Si autem ideo vobis displicemus, quia per Imperatorum jussiones ad unitatem cogimini, hoc vos fecistis, qui ubicumque vellemus praedicare veritatem, ut eam quisque secunus audiret et volens eligeret, nunquam permisistis per violentias et terrores vestros. Nolite stridere, et perturbare animas vestras; patienter, si fieri potest, considerate quod dicimus, et recolite facta Circumcellionum vestrorum, et clericorum qui duces eorum semper fuerunt, et videbitis quae causa vobis hoc excitaverit. Unde injuste querimini, quia vobis omnia ista ut juberentur coegistis. Nam ut longe praeterita et multa non repetamus, saltem recentia facta vestra cogitate. Marcus presbyter Casphalianensis a nemine coactus, propria voluntate catholicus factus est. Quare illum vestri persecuti sunt, et pene occidissent, nisi Dei manus per homines supervenientes violentias eorum compressisset. Restitutus Victorianensis ad catholicam nullo cogente se transtulit. Quare raptus est de domo sua, caesus, in aqua volutatus, buda vestitus, et nescio quot dies in captivitate retentus est, nec libertati proprie fortasse restitutus esset, nisi jam pene propter ipsam causam Proculeianus sibi exhibitionem videret imminere. Marcianus Urgensis catholicam unitatem propria voluntate delegit. Quare subdiaconum ejus, cum ipse fugisset, prope usque ad mortem caesum, clerici vestri lapidibus obruerunt, quorum domus pro suo scelere eversae sunt.

2. You call us traditors; which neither could your elders prove against our elders, nor will you be able to prove in any way against us. What do you want us to do for you, who, when we tell you to hear our cause and yours patiently, know only how to be proud and to be insane? For we would certainly show you that those were rather traditors who condemned Caecilian and his associates as if for the crime of tradition. And you say, "Depart from our peoples"; whom you teach so that they may believe you, and not believe Christ. For you say to them that because of traditors, whom you do not show, the Church of Christ remained only in Africa, in the party of Donatus: which you recite not from the Law, not from the Prophet, not from the Psalm, not from the Apostle, not from the Gospel, but from your heart and from the slanders of your parents. But Christ says that "repentance and remission of sins should be preached in His name through all nations, beginning from Jerusalem" (Luke XXIV, 47): with which Church, manifested from the mouth of Christ, you do not communicate, and drawing others into your perdition, you do not wish to be set free.

CHAPTER II.

3. But if we are displeasing to you for this reason, because you are compelled to unity by the commands of the Emperors, you yourselves have done this, who never permitted us to preach the truth wherever we wished, so that each one might hear it securely and choose it willingly, because of your violences and terrors. Do not gnash your teeth and disturb your souls; patiently, if it can be done, consider what we say, and recall the deeds of your Circumcellions and of the clerics who have always been their leaders, and you will see what cause has excited this against you. Whence you complain unjustly, because you compelled all these things to be ordered against you. For, not to repeat things long past and many, at least think of your recent deeds. Marcus, a presbyter of Casphaliana, compelled by no one, became a Catholic of his own will. Why did your people persecute him, and would have almost killed him, unless the hand of God, through men coming upon them, had suppressed their violences? Restitutus of Victoria transferred himself to the Catholic Church with no one compelling him. Why was he snatched from his house, beaten, rolled in the water, clothed in a rush mat (buda), and kept in captivity I know not how many days, and perhaps would not have been restored to his own liberty, unless Proculeianus already saw the exhibition of himself to be imminent for that very cause? Marcianus of Urga chose Catholic unity of his own will. Why did your clerics overwhelm his subdeacon with stones, when he himself had fled, beaten almost to death, whose houses were overturned for their crime?

4. Quid amplius dicamus? Modo praeconem misistis, qui clamaret Siniti, Quisquis Maximino communicaverit, incendetur domus ejus: qui antequam ipse ad Catholicam conversus esset, et nondum de transmarinis remeasset, ad quid aliud presbyterum Siniti miseramus, nisi ut nulli molestus nostros visitaret, et in domo juris sui positus, pacem catholicam volentibus praedicaret? quem vos inde cum gravi injuria projecistis. Quid aliud agebamus, quando unus nostrum Calamensis episcopus Possidius ibat ad fundum Figulinensem , nisi ut nostri, quamvis pauci qui illic erant, visitarentur, et audito verbo Dei ad unitatem Christi qui vellent converterentur? Cui ambulanti viam suam, latronum more insidiati sunt, et quia in eorum insidias cadere non potuit, eum aperta violentia in fundo Livetensi pene vivum cum domo quo fugerat, incenderant, nisi tertio suppositas flammas coloni ejusdem fundi propter periculum suae salutis exstinguerent: et tamen cum Crispinus propter hoc factum in proconsulari judicio convinceretur haereticus, ejusdem episcopi Possidii intercessu decem libras auri non est exactus. Cui benevolentiae et mansuetudini ingratus, ad imperatores catholicos ausus est appellare. Unde hanc in vos iram Dei, de qua murmuratis, multo importunius et vehementius provocavit.

5. Videtis quia vos contra pacem Christi violenter insurgitis, et patimini non pro ipso, sed pro iniquitatibus vestris. Quae est ista dementia, ut cum male vivitis, latronum facta faciatis; et cum jure punimini, gloriam martyrum requiratis? Si ergo vos privata vestra audacia tam violenter cogitis homines aut ire in errorem, aut permanere in errore; quanto magis nos debemus per ordinatissimas potestates, quas Deus secundum suam prophetiam subdidit Christo, resistere furoribus vestris, ut miserae animae de vestra dominatione liberatae, eruantur de vetustissima falsitate, et assuescant in apertissima veritate? Nam quod a nobis nolentes dicitis cogi, multi etiam se cogi volunt; quod nobis antea et postea confitentur, ut vel sic evadant oppressiones vestras.

6. Et tamen quid est melius, proferre veras Imperatorum jussiones pro unitate, an falsas indulgentias pro perversitate: quod vos fecistis, et mendacio vestro subito totam Africam implestis? In quo facto nihil aliud ostendistis, nisi partem Donati semper de mendacio praesumentem, omni vento jactari et circumferri, sicut scriptum est, Qui fidit in falsis, hic pascit ventos (Prov. X, 4).

4. What more shall we say? Just now you sent a herald to cry out at Sinitus: "Whoever shall communicate with Maximinus, his house shall be burned"; who, before he himself had been converted to the Catholic Church, and had not yet returned from across the sea, for what other reason had we sent a presbyter to Sinitus, except that, being troublesome to no one, he might visit our people and, placed in a house of his own right, might preach Catholic peace to those who wished? Whom you then cast out from there with grave injury. What else were we doing when one of us, Possidius, Bishop of Calama, was going to the Figuline estate, except that our people, although they were few who were there, might be visited, and after hearing the word of God, those who wished might be converted to the unity of Christ? For whom, as he was walking on his way, they laid in wait in the manner of robbers, and because he could not fall into their snares, they had almost burned him alive with open violence in the Livetensian estate together with the house to which he had fled, unless the colonists of the same estate, because of the danger to their own safety, had extinguished the flames applied a third time: and yet when Crispinus, because of this deed, was convicted as a heretic in the proconsular judgment, by the intercession of the same Bishop Possidius he was not exacted ten pounds of gold. Ungrateful for which benevolence and mildness, he dared to appeal to the Catholic Emperors. Whence he provoked this wrath of God against you, about which you murmur, much more importunately and vehemently.

5. You see that you rise up violently against the peace of Christ, and you suffer not for Him, but for your iniquities. What madness is this, that when you live evilly, you do the deeds of robbers; and when you are punished justly, you seek the glory of martyrs? If, therefore, you by your private audacity so violently compel men either to go into error or to remain in error; how much more ought we, through the most orderly powers, which God has subjected to Christ according to His prophecy, to resist your furies, so that wretched souls, delivered from your domination, may be rescued from ancient falsehood and become accustomed to the most open truth? For as to what you say, that you are compelled by us unwillingly, many even wish to be compelled; which they confess to us before and after, so that even thus they may escape your oppressions.

6. And yet what is better, to bring forward the true commands of the Emperors for unity, or false indulgences for perversity: which you have done, and with your lie you suddenly filled all Africa? In which deed you showed nothing else except that the party of Donatus, always presuming on a lie, is tossed about and carried around by every wind, as it is written: "He who trusts in falsehoods, he feeds the winds" (Prov. X, 4).

Sicut enim vera fuit ista indulgentia, sic vera sunt crimina Caeciliani, et traditio Felicis Aptungensis, per quem ordinatus est, et quidquid aliud contra catholicos dicere consuevistis, ut a pace Ecclesiae Christi infelices separetis, et infeliciter separemini. De nulla quidem nos hominis potestate praesumimus, quamvis utique multo sit honestius praesumere de Imperatoribus quam praesumere de Circumcellionibus, praesumere de legibus quam praesumere de seditionibus. Sed meminimus scriptum esse: Maledictus omnis qui spem suam ponit in homine (Jer. XVII, 5). Unde ergo praesumimus, si vultis nosse, illum cogitate de quo propheta praenuatiavit, dicens: Adorabunt eum omnes reges terrae, et omnes gentes servient illi (Psal. LXXI, 11). Et ideo hac Ecclesiae potestate utimur, quam ei Dominus et promisit et dedit.

7. Imperatores enim si in errore essent, quod absit, pro errore suo contra veritatem leges darent, per quas justi et probarentur et coronarentur, non faciendo quod illi juberent, quia Deus prohiberet. Sicut jusserat Nabuchodonosor ut aurea statua adoraretur; quod qui facere noluerunt, Deo talia prohibenti placuerunt. Quando autem Imperatores veritatem tenent, pro ipsa veritate contra errorem jubent, quod quisquis contempserit, ipse sibi judicium acquirit. Nam et inter homines poenas luit, et apud Deum frontem non habebit, qui hoc facere noluit, quod ei per cor regis ipsa veritas jussit. Sicut ipse Nabuchodonosor postea miraculo salutis trium puerorum commotus atque mutatus, pro veritate contra errorem edictum proposuit, ut quicumque blasphemarent Deum Sidrach, Misach et Abdenago, in interitum irent, et domus eorum in dispersionem(Dan. III, 96): et non vultis ut tale aliquid contra vos jubeant imperatores Christiani, cum sciant a vobis, in eis quos rebaptizatis, Christum exsufflari? Si jussiones regum non pertinent ad praedicandam religionem et sacrilegia prohibenda, quare ad edietum regis talia jubentis etiam ipsi vos signatis? An ignoratis verba regis esse : Signa et ostenta quae fecit mihi Dominus Deus excelsus, placuit mihi in conspectu meo annuntiare, quam magnum et potens sit regnum ejus, regnum sempiternum et potestas ejus in saecula saeculorum (Dan. III, 99, 100)? An cum hoc audieritis, non respondetis, Amen; et hoc dicto clara voce ad edictum regis, vos in sancta solemnitate signatis ? Sed modo quia nihil apud Imperatores potestis, nobis inde vultis facere invidiam. Si autem aliquid possetis, quanta faceretis; quando nihil potestis, et non cessatis!

For just as that indulgence was true, so are the crimes of Caecilian true, and the tradition of Felix of Aptunga, by whom he was ordained, and whatever else you have been accustomed to say against the Catholics, so that you may separate unhappy people from the peace of the Church of Christ, and you yourselves be unhappily separated. Indeed, we presume upon no power of man, although certainly it is much more honorable to presume upon Emperors than to presume upon Circumcellions, to presume upon laws than to presume upon seditions. But we remember it is written: "Cursed is everyone who puts his hope in man" (Jer. XVII, 5). Whence, therefore, do we presume, if you wish to know? Think of Him about whom the prophet foreannounced, saying: "All the kings of the earth shall adore Him, and all nations shall serve Him" (Psal. LXXI, 11). And therefore we use this power of the Church, which the Lord both promised and gave to her.

7. For if the Emperors were in error, which God forbid, they would give laws for their error against the truth, through which the just would be both proved and crowned, by not doing what they commanded, because God would prohibit it. Just as Nebuchadnezzar had commanded that the golden statue be adored; those who were unwilling to do this pleased God, who prohibited such things. But when the Emperors hold the truth, they command for the truth itself against error, and whoever shall have contemned this, procures judgment for himself. For he both pays penalties among men, and before God he will have no face, who was unwilling to do this which the truth itself commanded him through the heart of the king. Just as Nebuchadnezzar himself, afterwards moved and changed by the miracle of the safety of the three children, proposed an edict for the truth against error, that whoever should blaspheme the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, should go to destruction, and their houses to dispersion (Dan. III, 96): and you do not wish that the Christian Emperors should command something such against you, when they know that by you, in those whom you rebaptize, Christ is exsufflated (exsufflari)? If the commands of kings do not pertain to preaching religion and prohibiting sacrileges, why do you yourselves also sign at the edict of a king commanding such things? Or are you ignorant that these are the words of the king: "The signs and wonders which the Lord God most high has done for me, it has pleased me to announce in my sight, how great and powerful is His kingdom, an everlasting kingdom and His power from generation to generation" (Dan. III, 99, 100)? Or when you have heard this, do you not answer, "Amen"; and with this said in a clear voice at the edict of the king, do you sign yourselves in the holy solemnity? But now, because you can do nothing with the Emperors, you wish to make us an object of envy for it. But if you were able to do anything, how much would you do; when you can do nothing, and you do not cease!

8. Scitote quod primi majores vestri causam Caeciliani ad imperatorem Constantinum detulerunt. Exigite hoc a nobis, probemus vobis; et si non probaverimus, facite de nobis quidquid potueritis. Sed quia Constantinus non est ausus de causa episcopi judicare, eam discutiendam atque finiendam episcopis delegavit. Quod et factum est in urbe Roma praesidente Melchiade episcopo illius Ecclesiae cum multis collegis suis. Qui cum Caecilianum innocentem pronuntiassent, et Donatum qui schisma Carthagini fecerat, sententia percussissent, iterum vestri ad Imperatorem venerunt, de judicio episcoporum, in quo victi fuerant, murmurarunt. Quomodo enim potest malus litigator laudare judices, quibus judicantibus victus est? Iterum tamen clementissimus Imperator alios judices episcopos dedit apud Arelatum galliae civitatem, et ab ipsis vestri ad ipsum Imperatorem appellarunt, donec etiam ipse causam cognosceret, et Caecilianum innocentem, illos calumniosos pronuntiaret. Nec sic toties victi quieverunt, sed de Felice Aptungitano, per quem Caecilianus fuerat ordinatus, quotidianis interpellationibus ipsi Imperatori taedium fecerunt, dicentes eum esse traditorem: et ideo Caecilianum episcopum esse non posse, quod a traditore fuerit ordinatus; donec et ipse Felix jussu Imperatoris causa cognita ab Aeliano proconsule innocens probaretur.

9. Tunc Constantinus prior contra partem Donati severissimam legem dedit. Hunc imitati filii ejus, talia praeceperunt. Quibus succedens Julianus desertor Christi et inimicus, supplicantibus vestris Rogatiano et Pontio, libertatem perditionis parti Donati permisit: denique tunc reddidit basilicas haereticis, quando templa daemoniis, eo modo putans christianum nomen posse perire de terris, si unitati Ecclesiae de qua lapsus fuerat, invideret, et sacrilegas dissensiones liberas esse permitteret. Haec erat ejus praedicanda justitia, quam supplicantes Rogatianus et Pontius laudaverunt, dicentes homini apostatae, quod apud eum sola justitia haberet locum. Huic successit Jovianus , qui quoniam cito mortuus est, nihil de rebus talibus jussit. Deinde Valentinianus; legite quae contra vos jusserit. Inde Gratianus et Theodosius; legite quando vultis, quae de vobis constituerint. Quid ergo de filiis Theodosii miramini, quasi aliud in hac causa sequi debuerint, quam Constantini judicium per tot christianos imperatores firmissime custoditum?

8. Know that your first elders were the first to bring the cause of Caecilian to the Emperor Constantine. Demand this of us, let us prove it to you; and if we do not prove it, do to us whatever you can. But because Constantine did not dare to judge concerning the cause of a bishop, he delegated it to bishops to be discussed and finished. Which was also done in the city of Rome, with Miltiades, the bishop of that Church, presiding with many of his colleagues. When they had pronounced Caecilian innocent, and had struck Donatus, who had made a schism (schisma) at Carthage, with their sentence, your people came again to the Emperor, and murmured about the judgment of the bishops, in which they had been defeated. For how can a bad litigant praise the judges by whose judgment he was defeated? Nevertheless, the most clement Emperor again gave other bishop-judges at Arles, a city of Gaul, and from them your people appealed to the Emperor himself, until he himself also took cognizance of the cause, and pronounced Caecilian innocent, and those others calumnious. Nor did they, so many times defeated, rest, but by daily interpositions (interpellationibus) they caused weariness to the Emperor himself concerning Felix of Aptunga, by whom Caecilian had been ordained, saying that he was a traditor: and that therefore Caecilian could not be a bishop, because he had been ordained by a traditor; until also Felix himself, by the command of the Emperor, the cause having been heard, was proved innocent by the proconsul Aelianus.

9. Then Constantine was the first to give a most severe law against the party of Donatus. His sons, imitating him, commanded such things. Julian, the deserter of Christ and an enemy, succeeding them, permitted the liberty of perdition to the party of Donatus at the supplication of your Rogatianus and Pontius: finally he then restored the basilicas (basilicas) to the heretics when he restored the temples to the demons, thinking in that way the Christian name could perish from the earth, if he should envy the unity of the Church from which he had fallen, and should permit sacrilegious dissensions to be free. This was his to-be-proclaimed justice, which Rogatianus and Pontius suppliantly praised, saying to the apostate man, that "with him only justice had a place." Jovian succeeded him, who, because he died quickly, commanded nothing concerning such things. Then Valentinian; read what he commanded against you. Then Gratian and Theodosius; read whenever you wish what they established concerning you. Why, therefore, do you wonder at the sons of Theodosius, as if they ought to have followed anything else in this cause than the judgment of Constantine, most firmly guarded through so many Christian emperors?

10. Ad Constantinum autem, sicut diximus, sicut vobis quando vultis, si tamen ignoratis, ostendimus, majores vestri causam Caeciliani ultro detulerunt. Defunctus est Constantinus, sed judicium Constantini contra vos vivit, quo vestri causam miserunt, apud quem judices episcopos reprehenderunt, ad quem a judicibus episcopis appellaverunt, quem taediosissime de Felice Aptungitano interpellaverunt, a quo toties convicti et confusi redierunt, et a pernicie furoris et animositatis suae non recesserunt; eamque vobis posteris suis haereditariam reliquerunt, ut tam impudenter de jussionibus christianorum imperatorum faciatis invidiam, cum si vobis liceret, non quidem jam Constantinum christianum, quia veritati favit, contra nos interpellaretis, sed apostatam Julianum ab inferis excitaretis; quasi vero si aliquid tale contingeret, esset magnum malum nisi vobis. Quae est enim pejor mors animae, quam libertas erroris?

CAPUT III.

11. Sed jam tollamus ista omnia de medio; amemus pacem, quam omnis doctus et indoctus intelligit praeponendam esse discordiae, diligamus et teneamus unitatem. Hoc jubent imperatores, quod jubet et Christus; quia cum bonum jubent, per illos non jubet nisi Christus. Et nos etiam per Apostolum obsecrat, ut idipsum dicamus omnes, et non sint in nobis schismata, neque dicamus, Ego quidem sum Pauli, ego autem Apollo, ego vero Cephae, ego autem Christi; sed simul omnes non simus nisi Christi, quia nec divisus est Christus, nec Paulus crucifixus est pro nobis; quanto minus Donatus? nec in nomine Pauli baptizati sumus (I Cor. I, 10 13); quanto minus in Donati? Hoc dicunt et Imperatores, quia christiani catholici sunt, non idolorum servi, sicut vester Julianus; non haeretici, sicut quidam fuerunt et Ecclesiam catholicam persecuti sunt, quando veri christiani non pro haeretico errore poenas justissimas sicut vos, sed pro catholica veritate passiones gloriosissimas pertulerunt.

12. Attendite quam manifestissima veritate per cor regis, quod in manu Dei est, ipse Deus dixerit in ista ipsa lege quam contra vos prolatam dicitis; est autem, si intelligatis, prolata pro vobis.

10. To Constantine, however, as we have said, as we show you whenever you wish, if yet you are ignorant, your elders brought the cause of Caecilian of their own accord. Constantine is dead, but the judgment of Constantine lives against you, to whom your people sent the cause, before whom they reprehended the bishop-judges, to whom they appealed from the bishop-judges, whom they most wearisomely interposed concerning Felix of Aptunga, from whom they returned so many times convicted and confounded, and they did not depart from the perdition of their fury and animosity; and they left it as a hereditary thing to you, their successors, so that you so impudently make an object of envy of the commands of Christian emperors, when if it were permitted to you, you would not indeed interpose Constantine the Christian against us, because he favored the truth, but you would excite the apostate Julian from the lower regions; as if truly if something such happened, it would be a great evil except for you. For what is a worse death of the soul than the liberty of error?

CHAPTER III.

11. But now let us take all these things from the midst; let us love peace, which every learned and unlearned man understands is to be preferred to discord, let us love and hold fast to unity. The Emperors command this, which Christ also commands; because when they command what is good, no one commands through them except Christ. And He also beseeches us through the Apostle, that we all speak the same thing, and that there be no schisms (schismata) among us, nor that we say, "I indeed am of Paul, but I of Apollos, but I of Cephas, but I of Christ"; but that together we all be nothing but of Christ, because neither is Christ divided, nor was Paul crucified for us; how much less Donatus? nor were we baptized in the name of Paul (I Cor. I, 10-13); how much less in that of Donatus? The Emperors also say this, because they are Catholic Christians, not servants of idols like your Julian; not heretics, as some have been and have persecuted the Catholic Church, when true Christians did not bear most just penalties for heretical error as you do, but most glorious passions for Catholic truth.

12. Attend to how with the most manifest truth through the heart of the king, which is in the hand of God, God Himself has spoken in that very law which you say was brought forth against you; but it is, if you understand, brought forth for you.

Attendite quid habeant verba principis: Nam si in eis qui primo initiati sunt, idcirco religio Baptismatis judicatur infirma, quod ii a quibus accipitur peccatores putentur, toties renovari necesse erit traditum Sacramentum, quoties indignus fuerit inventus collati Baptismatis administrator, et fides nostra non ex nostrae voluntatis arbitrio, neque ex divini muneris gratia, sed ex meritis sacerdotum et clericorum qualitate pendebit . Faciant mille concilia episcopi vestri, huic uni sententiae respondeant, et ad quod volueritis consentimus vobis. Videte enim quam perverse et impie dicatur, quod dicere soletis, quia si bonus sit homo, ipse sanctificat eum quem baptizat; si autem malus sit, et nesciat ille qui baptizatur, tunc Deus sanctificat. Hoc si verum est, optare ergo debent homines, ut a malis ignoratis baptizentur, potius quam a notis bonis, ut magis a Deo quam ab homine possint sanctificari: sed absit a nobis ista dementia. Quare ergo non verum dicimus, et recte sapimus, quia semper Dei est illa gratia et Dei Sacramentum, hominis autem solum ministerium; qui si bonus est, adhaeret Deo, et operatur cum Deo; si autem malus est, operatur per illum Deus visibilem Sacramenti formam, ipse autem donat invisibilem gratiam. Hoc sapiamus omnes, et non sint in nobis schismata.

CAPUT IV.

13. Concordate nobiscum, fratres; diligimus vos, hoc vobis volumus quod et nobis. Si propterea nos gravius odistis, quia errare vos et perire non permittimus, hoc Deo dicite, quem timemus minantem malis pastoribus, et dicentem: Quod erraverat, non revocastis, et quod perierat, non inquisistis (Ezech. XXXIV, 4). Hoc vobis per nos Deus ipse facit, sive obsecrando, sive minando, sive corripiendo, sive damnis, sive laboribus, sive per suas occultas admonitiones vel visitationes, sive per potestatum temporalium leges. Intelligite quid vobiscum agatur; perire vos non vult Deus in sacrilega discordia alienatos a matre vestra Catholica. Nihil in nos aliquando probare potuistis; vestri episcopi conventi a nobis, nunquam nobiscum pacifice conferre voluerunt, quasi fugientes cum peccatoribus loqui. Quis ferat istam superbiam? quasi Paulus apostolus non contulerit cum peccatoribus et cum valde sacrilegis: legite Actus Apostolorum, et videte. Quasi ipse Dominus non cum Judaeis, a quibus crucifixus est, sermones de Lege habuerit, eisque congruenter responderit. Postremo diabolus est primus omnium peccatorum, qui converti ad justitiam nunquam poterit, et tamen nec ipse Dominus de Lege dedignatus est ei respondere; ut intelligatis istos ideo nobiscum nolle conferre, quia causam suam perditam norunt.

Attend to what the words of the prince have: "For if in those who were first initiated, the religion of Baptism is for that reason judged weak, because those from whom it is received are thought to be sinners, it will be necessary that the delivered Sacrament (Sacramentum) be renewed as often as the administrator of the conferred Baptism shall have been found unworthy, and our faith will depend not from the choice of our will, nor from the grace of the divine gift, but from the merits of the priests and the quality of the clerics." Let your bishops make a thousand councils, let them answer this one sentence, and we will consent to you in what you wish. For see how perversely and impiously it is said, what you are accustomed to say, that if a man be good, he himself sanctifies him whom he baptizes; but if he be evil, and he who is baptized does not know it, then God sanctifies. If this is true, then men ought to wish to be baptized by evil men who are unknown, rather than by known good men, so that they might be able to be sanctified by God rather than by man: but let this madness be far from us. Why then do we not speak the truth and be rightly wise, that that grace is always of God and the Sacrament is of God, but the ministry only of man; who if he is good, adheres to God and works with God; but if he is evil, God works through him the visible form (formam) of the Sacrament, but He Himself gives the invisible grace. Let us all be wise in this, and let there be no schisms among us.

CHAPTER IV.

13. Agree with us, brothers; we love you, we wish for you this which we wish for ourselves. If you hate us more severely for this reason, because we do not permit you to err and to perish, say this to God, whom we fear when He threatens evil shepherds and says: "That which had erred, you did not recall, and that which had perished, you did not seek" (Ezek. XXXIV, 4). This God Himself does to you through us, whether by beseeching, or by threatening, or by correcting, or by losses, or by labors, or by His own hidden admonitions or visitations, or by the laws of temporal powers. Understand what is being done with you; God does not wish you to perish in sacrilegious discord, alienated from your Catholic mother. You have never been able to prove anything against us; your bishops, when called together by us, never wished to confer peacefully with us, as if fleeing from speaking with sinners. Who could bear that pride? As if the Apostle Paul did not confer with sinners and with those who were very sacrilegious: read the Acts of the Apostles and see. As if the Lord Himself did not have discourses concerning the Law with the Jews by whom He was crucified, and answered them congruently. Finally, the devil is the first of all sinners, who can never be converted to justice, and yet not even the Lord Himself disdained to answer him from the Law; so that you may understand that these men do not wish to confer with us for this reason, because they know their cause is lost.

14. Nos ignoramus quid adversus seipsos homines jactent, qui calumniosis dissensionibus gaudent. In Scripturis discimus Christum, in Scripturis discimus Ecclesiam. Has Scripturas communiter habemus, quare non in eis et Christum et Ecclesiam communiter retinemus? Nos ubi agnovimus eum de quo dicit Apostolus, 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); ibi agnovimus Ecclesiam, de qua dicit Deus ad Abraham, In semine tuo benedicentur omnes gentes (Gen. XII, 3). Ubi agnovimus Christum in Psalmo de se prophetantem, Dominus dixit ad me, Filius meus es tu; ego hodie genui te; ibi agnovimus Ecclesiam, in eo quod sequitur, Postula a me, et dabo tibi gentes haereditatem tuam, et possessionem tuam terminos terrae (Psal. II, 7, 8). Ubi agnovimus Christum in eo quod scriptum est, Deus deorum Dominus locutus est; ibi agnovimus et Ecclesiam in eo quod sequitur, Et vocavi, terram a solis ortu usque ad occasum (Psal. XLIX, 1). Ubi agnovimus Christum in eo quod scriptum est, Et ipse tanquam sponsus procedens de thalamo suo, exsultavit ut gigas ad currendam viam; ibi agnovimus et Ecclesiam in eo quod paulo superius dicitur, In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum, et in fines orbis terrae verba eorum. In sole posuit tabernaculum suum (Psal. XVIII, 5, 6). Ipsa est Ecclesia in sole posita, hoc est in manifestatione omnibus nota, usque ad terminos terrae. Ubi agnovimus Christum in eo quod scriptum est, Foderunt manus meas, et pedes, dinumeraverunt omnia ossa mea; ipsi vero consideraverunt et aspexerunt me, diviserunt sibi vestimenta mea, et super vestimentum meum miserunt sortem; ibi agnovimus et Ecclesiam in eo quod paulo post in psalmo ipso dicitur, Commemorabuntur et convertentur ad Dominum universi fines terrae, et adorabunt in conspectu ejus universae patriae gentium: quoniam Domini est regnum, et ipse dominabitur gentium (Psal. XXI, 17, 18, 19, 28, 29). Ubi agnovimus Christum in eo quod scriptum est, Exaltare super coelos, Deus; ibi agnovimus et Ecclesiam in eo quod sequitur, et super omnem terram gloria tua (Psal. LVI, 6). Ubi agnovimus Christum in eo quod scriptum est, Deus, judicium tuum regi da, et justitiam tuam filio regis; ibi agnovimus et Ecclesiam in eo quod de illo in psalmo ipso dicitur, Et dominabitur a mari usque ad mare, et a flumine usque ad terminos orbis terrarum. Coram illo procident Aethiopes, et inimici ejus terram lingent. Reges Tharsis et insulae munera offerent; reges Arabum et Saba dona adducent; et adorabunt eum omnes reges terrae, omnes gentes servient illi (Psal. LXXI, 2, 8, 9, 10, 11).

14. We are ignorant of what those men boast against themselves who rejoice in calumnious dissensions. In the Scriptures we learn of Christ, in the Scriptures we learn of the Church. These Scriptures we have in common; why do we not in them hold both Christ and the Church in common? Where we recognized Him of whom the Apostle says, "To Abraham were the promises spoken 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); there we recognized the Church, about which God says to Abraham, "In your seed shall all nations be blessed" (Gen. XII, 3). Where we recognized Christ in the Psalm prophesying of Himself, "The Lord said to me, You are my Son; today I have begotten You"; there we recognized the Church in that which follows, "Ask of me, and I will give You the nations as Your inheritance, and the bounds of the earth as Your possession" (Psal. II, 7, 8). Where we recognized Christ in that which is written, "The Lord, the God of gods, has spoken"; there we recognized also the Church in that which follows, "And I have called the earth from the rising of the sun even to the setting" (Psal. XLIX, 1). Where we recognized Christ in that which is written, "And He Himself as a bridegroom proceeding from His chamber, rejoiced as a giant to run the way"; there we recognized also the Church in that which is said a little above, "Their sound went out into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world. In the sun He set His tabernacle" (Psal. XVIII, 5, 6). She is the Church set in the sun, that is, known in manifestation to all, even to the bounds of the earth. Where we recognized Christ in that which is written, "They pierced my hands and my feet, they numbered all my bones; they indeed considered and looked upon me, they divided my garments among themselves, and for my vesture they cast lots"; there we recognized also the Church in that which is said a little after in that very Psalm, "All the ends of the earth shall be mindful and be converted to the Lord, and all the kindreds of the nations shall adore in His sight: for the kingdom is the Lord's, and He Himself shall rule over the nations" (Psal. XXI, 17, 18, 19, 28, 29). Where we recognized Christ in that which is written, "Be exalted above the heavens, O God"; there we recognized also the Church in that which follows, "and Your glory above all the earth" (Psal. LVI, 6). Where we recognized Christ in that which is written, "O God, give Your judgment to the king, and Your justice to the son of the king"; there we recognized also the Church in that which is said of Him in that very Psalm, "And He shall rule from sea to sea, and from the river even to the ends of the world. Before Him the Ethiopians shall fall down, and His enemies shall lick the earth. The kings of Tarshish and the islands shall offer gifts; the kings of the Arabians and of Sheba shall bring presents; and all the kings of the earth shall adore Him, all nations shall serve Him" (Psal. LXXI, 2, 8, 9, 10, 11).

15. Ubi agnovimus Christum in eo quod scriptum est, lapidem de monte sine manibus praecisum, fregisse omnia regna terrarum, utique illa quae de culturis daemonum praesumebant; ibi agnovimus et Ecclesiam in eo quod dictum est, lapidem ipsum crevisse, et factum montem magnum, et replevisse omnem terram (Dan. II, 34, 35). Ubi agnovimus Christum in eo quod scriptum est, Praevalebit Dominus adversus eos, et exterminabit omnes deos gentium terrae; ibi agnovimus et Ecclesiam in eo quod illic sequitur, Et adorabunt in conspectu ejus unusquisque de loco suo omnes insulae gentium (Sophon. II, 11). Ubi agnovimus Christum in eo quod scriptum est, Deus ab Africo veniet, et sanctus de monte umbroso; operiet coelos virtus ejus; ibi agnovimus Ecclesiam in eo quod sequitur, Et laudis ejus plena est terra (Habac. III, 3). Ab Africo enim posita est Jerusalem, sicut legitur in libro Jesu Nave (Josuae XV, 8), unde nomen Christi diffusum est; et ibi est mons umbrosus, mons Oliveti, unde ascendit in coelum ut cooperiret coelos virtus ejus, et impleretur Ecclesia per omnem terram laudis ejus. Ubi agnovimus Christum in eo quod scriptum est, Sicut ovis ad immolandum ductus est, et sicut agnus coram tondente se fuit sine voce, sic non aperuit os suum, et caetera quae illic de ejus passione dicuntur; ibi agnovimus et Ecclesiam in eo quod illic dicitur, Laetare sterilis, quae non paris; erumpe et exclama, quae non parturis; quoniam multi filii desertae, magis quam ejus quae habet virum. Dixit enim Dominus: Dilata locum tabernaculi tui, et aulaeas tuas confige, non est quod parcas. Porrige longius funiculos, et palos validos confirma; etiam atque etiam in dexteram atque sinistram extende. Semen enim tuum haereditabit gentes, et civitates, quae desertae erant, inhabitabis. Non est quod metuas, praevalebis enim; nec erubescas quod detestabilis fueris. Confusionem enim in perpetuum oblivisceris, ignominiae viduitatis tuae non eris memor; quoniam ego sum Dominus, qui feci te, Dominus nomen ei: et qui eruit te, ipse Deus Israel universae terrae vocabitur (Isai. LIII. 7, et LIV, 1-5).

CAPUT V.

15. Where we recognized Christ in that which is written, that the stone cut from the mountain without hands broke all the kingdoms of the earth, certainly those which presumed on the cults of demons; there we recognized also the Church in that which is said, that the stone itself grew and became a great mountain, and filled all the earth (Dan. II, 34, 35). Where we recognized Christ in that which is written, "The Lord shall prevail against them, and shall exterminate all the gods of the nations of the earth"; there we recognized also the Church in that which follows there, "And all the islands of the nations shall adore in His sight, every one from his own place" (Zeph. II, 11). Where we recognized Christ in that which is written, "God shall come from the South (ab Africo), and the Holy One from the shady mountain; His virtue shall cover the heavens"; there we recognized the Church in that which follows, "And the earth is full of His praise" (Hab. III, 3). For Jerusalem is placed from the South, as is read in the book of Joshua the son of Nun (Josh. XV, 8), whence the name of Christ was diffused; and there is the shady mountain, the Mount of Olives, whence He ascended into heaven so that His virtue might cover the heavens, and the Church might be filled throughout all the earth with His praise. Where we recognized Christ in that which is written, "He was led as a sheep to the slaughter, and as a lamb before his shearer was without voice, so He opened not His mouth," and the rest which are said there concerning His passion; there we recognized also the Church in that which is said there, "Rejoice, O barren one, that does not bear; break forth and cry out, you that do not travail; for many are the children of the desolate, more than of her that has a husband. For the Lord said: Enlarge the place of your tabernacle, and fasten your curtains, there is no reason to spare. Lengthen your cords, and strengthen your strong stakes; extend even again and again to the right and to the left. For your seed shall inherit the nations, and you shall inhabit the cities which were desolate. There is no reason to fear, for you shall prevail; nor be ashamed that you have been detestable. For you shall forget your confusion forever, and you shall not be mindful of the ignominy of your widowhood; because I am the Lord who made you, the Lord is His name: and He who delivered you, the God of Israel Himself shall be called of the universal earth (Isa. LIII, 7, and LIV, 1-5).

CHAPTER V.

16. Non novimus quid de traditoribus dicatis, quos nunquam convincere, nunquam ostendere potuistis. Non dico quia vestri potius in tali crimine detecti et confessed manifestantur: quid ad nos pertinet de sarcinis alienis? nisi ut quos possumus corrigamus, vel correptione vel quacumque disciplina in spiritu mansuetudinis et diligentia charitatis; quos autem corrigere non valemus, etiamsi necessitas cogit pro salute caeterorum ut Dei Sacramenta nobiscum communicent, peccatis tamen eorum non communicemus, quod non fit nisi consentiendo et favendo. Sic enim eos in isto mundo, in quo Ecclesia catholica per omnes gentes diffunditur, quem agrum suum Dominus dicit, tanquam zizania inter triticum, vel in hac unitatis area tanquam paleam permixtam frumento, vel intra retia verbi et Sacramenti tanquam malos pisces cum bonis inclusos, usque ad tempus messis (Matth. XIII, 24-43), aut ventilationis (Id. III, 12) aut littoris (Id. XIII, 47-50), toleramus, ne propter illos eradicemus et triticum, aut grana nuda ante tempus de area separata, non in horreum mittenda purgemus, sed volatilibus colligenda projiciamus; aut disruptis per schismata retibus, dum quasi malos pisces cavemus, in mare perniciosae libertatis exeamus. Propter hoc enim his atque aliis similitudinibus Dominus servorum suorum tolerantiam confirmavit, ne dum se boni putant malorum permixtione culpari, per humanas et temerarias dissensiones aut parvulos perdant, aut parvuli pereant. Quod usque adeo coelestis magister cavendum praemonuit, ut etiam de praepositis malis plebem securam faceret, ne propter illos doctrinae salutaris cathedra desereretur, in qua coguntur etiam mali bona dicere. Neque enim sua sunt quae dicunt, sed Dei, qui in cathedra unitatis doctrinam posuit veritatis. Proinde ille verax et ipsa veritas, de praepositis sua mala facientibus, et Dei bena dicentibus ait: Quae dicunt, facite; quae autem faciunt, facere nolite: dicunt enim, et non faciunt (Matth. XXIII, 3). Non utique diceret, Quae faciunt, facere nolite, nisi manifestas essent mala quae faciunt.

17. Non ergo propter malos in mala dissensione pereamus: quamvis vestros majores non exsecratores malorum, sed accusatores innocentium fuisse, si velitis possimus ostendere. Sed quicumque illi et qualescumque fuerint, portent sarcinas suas. Ecce Scripturae communes, ecce ubi novimus Christum, ecce ubi novimus Ecclesiam. Si Christum ipsum tenetis, ipsam Ecclesiam quare non tenetis? Si in ipsum Christum quem legitis, et non videtis, tamen propter veritatem Scripturarum creditis; quare Ecclesiam negatis, quam et legitis et videtis?

16. We do not know what you say concerning traditors, whom you were never able to convict, never to show. I do not say that your own people are rather manifested as detected and confessed in such a crime: what does it pertain to us concerning the burdens of others? except that we correct those whom we can, either by correction or by any discipline in the spirit of mildness (mansuetudinis) and the diligence of charity; those, however, whom we are not able to correct, even if necessity compels for the safety of the rest that they communicate with us in the Sacraments of God, yet let us not communicate in their sins, which does not happen except by consenting and favoring. For thus we tolerate them in this world, in which the Catholic Church is diffused through all nations, which field the Lord says is His, as cockle (zizania) among the wheat (triticum), or in this floor of unity as chaff (paleam) mixed with the grain, or within the nets of the word and the Sacrament as bad fish included with the good, until the time of harvest (Matt. XIII, 24-43), or of winnowing (Id. III, 12) or of the shore (Id. XIII, 47-50), lest because of them we root up also the wheat, or purge the bare grains separated from the floor before the time, not to be sent into the barn, but cast out to be gathered by the birds; or the nets being broken through schisms (schismata), while we beware of them as bad fish, we go out into the sea of pernicious liberty. For on account of this the Lord confirmed the tolerance of His servants by these and other similitudes, lest while the good think themselves blamed by the admixture of the evil, through human and rash dissensions they either lose the little ones, or the little ones perish. Which the celestial teacher premonished to be guarded against even to such an extent, that He made the people secure even concerning evil superiors, lest on account of them the chair (cathedra) of salutary doctrine be deserted, in which even the evil are compelled to say good things. For the things which they say are not their own, but God's, who placed the doctrine of truth in the chair of unity. Therefore that truthful one and the Truth itself says of superiors doing their own evil things and saying God's good things: "What they say, do; but what they do, do not do: for they say, and do not do" (Matt. XXIII, 3). He would certainly not say, "What they do, do not do," unless the evil things which they do were manifest.

17. Let us not, therefore, because of evil men, perish in evil dissension: although we could show, if you wish, that your elders were not execrators of evil men, but accusers of the innocent. But whoever they were and of whatever kind they were, let them bear their own burdens. Behold the common Scriptures, behold where we know Christ, behold where we know the Church. If you hold Christ Himself, why do you not hold the Church herself? If in Christ Himself whom you read, and do not see, you nevertheless believe because of the truth of the Scriptures; why do you deny the Church, which you both read and see?

Haec vobis dicendo et ad hoc bonum pacis et unitatis et charitatis vos compellendo, inimici vobis facti sumus; et mandatis quia occidetis nos qui veritatem vobis dicimus, et in errore vos perire quantum possumus non permittimus. Vindicet nos Deus de vobis, ut ipsum errorem vestrum in vobis occidat, et nobiscum de veritate gaudeatis. Amen .

EPISTOLA CVI . Augustinus Macrobio donatianae partis apud Hipponem, uti ex epistola 108 intelligitur, episcopo, agens ne subdiaconum quemdam rebaptizet. Domino fratri dilecto MACROBIO, AUGUSTINUS.

1. Audivi quod quemdam subdiaconum nostrum rebaptizare disponis. Noli: sic Deo vivas, sic Deo placeas, sic Christi Sacramenta non inaniter habeas, sic non in aeternum a Christi corpore separeris. Noli, rogo te, frater, pro teipso te magis rogo; certe paululum attende quod dico. Felicianus Mustitanus Primianum Carthaginensem damnavit, et vicissim ab illo etiam ipse damnatus est. Diu Felicianus in sacrilego Maximiani schismate fuit, multos ibi per suas Ecclesias baptizavit, modo cum Primiano vester episcopus, sed et neminem post eum baptizans. Qua ergo licentia post nos adhuc rebaptizandum putatis? Hanc mihi solve quaestionem, et me baptiza: si hanc autem solvere non potes, parce alienae animae, parce tuae. Aut si me de Feliciano falsum dixisse arguis, exige ut probem; certe si non probavero, tunc fac quod putas. Addo etiam, si non probavero, non sim episcopus communionis meae; si autem probavero, noli esse inimicus salutis tuae. Opto te, domine frater, in pace esse nobiscum.

Epistola CVII.

Maximus et Theodorus Augustino renuntiantes quid ipsis coram responderit Macrobius ad ipsius litteras.

Domino beatissimo et venerabili multumque desiderabili patri AUGUSTINO MAXIMUS et THEODORUS, in Domino salutem. 1. Ex praecepto Sanctitatis tuae ad episcopum Macrobium perreximus; ad quem cum litteras Beatitudinis tuae perferremus, primo negavit se ne eidem legerentur. Deinde aliquando ex nostra suggestione commotus, easdem sibi voluit recitari quibus relectis ait: «Non possum nisi ad me venientes suscipere, et iisdem fidem quam postulaverint dare.» Cum autem a nobis eidem diceretur quid de facto Primiani diceret, dixit se nuper ordinatum patris sui judicem esse non posse, sed in id quod a prioribus suis acceperit permanere. Quod necesse habuimus his litteris Sanctitati tuae significare. Beatitudinem tuam nobis Dominus custodiat, domine pater.

By saying these things to you and by compelling you to this good of peace and unity and charity, we have been made enemies to you; and you command that you will kill us who tell the truth to you, and do not permit you to perish in error as much as we can. May God vindicate us from you, that He may kill that error of yours in you, and you may rejoice with us concerning the truth. Amen.

EPISTLE CVI. Augustine to Macrobius, bishop of the Donatist party at Hippo, as is understood from Epistle 108, treating that he should not rebaptize a certain subdeacon. To his beloved brother and lord MACROBIUS, AUGUSTINE sends greeting.

1. I have heard that you are preparing to rebaptize a certain subdeacon of ours. Do not: so may you live to God, so may you please God, so may you not have the Sacraments of Christ in vain, so may you not be separated forever from the body of Christ. Do not, I ask you, brother; for your own sake I ask you more; certainly attend a little to what I say. Felicianus of Musti condemned Primian of Carthage, and in turn he himself was also condemned by him. For a long time Felicianus was in the sacrilegious schism (schismate) of Maximian; he baptized many there through his Churches, and now he is your bishop with Primian, but also baptizing no one after him. By what license, therefore, do you still think there should be rebaptizing after us? Solve this question for me, and baptize me: but if you cannot solve this, spare another's soul, spare your own. Or if you argue that I have said something false about Felicianus, demand that I prove it; certainly if I do not prove it, then do what you think. I add also, if I do not prove it, let me not be a bishop of my communion; but if I do prove it, do not be an enemy to your own safety. I wish you, lord brother, to be in peace with us.

Epistle CVII.

Maximus and Theodorus reporting to Augustine what Macrobius answered them in person to his letters.

To the most blessed and venerable and much-desired father AUGUSTINE, MAXIMUS and THEODORUS send greeting in the Lord. 1. According to the precept of your Holiness (Sanctitatis), we went to Bishop Macrobius; to whom when we brought the letters of your Beatitude (Beatitudinis), at first he refused that they be read to him. Then, at length moved by our suggestion, he wished them to be recited to him; which being read over, he said: "I cannot but receive those coming to me, and give to them the faith which they shall have requested." But when it was said to him by us what he would say concerning the fact of Primian, he said that, being recently ordained, he could not be a judge of his father, but would remain in that which he had received from his predecessors. Which we have found necessary to signify to your Holiness by these letters. May the Lord preserve your Beatitude for us, lord father.

EPISTOLA CVIII . Agit de non iterando Baptismo, coarguens Donatistarum hac in re contumaciam; quippe qui Maximianensium baptisma ratum habuerunt. Evincit subinde nullam eos schismatis edendi justam causam habuisse. Domino dilecto fratri MACROBIO, AUGUSTINUS.

CAPUT PRIMUM.

1. Charissimifilii mei, honorabiles viri, cum ad tuam Benevolentiam attulissent litteras meas, quibus admonui rogavique te, ne subdiaconum nostrum rebaptizares, rescripserunt mihi te respondisse, Non possum nisi ad me venientes suscipere, et eis fidem quam postulaverint dare: et tamen si ad te venerit in vestra communione baptizatus, qui diu a vobis separatus fuit, et per ignorantiam se putaverit denuo baptizandum, idque poposcerit, cum quaesieris et cognoveris ubi fuerit baptizatus, suscipis quidem ad te venientem, nec tamen ei das quam postulat fidem, sed doces hominem habere quod petit, nec verba errantis attendis, sed studium adhibes corrigentis. Male ergo dantem quod jam dandum non est, et Sacramentum quod datum est violantem suus error accusat, non petentis excusat. Dic itaque mihi, obsecro te, quomodo non habeat qui petivit abs te, quod jam acceperat per me? Si propter alienam aquam, et alienum fontem, quod solent dicere qui non intelligunt, quia scriptum est, Ab aqua aliena abstine te, et de fonte alieno ne biberis ; Felicianus quando separatus est a vobis in parte Maximiani, veritatis adulter, catena sacrilegii, sicut concilii vestri verba indicant, trahebatur. Si secum abstulerat fontem vestrum, quis erat fons in quo, illo separato, vestros baptizatis? Simul enim nunc vester episcopus sedet cum Primiano a se damnato et damnatore suo.

2. Sed sicut mihi suis litteris (Epist. 107) intimarunt nostri, qui in hac causa te viderunt, cum quaererent quid hinc diceres, respondisti te nuper ordinatum , factorum patris tui judicem esse non posse, sed in id quod a prioribus suis acceperit, permanere. Hinc sane dolui necessitatem tuam, cum te existimem, sicut audio, bonae indolis juvenem. Quid enim te ad hanc responsionem, nisi malae causae necessitas cogit? Sed si attendas, mi frater, si recte cogites, si Deum timeas, in mala causa perseverare nulla necessitas cogit.

EPISTLE CVIII. It treats of not repeating Baptism, reproving the contumacy of the Donatists in this matter; since they held the baptism of the Maximianists valid. He subsequently proves that they had no just cause for producing a schism. To his beloved brother and lord MACROBIUS, AUGUSTINE sends greeting.

CHAPTER I.

1. My dearest sons, honorable men, when they had brought my letters to your Benevolence, in which I admonished and asked you not to rebaptize our subdeacon, they wrote back to me that you had answered: "I cannot but receive those coming to me, and give to them the faith which they shall have requested": and yet if one baptized in your communion should come to you, who was for a long time separated from you, and through ignorance should think he ought to be baptized again, and should request it, when you have inquired and learned where he was baptized, you indeed receive him coming to you, yet you do not give him the faith which he requests, but you teach the man to have what he seeks, nor do you attend to the words of the erring one, but you apply the zeal of one correcting. Therefore his own error accuses the one evilly giving what is no longer to be given, and violating the Sacrament (Sacramentum) which has been given, it does not excuse him because of the one requesting. Tell me therefore, I beseech you, how he does not have what he requested from you, which he had already received through me? If on account of "strange water" and a "strange fountain," which those are accustomed to say who do not understand, because it is written: "Abstain from strange water, and drink not of a strange fountain"; when Felicianus was separated from you in the party of Maximian, he was being drawn as an "adulterer of the truth, a chain of sacrilege," as the words of your council indicate. If he had taken away your fountain with him, what was the fountain in which, with him separated, you baptized your own? For now your bishop sits together with Primian, who was condemned by him and was his condemner.

2. But just as our people, who saw you in this cause, intimated to me in their letters (Epistle 107), when they asked what you would say to this, you answered that, being recently ordained, you could not be a judge of the deeds of your father, but would remain in that which you had received from your predecessors. At this I truly grieved for your necessity, since I think you, as I hear, a young man of good disposition. For what compels you to this answer, except the necessity of a bad cause? But if you attend, my brother, if you think rightly, if you fear God, no necessity compels you to persevere in a bad cause.

Haec enim responsio tua non quaestionem tibi a me propositam solvit, sed causam nostram ab omni calumnia vestrae causationis absolvit. Dicis enim te nuper ordinatum factorum patris tui judicem esse non posse, sed in eo quod a prioribus tuis acceperit permanere. Cur ergo non potius in Ecclesia, quam Scriptura teste incipientem ab Jerusalem, atque per omnes gentes fructificantem atque crescentem (Act. I, 8) a Domino Christo per Apostolos accepimus, permanemus; et de factis nescio quorum patrum, quae ante pene centum annos admissa dicuntur, modo judicamur? Si enim tu de patre tuo, adhuc in hac vita constituto, non audes judicare, quem potes interrogare; mihi quare dicitur ut judicem de mortuo longe antequam natus sum? et christianis gentibus quare dicitur ut judicent de factis Afrorum traditorum ante tot annos mortuorum, quos nec vivos tot christiani qui tunc vivebant, in terris remotissimis constituti audire vel nosse potuerunt? Qui manentem notum non audes judicare Primianum, cur mihi antiquum et ignotum judicandum vis imponere Caecilianum? Si patres tuos non judicas de factis suis, quare fratres tuos judicas de factis alienis?

3. An forte fratres nos negas? Sed melius audimus sanctum Spiritum per prophetam praecipientem, Audite qui pavetis verbum Domini: dicite, Fratres nostri estis, his qui vos oderunt et qui vos detestantur, ut nomen Domini honorificetur, et appareat illis in jucunditate, ipsi autem erubescant (Isai. LXVI, 5, secundum LXX). Revera enim si homis nomen Domini jucundius esset, quam nomina hominum, numquid Christus clamans, Pacem meam do vobis (Joan. XIV, 27), divideretur in membris suis per eos qui dicunt, Ego quidem sum Pauli, ego autem Apollo, ego vero Cephae (I Cor. III, 4) et per hominum nomina dilaniantur? numquid Christus exsufflaretur in baptismo suo, de quo dictum est, Hic est qui baptizat (Joan. I, 33); de quo dictum est, Christus dilexit Ecclesiam suam, et tradidit seipsum pro ea, ut eam sanctificaret, mundans eam lavacro aquae in verbo (Eph. V, 25, 26)? numquid ergo in ipso suo lavacro exsufflaretur, si nomen Domini esset jucundius, cujus est ipse baptismus, quam nomen hominum, de quibus dicitis: Sanctum est quod ille dat, non quod ille?

CAPUT II.

For this answer of yours does not solve the question proposed to you by me, but it absolves our cause from every calumny of your excuse. For you say that, being recently ordained, you cannot be a judge of the deeds of your father, but will remain in that which you have received from your predecessors. Why then do we not rather remain in the Church which, with Scripture as a witness, beginning from Jerusalem and bearing fruit and increasing through all nations (Acts I, 8), we received from the Lord Christ through the Apostles; and are we now judged concerning the deeds of I know not what fathers, which are said to have been admitted almost a hundred years ago? For if you, concerning your father still established in this life, whom you can interrogate, do not dare to judge; why is it said to me that I should judge concerning a dead man long before I was born? and why is it said to the Christian nations that they should judge concerning the deeds of African traditors (traditorum) dead so many years ago, whom so many Christians who then lived, established in the most remote lands, were not able to hear or to know while they were alive? You who do not dare to judge Primian, who remains and is known, why do you wish to impose upon me the judging of Caecilian, ancient and unknown? If you do not judge your fathers concerning their deeds, why do you judge your brothers concerning the deeds of others?

3. Or do you perhaps deny that we are brothers? But we better hear the Holy Spirit commanding through the prophet: "Hear, you who tremble at the word of the Lord: say, You are our brothers, to those who hate you and who detest you, so that the name of the Lord may be honored, and may appear to them in joy, but they shall be ashamed" (Isa. LXVI, 5, according to LXX). For in truth, if the name of the Lord were more joyful to men than the names of men, would Christ crying out, "My peace I give to you" (John XIV, 27), be divided in His members through those who say, "I indeed am of Paul, but I of Apollos, but I of Cephas" (I Cor. III, 4) and are torn apart through the names of men? would Christ be exsufflated (exsufflaretur) in His baptism, of which it is said, "He it is who baptizes" (John I, 33); of which it is said, "Christ loved His Church, and delivered Himself for her, so that He might sanctify her, cleansing her by the washing of water in the word" (Eph. V, 25, 26)? would He then be exsufflated in His own washing, if the name of the Lord were more joyful, whose the baptism itself is, than the name of men, of whom you say: "That is holy which he gives, not what he gives"?

CHAPTER II.

4. Et tamen collegae tui ubi voluerunt, veritatem potius attenderunt, et non solum baptismum quem Primianus in vestra communione, sed et quem dedit Felicianus in Maximiani sacrilego schismate, propter honoris Domini jucunditatem sanctum esse senserunt; et characterem, non solum quem ipse apud vos acceperat, sed et quem aliis extra nos desertor infixerat, ipso correcto violare non ausi sunt, quia regium cognoverunt. De hoc eorum facto tam bono judicare non vis, ubi eos deberes laudabiliter imitari, et sequeris judicium eorum, in quo merentur ab omnibus detestari. Times de Primiano judicare, ne cogaris audire quod culpes: imo vero judica, et illic magis poteris invenire quod laudes. Non enim quod male fecit Primianus te volumus memorare, sed quod optime fecit: qui in suscipiendis quos ejus damnator in separatione sceleratissima baptizaverat, errorem hominum correxit, non Dei Sacramenta destruxit. Bonum Christi et in hominibus malignis agnovit; malum autem hominum, non violato Christi bono, emendavit. Aut si hoc factum displicet tibi, illud saltem attende, illud pro bono tuo ingenio prudenter adverte, quia unum Primianum non judicas de factis ipsius Primiani, et orbem christianum judicas de factis Caeciliani. Times ne te polluat, si noveris quod vindicare non audeas: absolve ergo gentes, quae nec nosse poterant quod accusas.

5. Nec tamen illud unius Primiani factum est: scis, in quantum opinor, et tu, centum ferme episcopi vestri factione damnabili cum Maximiano conspirantes, ausi sunt damnare Primianum; et trecentorum decem Vagaiensi concilio, sicut decreti ejus verba personant: Maximianum fidei aemulum, veritatis adulterum, Ecclesiae matris inimicum, Dathan, Core, et Abiron ministrum, de pacis gremio sententiae fulmen excussit. Hinc alii duodecim, qui ejus ordinationi, quando contra Primianum levatus est, interfuerant, non dilata damnatione conjuncti sunt: caeteris autem, ne nimia praecisio fieret, praestituto die, redeundi est concessa dilatio, salvis suis honoribus, si intra terminum temporis remeassent. Nec timuerunt trecenti et decem ad suum collegium revocare tanto Maximiani sacrilegio accusatos, intuentes forte quod scriptum est: Charitas cooperit multitudinem peccatorum (I Pet. IV, 8). Quibus autem est permissum tempus dilationis, foris a vestra communione baptizaverunt, quoscumque baptizare potuerunt. Neque enim nisi foris fuissent, dilatione concessa invitari poterant ut redirent.

4. And yet your colleagues, where they wished, attended rather to the truth, and felt that not only the baptism which Primianus gave in your communion, but also that which Felicianus gave in the sacrilegious schism of Maximianus, was holy because of the joy of the Lord's honor; and they did not dare to violate the character, not only which he himself had received among you, but also which he, as a deserter, had impressed on others outside of us, when he was corrected, because they recognized it as royal. You do not wish to judge regarding this deed of theirs, which was so good, where you ought to follow them in praiseworthy imitation, and you follow their judgment in which they deserve to be detested by all. You fear to judge concerning Primianus, lest you be compelled to hear what you might blame: nay rather, judge, and there you will be more able to find what you may praise. For we do not want you to remember what Primianus did ill, but what he did best: who, in receiving those whom his condemner had baptized in a most wicked separation, corrected the error of men, but did not destroy the Sacraments of God. He recognized the good of Christ even in malignant men; but he amended the evil of men without violating the good of Christ. Or if this deed displeases you, at least attend to this, wisely observe this with your good natural talent, that you do not judge one man, Primianus, for the deeds of that same Primianus, and you judge the Christian world for the deeds of Caecilianus. You fear lest he pollute you if you should know what you do not dare to punish: absolve therefore the nations, which could not even know what you accuse.

5. Nor yet was that the deed of Primianus alone: you know, as I suppose, you too, that nearly a hundred of your bishops, conspiring in a damnable faction with Maximianus, dared to condemn Primianus; and three hundred and ten in the Council of Bagai (Vagaiensi concilio), as the words of its decree sound out: "The lightning of the sentence has struck out from the bosom of peace Maximianus, the rival of the faith, the adulterer of the truth, the enemy of the mother Church, the minister of Dathan, Korah, and Abiram." From this, twelve others, who had been present at his ordination when he was raised against Primianus, were joined in a condemnation not delayed: but to the others, lest too great a cutting off should occur, a delay of returning was granted on a pre-appointed day, with their honors safe, if they should return within the limit of the time. Nor did the three hundred and ten fear to recall to their college those accused of so great a sacrilege of Maximianus, looking perhaps at what is written: "Charity covers a multitude of sins" (I Pet. IV, 8). Moreover, those to whom the time of delay was permitted, baptized outside of your communion whomever they could baptize. For they could not have been invited by the granted delay to return unless they had been outside.

Deinde et antequam dilatio finiretur, et posteaquam finita est, illi duodecim cum Maximiano damnati, apud tres aut amplius proconsules accusati sunt, ut e sedibus suis judiciario vigore pellerentur: inter quos erat Felicianus Mustitanus, de quo non ago, et Praetextatus Assuritanus nuper defunctus, in cujus damnati loco alter jam fuerat ordinatus. Quos duos non unus Primianus, sed multi coepiscopi vestri, cum frequentissima numerositate Thamugadensis Optati natalitia celebrarent, post eorum sine dilatione damnationem, post terminatam quae caeteris data fuerat dilationem, post divulgatam forensi etiam strepitu apud tot consules accusationem, in honoribus integris susceperunt, et post eos nullum baptizaverunt. Si huic assertioni resistitur, vel horum aliquid si negatur, periculo episcopatus mei exigar probare quod loquor.

6. Finita est causa, frater Macrobi: Deus hoc egit, Deus hoc voluit; occultae illius providentiae fuit ut in causa Maximiani speculum vobis correctionis proponeretur, ut omnis adversum nos, imo adversus Christi Ecclesiam toto orbe crescentem, non dico vestra, ne in te videar contumeliosus, sed certe vestrorum criminosa calumnia finiretur. Nihil enim remansit omnino eorum quae contra nos, tanquam de Scripturis ab hominibus non intelligentibus proferri solent. Nam haec habere in ore consueverunt: Ab aqua aliena abstine te (Prov. IX, 18). Sed respondetur: Non est aqua aliena, quamvis sit in alienis; sicut nec aqua illa Maximiani fuit, unde vos non abstinuistis. Item proponitur nobis: Facti sunt mihi sicut aqua mendax, non habens fidem (Jer. XV, 18). Sed respondetur: Hoc dictum est de fictis hominibus, non pertinentibus ad Dei Sacramenta, quae nec in mendacibus possunt esse mendacia. Nam utique mendaces fuerunt qui Primianum, sicut ipsi perhibetis, falsis criminibus damnaverunt; nec tamen aqua mendax fuit, in qua separati a vobis, quos potuerunt, baptizaverunt. Nam quando eam in his, quos Felicianus et Praetextatus foris baptizaverunt, suscepistis, et in mendacibus veracem fuisse sensistis. Proponitur nobis, Qui baptizatur a mortuo, quid prodest lavacrum ejus (Eccli. XXXIV, 30)? Respondetur: Si hoc de baptismo scriptum est, quo baptizant illi quos tanquam mortuos ejecit Ecclesia, non dixit hoc lavacrum non esse, sed nihil prodesse; quod et nos dicimus. Verumtamen quando cum illo ad Ecclesiam venerit, quod foris oberat, intus proderit; non cum ipse repetitur Baptismus, sed cum corrigitur baptizatus.

Then both before the delay was finished, and after it was finished, those twelve condemned with Maximianus were accused before three or more proconsuls, so that they might be driven from their seats by judicial vigor: among whom was Felicianus of Musti (Mustitanus), of whom I do not speak, and Praetextatus of Assura (Assuritanus), recently deceased, in whose place as one condemned another had already been ordained. These two not one Primianus, but many of your fellow-bishops, when they were celebrating the birthday of Optatus of Thamugadi (Thamugadensis) with a very great number, after their condemnation without delay, after the delay which had been given to the others was ended, after the accusation had been divulged even by forensic noise before so many consuls, they received in their honors intact, and after them they baptized no one. If this assertion is resisted, or if any of these things is denied, let it be demanded of me at the peril of my episcopate to prove what I say.

6. The case is finished, brother Macrobius: God has done this, God has willed this; it was of His hidden providence that in the case of the Maximianists a mirror of correction should be proposed to you, so that all criminal calumny against us, or rather against the Church of Christ increasing throughout the whole world, might be ended—I do not say yours, lest I should seem insulting to you, but certainly that of your people. For nothing at all has remained of those things which are usually brought forward against us from the Scriptures by men who do not understand them. For they have been accustomed to have these things in their mouths: "Abstain from strange water" (Prov. IX, 18). But the answer is: It is not strange water, although it be in strangers; just as that water of Maximianus was not strange, from which you did not abstain. Likewise it is proposed to us: "They have become to me like lying water, not having faith" (Jer. XV, 18). But the answer is: This was said of feigned men (fictis hominibus), not pertaining to the Sacraments of God, which even in liars cannot be lies. For certainly those were liars who condemned Primianus, as you yourselves assert, with false accusations; yet the water was not lying, in which those separated from you baptized whomever they could. For when you received it in those whom Felicianus and Praetextatus baptized outside, you felt that it had been truthful even in liars. It is proposed to us: "He who is baptized by a dead person, what does his washing profit him?" (Ecclus. XXXIV, 30). The answer is: If this was written about baptism, by which those whom the Church has cast out as dead baptize, he did not say this is not a washing, but that it profits nothing; which we also say. Nevertheless, when he comes to the Church with that baptism, what was a hindrance outside will profit inside; not when the Baptism itself is repeated, but when the baptized person is corrected.

Sicut Maximianum et socios ejus, unquam mortuos a vestra congregatione, communionis lectos loquitur Vagaiense concilium: Veridica, inquit, unda, in asperos scopulos nonnullorum naufraga projecta sunt membra. Aegyptiorum quodammodo exemplo pereuntium funeribus plena sunt littora, quibus in ipsa morte major est poena, quod post extortam aquis ultricibus animam nec ipsam inveniunt sepulturam. Ex hac turba mortuorum, quasi reviviscentes Felicianum et Praetextatum in suis honoribus suscepistis, et ab eis in illa morte baptizatos non rebaptizastis; quia baptismum Christi foris datum per mortuos, mortuis non prodesse, eumdem tamen ipsum prodesse intus reviviscentibus agnovistis. Proponitur nobis: Oleum peccatoris non impinguet caput meum (Psal. CXL, 5). Respondetur, hoc scriptum de assentatione leni atque fallaci blandi adulatoris intelligi, qua ungitur et crescit eis caput, cum laudantur peccatores in desideriis animae suae, et qui iniqua egerint, benedicuntur. Quod ex priore versu satis apparet; sic enim posita est tota sententia: Emendabit me justus in misericordia, et arguet me; oleum autem peccatoris non impinguabit caput meum. Malle se dixit veraci misericordis austeritate conteri, quam deceptoria laude fallentis extolli. Sed quomodolibet intelligatis, certe in eis quos in sacrilegio Maximiani Felicianus et Praetextatus baptizaverunt, aut peccatorum oleum suscepistis, aut etiam peccatoribus ministrantibus datum Christi esse oleum cognovistis. Neque enim non erant peccatores, quando de illis in Vagaiensi concilio dicebatur: Famosi criminis reos, qui funesto opere perditionis, vas sordidum collecta faeculentia glutinarunt, damnatos esse cognoscite.

CAPUT III.

7. Ista de Baptismo dixisse suffecerit. Causa vero separationis vestrae his solet non intellectis testimoniis colorari. Scriptum est: Ne communices peccatis alienis (I Tim. V, 22). Sed respondetur, eum communicare peccatis alienis, qui consentit malis factis; non eum, qui cum ipse sit triticum, simul tamen cum palea, quamdiu area retrituratur, divinis communicat Sacramentis.

Just as the Council of Bagai speaks of Maximianus and his associates, at one time dead to your congregation, as the elect of the communion: "The truthful wave," it says, "has cast the shipwrecked members of some upon the rough rocks." Full of corpses are the shores, after the example in a way of the Egyptians perishing, for whom there is a greater penalty in death itself, because after their soul has been extorted by the avenging waters they do not even find burial itself. From this crowd of dead men, you received Felicianus and Praetextatus into their honors as if reviving, and you did not rebaptize those baptized by them in that death; because you recognized that the baptism of Christ given outside through dead men did not profit the dead, but that same baptism profited those reviving inside. It is proposed to us: "Let not the oil of a sinner fatten my head" (Psalm CXL, 5). The answer is, that this is understood to be written about the smooth and deceitful flattery of a fawning adulator, with which the head is anointed and grows for them, when sinners are praised in the desires of their soul, and those who have done iniquitous things are blessed. Which appears sufficiently from the prior verse; for the whole sentence is placed thus: "The just man shall correct me in mercy, and shall reprove me; but let not the oil of a sinner fatten my head." He said he preferred to be bruised by the truthful austerity of a merciful man, than to be extolled by the deceptive praise of a deceiver. But however you may understand it, certainly in those whom Felicianus and Praetextatus baptized in the sacrilege of Maximianus, either you received the oil of sinners, or you recognized that it was the oil of Christ given even while sinners were ministering. For they were not not sinners, when it was said of them in the Council of Bagai: "Know that they are condemned as guilty of a famous crime, who by a deadly work of perdition have glued together a sordid vessel with collected dregs."

CHAPTER III.

7. Let it have sufficed to have said these things about Baptism. But the cause of your separation is accustomed to be colored by these testimonies which are not understood. It is written: "Do not communicate in other men's sins" (I Tim. V, 22). But the answer is, that he communicates in other men's sins who consents to evil deeds; not he who, while he himself is wheat, nevertheless communicates in the divine Sacraments together with the chaff, as long as the floor is being threshed.

Scriptum est enim, Exite inde, et immundum ne tetigeritis; et, Qui tetigerit pollutum, pollutus est (Isai. LII, 11); sed consensione voluntatis, qua deceptus est homo primus, non conversatione corporis, qua et Judas osculatus est Christum. Pisces quippe illi, de quibus in Evangelio Dominus loquitur, boni et mali intra eadem retia, quibus congregationis coaptat unitatem, usque ad finem saeculi, quod littoris nomine praefiguratur (Matth. XIII, 48, 49) pariter natant corporibus mixti, sed moribus separati. Scriptum est enim, Modicum fermentum totam massam corrumpit ((I Cor. V, 6), sed eorum qui consentiunt mala facientibus, non eorum qui secundum prophetam Ezechielem, gemunt, et moerent ob iniquitates populi Dei, quae fiunt in medio eorum (Ezech. IX, 4).

8. Istam malorum permixtionem gemit et Daniel (Dan. IX, 5-16): tres quoque viri gemuerunt (Id. III, 28-31); ille hoc in oratione, illi in fornace testantur: nec tamen se ab unitate populi, cujus peccata confitebantur, corporali disjunctione separaverunt. Prophetae omnes in eumdem populum in quo erant, quae et quanta dixerunt! nec sibi tamen alterum populum in quo essent, discessione corporali vel segregatione quaesierunt. Ipsi Apostoli permixtum sibi diabolum Judam usque in finem, quo se ipse etiam laqueo perdidit, sine ulla sui contaminatione tolerarunt, ita ut diceret eis Dominus, propter illius inter eos praesentiam: Et vos mundi estis, sed non omnes (Joan. XIII, 10). Nec ob illius immunditiam, tanquam fermento in eis dissimilium morum massa corrupta est. Nec recte affirmari potest quod eos illius latebat nequitia, nisi forte qua fuerat etiam Dominum traditurus: nam ipsi de illo scripserunt quod fur erat, et omnia quae mittebantur de dominicis loculis auferebat (Joan. XII, 6). Non eis quisquam calumniabatur illo testimonio, Videbatis furem, et concurrebatis cum eo (Psal. XLIX, 18): et factis enim malorum, non Sacramentorum communione, sed eorumdem factorum consensione concurritur. Apostolus Paulus quantum de falsis fratribus conqueritur (II Cor. XI, 26)! quorum tamen corporali permixtione non maculabatur, cordis puri diversitate sejunctus. Nam a quibusdam quos invidos noverat, gaudet Christum pariter praedicari (Philipp. I, 15-18); et utique invidia diabolicum vitium est.

9. Postremo episcopus Cyprianus, jam Ecclesia copiosius dilatata, vicinior temporibus nostris, cujus auctoritate aliquando repetitionem Baptismi confirmare conamini, cum illud concilium, vel illa scripta, si vere ipsius sunt, et non, sicut aliqui putant, sub ejus nomine conscripta atque conficta, contineant quantum dilexerit unitatem, quomodo in ea tolerandos, etiam contra quos ipse sentiebat, apertissima exhortatione consuluerit, ne pacis vinculum rumperetur:

For it is written: "Go out from thence, and touch not the unclean thing"; and: "He who touches the polluted, is polluted" (Isa. LII, 11); but by the consent of the will, by which the first man was deceived, not by the association of the body, by which even Judas kissed Christ. For those fish, of which the Lord speaks in the Gospel, the good and the bad within the same nets, by which He fits together the unity of the congregation, swim together mixed in their bodies but separated in their morals, even unto the end of the world, which is prefigured by the name of the shore (Matth. XIII, 48, 49). For it is written: "A little leaven corrupts the whole lump" (I Cor. V, 6), but of those who consent to those doing evil, not of those who, according to the prophet Ezekiel, groan and mourn because of the iniquities of the people of God which are done in the midst of them (Ezek. IX, 4).

8. Daniel also groans over this mixture of the evil (Dan. IX, 5-16); the three men also groaned (Id. III, 28-31); the former testifies to this in prayer, the latter in the furnace: yet they did not separate themselves by a bodily disjunction from the unity of the people whose sins they were confessing. All the prophets said such and so great things against the same people in which they were! yet they did not seek for themselves another people in which they might be, by bodily departure or segregation. The Apostles themselves tolerated the devil Judas mixed with them even unto the end, in which he also lost himself by the snare, without any contamination of themselves, so that the Lord said to them, because of his presence among them: "And you are clean, but not all" (John XIII, 10). Nor because of his uncleanness was the lump of their dissimilar morals corrupted as if by leaven. Nor can it be rightly affirmed that his wickedness was hidden from them, except perhaps in that by which he was also about to betray the Lord: for they themselves wrote about him that he was a thief, and took away all things which were put into the Lord's bags (John XII, 6). No one calumniated them by that testimony: "You saw a thief, and you ran with him" (Psalm XLIX, 18): for one runs with the deeds of the evil, not by the communion of the Sacraments, but by the consent of the same deeds. How much the Apostle Paul complains about false brothers (II Cor. XI, 26)! from whose bodily mixture, however, he was not stained, being set apart by the diversity of a pure heart. For he rejoices that Christ is likewise preached by some whom he knew to be envious (Philipp. I, 15-18); and certainly envy is a diabolical vice.

Finally, the bishop Cyprian, now that the Church was more copiously dilated, and who was closer to our times—whose authority you sometimes try to use to confirm the repetition of Baptism—although that council, or those writings, if they are truly his, and not, as some think, written and feigned under his name, contain how much he loved unity, and how he advised in a very open exhortation that those should be tolerated in it, even against whom he himself felt, lest the bond of peace should be broken:

id potissimum attendens, quia si quis alterutris, quibus aliud videtur quam veritas habet, humanus error irrepserit, fraterna concordia custodita charitas etiam cooperit multitudinem peccatorum. Hanc ille sic tenuit, sic amavit, ut si quid aliter quam res est, de Baptismi sacramento sapuerat, id quoque Deus illi revelaret, sicut Apostolus fratribus in charitate ambulantibus dicit: Quotquot ergo perfecti, hoc sapiamus; et si quid aliter sapitis, id quoque vobis Deus revelabit. Verumtamen in quod pervenimus, in eo ambulemus (Id. III, 15, 16). Huc accedit quoniam fructuosum sarmentum, si aliquid habebat adhuc purgandum, gloriosa martyrii falce purgatum est: non quia pro Christi nomine occisus est, sed quia pro Christi nomine in gremio unitatis occisus est. Nam ipse scripsit, et fidentissime asserit, eos qui extra unitatem, etiamsi pro illo nomine moriantur, occidi posse, non posse coronari (Lib. de unit. Eccl.). Tantum valet sive ad delenda, sive ad confirmanda peccata, vel custodita, vel violata charitas unitatis.

10. Ipse ergo ille Cyprianus, cum per impiorum Gentilium persecutionem vastata Ecclesia multos plangeret lapsos, malis hoc moribus tribuens eorum, qui in ipsa Ecclesia damnabili conversatione vivebant, de collegarum suorum moribus gemit, nec suum gemitum silentio tegit; sed dicit eos in tantam cupiditatem fuisse progressos, ut esurientibus, etiam in Ecclesia fratribus, habere argentum largiter vellent, fundos insidiosis fraudibus raperent, usuris multiplicantibus fenus augerent (Serm. de lapsis, vers. init.). Puto istorum avaritia, fundis, et fenore Cyprianum non fuisse maculatum; nec tamen ab eis se corporali segregatione, sed vitae dissimilitudine fuisse disjunctum. Cum eis altare tetigit; sed immundam illorum vitam ille non tetigit, quando sic culpavit atque redarguit. Placentia quippe ista attinguntur, displicentia repelluntur. Ideoque illi optimo episcopo, nec censura, qua peccata coerceret, nec cautela defuit, qua unitatis vinculum custodiret. Legitur ejus in quadam epistola quam scripsit ad presbyterum Maximum, de hac re clara et aperta sententia, qua omnino praecepit, propheticam regulam tenens, nullo modo Ecclesiae deseri debere unitatem, propter malorum permixtionem. Nam etsi videntur, inquit, in Ecclesia esse zizania, non tamen impediri debet fides aut charitas nostra, ut quoniam esse zizania in Ecclesia cernimus, nos de Ecclesia recedamus. Tantummodo nobis laborandum est, ut frumentum esse possimus (Epist. 51).

attending most especially to this, that if any human error should creep in to either party, to whom something else seems than the truth has, if fraternal concord is kept, charity also covers a multitude of sins. This he so held, so loved, that if he had tasted anything otherwise than the thing is concerning the sacrament of Baptism, that also God would reveal to him, as the Apostle says to the brothers walking in charity: "As many as are perfect, let us be thus minded; and if in anything you be otherwise minded, God shall reveal even this to you." Nevertheless, whereunto we have attained, let us walk by the same rule (Phil. III, 15, 16). To this is added that because he was a fruitful branch, if he had anything still to be purged, it was purged by the glorious sickle of martyrdom: not because he was killed for the name of Christ, but because he was killed for the name of Christ in the bosom of unity. For he himself wrote, and most confidently asserts, that those who are outside of unity, even if they die for that name, can be killed, but cannot be crowned (Lib. de unit. Eccl.). So much does charity of unity, either kept or violated, avail either for the deleting or for the confirming of sins.

That same Cyprian, then, when he lamented many who had fallen when the Church was wasted by the persecution of the impious Gentiles, attributing this to the bad morals of those who were living in the Church itself in a damnable conversation, groans concerning the morals of his colleagues, nor does he cover his groan with silence; but he says that they had progressed into such great greed, that while the brothers were hungering even in the Church, they wished to have silver in abundance, they snatched away estates by insidious frauds, and they increased their gain by multiplying usuries (Serm. de lapsis, vers. init.). I suppose that Cyprian was not stained by the greed, estates, and usury of those men; yet he was set apart from them not by bodily segregation, but by dissimilarity of life. He touched the altar with them; but he did not touch their unclean life, when he thus blamed and rebuked it. For those things are touched by liking, and are repelled by disliking. And therefore that best bishop lacked neither censure, by which he might coerce sins, nor caution, by which he might keep the bond of unity. A clear and open sentence of his is read in a certain letter which he wrote to the presbyter Maximus, in which he altogether commanded, holding the prophetic rule, that the unity of the Church ought in no way to be deserted because of the mixture of the evil. "For although," he says, "tares seem to be in the Church, yet our faith or charity ought not to be hindered, so that because we see tares to be in the Church, we ourselves should withdraw from the Church. We only must labor that we may be able to be wheat" (Epist. 51).

11. Istam charitatis legem ex ore Christi Domini promulgatam; ipsius enim sunt istae similitudines, et de zizaniis usque ad tempus messis in unitate agri per mundum (Matth. XIII, 24-43), et de malis piscibus usque ad tempus littoris intra eadem retia tolerandis (Ibid. 47-50); hanc ergo charitatis legem si majores vestri mente retinerent, si cum Dei timore cogitarent, non propter Caecilianum, et nescio quos Afros, sive, ut putatis, revera criminosos, sive, quod magis credendum est, calumniis appetitos, se ab Ecclesia, quam descripsit ipse Cyprianus, per omnes gentes radios suos porrigente, et ramos suos per omnem terram copia ubertatis extendente, non, inquam, se a tot gentibus christianis, quae omnino nescierunt qui, vel quid, vel quibus objiciebant, nefaria separatione discinderent; quod non fit, nisi aut simultate privata potius quam utilitate communi, aut illo vitio quod consequenter Cyprianus ipse connumerat, vitandumque commemorat. Nam cum praecepisset propter zizania quae in Ecclesia cernuntur, non esse Ecclesiam deserendam, sequitur et adjungit: Nobis tantummodo laborandum est ut frumentum esse possimus, ut cum coeperit frumentum dominicis horreis condi, fructum pro opere et labore nostro capiamus. Apostolus in Epistola sua dicit, «In domo autem magna non solum sunt vasa aurea et argentea, sed et lignea et fictilia; et quaedam quidem honorata, quaedam inhonorata» (II Tim. II, 20): nos operam demus, et quantum possumus laboremus ut vas aureum vel argenteum simus. Caeterum fictilia vasa confringere Domino soli concessum est, cui et virga ferrea data est. Esse non potest major domino suo servus; nec quisquam sibi, quod soli Filio Pater tribuit, vindicarit, ut se putet, aut ad aream ventilandam et purgandam, palam et ventilabrum jam ferre posse, aut a frumento universa zizania humano judicio separare. Superba est ista praesumptio, et sacrilega obstinatio, quam sibi furor pravus assumit, et dum sibi semper amplius aliquid quam mitis justitia deposcit, assumunt, de Ecclesia pereunt; et dum se insolenter extollunt, ipso suo tumore caecati, veritatis lumen amittunt.

12. Quid hac Cypriani attestatione clarius; quid veracius? Vides quanta evangelica et apostolica luce praefulgeat; vides eos, qui velut offensi pro sua justitia iniquitatibus alienis, Ecclesiae deserunt unitatem, ipsos esse potius iniquissimos. Vides foris esse zizania, eos qui noluerunt in unitate agri Domini zizania tolerare. Vides foris esse paleam, eos qui noluerunt in unitate domus magnae talia tolerare.

If your ancestors had retained in their minds this law of charity promulgated from the mouth of Christ the Lord—for those parables are His, both concerning the tares to be tolerated in the unity of the field throughout the world even until the time of harvest (Matth. XIII, 24-43), and concerning the bad fish to be tolerated within the same nets even until the time of the shore (Ibid. 47-50)— if they had considered this with the fear of God, they would not have cut themselves off by a nefarious separation from the Church—which Cyprian himself described as stretching out its rays through all nations, and extending its branches through all the earth by the abundance of its fruitfulness—not, I say, from so many Christian nations, which were altogether ignorant of who, or what, or against whom they were making objections, because of Caecilianus and some Africans or other, whether, as you think, truly criminal, or, what is more to be believed, attacked by calumnies; which does not happen except either by private grudge rather than common utility, or by that vice which Cyprian himself subsequently counts up and commemorates as to be avoided. For when he had commanded that because of the tares which are seen in the Church, the Church is not to be deserted, he follows and joins: "We only must labor that we may be able to be wheat, so that when the wheat begins to be stored in the Lord's barns, we may receive fruit for our work and labor. The Apostle says in his Epistle, 'But in a great house there are not only vessels of gold and of silver, but also of wood and of earth; and some indeed unto honor, and some unto dishonor' (II Tim. II, 20): let us give our diligence, and labor as much as we can, that we may be a vessel of gold or of silver. But to break the earthen vessels is granted to the Lord alone, to whom also a rod of iron was given. The servant cannot be greater than his lord; nor should anyone claim for himself what the Father attributed to the Son alone, that he should think that he can already either carry the fan for winnowing and purging the floor, or separate all the tares from the wheat by human judgment. Proud is that presumption, and sacrilegious obstinacy, which a perverse madness assumes for itself; and while they assume for themselves always something more than mild justice demands, they perish from the Church; and while they insolently extol themselves, being blinded by their own swelling, they lose the light of truth."

12. What is clearer than this attestation of Cyprian; what more truthful? You see with how much evangelical and apostolic light it shines forth; you see that those who, as if offended for their own justice by the iniquities of others, desert the unity of the Church, are themselves rather the most iniquitous. You see that they are tares outside, those who were unwilling to tolerate tares in the unity of the Lord's field. You see that they are chaff outside, those who were unwilling to tolerate such things in the unity of a great house.

Vides quam veraciter scriptum est, Filius malus ipse se justum dicit; exitum autem suum non abluit (Prov. XXIV, sec. LXX): exitum scilicet quo exit de Ecclesia, non purgat, non excusat, non defendit, non purum et sine crimine ostendit; hoc est enim, non abluit; quia si non seipsum justum diceret, sed vere ac legitime justus esset, non bonos propter malos impiissime desereret, sed malos propter bonos patientissime sustineret, donec ipse Dominus, sive per se, sive per Angelos suos, a tritico zizania, a frumentis paleas, a vasis misericordiae vasa irae, et haedos ab ovibus, pisces malos a bonis in fine saeculi separaret.

CAPUT IV.

13. Sed si testimonia illa Scripturarum, quae majores vestri ad dividendum populum Dei, vel intelligenda, vel proferenda crediderunt, aliter quam divinorum eloquiorum sensus postulat, accipere conamini, jam desinite: attendite illud speculum quod ad vos admonendos, Deus misericordissima, si sapitis, provisione constituit. Causam dico Feliciani, Fidei aemulum, veritatis adulterum, Ecclesiae matris, sicut in Vagaiensi concilio conclamatum est, inimicum, Dathan, Core, et Abiron ministrum; de quo amplius addiderunt quod eum aperta terra non absorbuit, sed ad majus supplicium superis reservasse. Raptus enim, inquiunt, poenam suam compendio lucraverat funeris; usuras nunc graviores colligit funeris, cum mortuis interest vivus. Quaero enim utrum istum tunc immundum mortuum tetigerunt illi qui cum eo conspirantes, Primiani innocentiam damnaverunt. Si enim tetigerunt, utique pollutum tangendo polluti sunt. Cur ergo in ejusdem communione, atque a vestra separatis, tanquam innocentibus dilatio redeundi conceditur, ut integri honoris ac fidei regressi habeant fundamenta, et qui tanquam ordinationi Maximiani non interfuerint, mereantur audire quod eos sacrilegi surculi non polluerunt plantaria, in eadem parte positos, in eodem schismate colligatos, a vobis divisos, illis sociatos, simul in Africa constitutos, notissimos, amicissimos, conjunctissimos, qui etsi non praesentes eum ordinaverunt, propter eum tamen et absentem Primianum damnaverunt;

You see how truthfully it is written: "An evil son says he is just; but he does not wash his departure" (Prov. XXIV, sec. LXX): namely, the departure by which he goes out of the Church, he does not purge, he does not excuse, he does not defend, he does not show it pure and without crime; for this is "he does not wash"; because if he did not call himself just, but were truly and legitimately just, he would not most impiously desert the good because of the bad, but would most patiently sustain the bad because of the good, until the Lord Himself, either by Himself or by His Angels, should separate the tares from the wheat, the chaff from the grains, the vessels of wrath from the vessels of mercy, and the goats from the sheep, the bad fish from the good at the end of the world.

CHAPTER IV.

13. But if you try to take those testimonies of the Scriptures—which your ancestors believed were to be understood or brought forward for dividing the people of God—otherwise than the sense of the divine elocutions demands, now cease: attend to that mirror which God, with most merciful provision, if you are wise, has constituted to admonish you. I speak of the case of Felicianus, "the rival of the faith, the adulterer of the truth, the enemy of the mother Church," as was shouted out in the Council of Bagai, "the minister of Dathan, Korah, and Abiram; about whom they added more, that the open earth did not swallow him, but that he was reserved for a greater punishment from above." For "having been snatched away," they say, "he had gained his penalty by the compendium of death; now he collects more grievous usuries of death, while he is among the dead as one living." For I ask whether those then touched that unclean dead man who, conspiring with him, condemned the innocence of Primianus. For if they touched him, they were certainly polluted by touching the polluted. Why then, in the communion of the same man, and separated from yours, as if they were innocent, is a delay of returning granted, so that having returned they might have foundations of intact honor and faith, and they who were not present as it were at the ordination of Maximianus, deserve to hear that "the plantations of the sacrilegious shoots did not pollute them," being placed in the same part, bound together in the same schism, divided from you, associated with them, established together in Africa, most well-known, most friendly, most closely joined, who even if they did not ordain him while present, nevertheless for his sake condemned Primianus even while absent;

et inquinasse dicitur surculus Caeciliani orbis terrarum populos christianos numerosissimos, remotissimos, ignotissimos, cujus non dico causam, sed multi nec nomen nosse potuerunt? Non communicant peccatis alienis, qui peccatum Maximiani non solum scierunt, sed et contra Primianum levando erexerunt: et communicant peccatis alienis, qui Caecilianum episcopum factum, aut in longinquis gentibus nescierunt, aut in propinquioribus tantummodo audierunt, aut in ipsa Africa factum simpliciter, et pacifice cognoverunt, aut in ipsa Carthagine contra neminem levaverunt! Nec cum fure concurrebant, qui communicabant ei de quo dicit Nummasius advocatus, loquens pro praesente Restituto episcopo vestro, quod per occultum sacrilegii propemodum furtum, episcopalis nominis invaserit principatum; nec cum adultero portionem suam ponebant, qui communicabant veritatis adultero; nec modico fermento tota eorum massa corrumpebatur, cum ei faverent, cum in ejus parte, non quasi nescientes, a vobis praecisi, remanerent, sed a vobis contra praecidendam erigendamque curarent; deinde vos ipsi, qui eos ad redeundum sic invitastis, ut Maximiano tanta societate conjunctos, impollutos a sacrilegii surculo diceretis, quod Praetextatum quoque et Felicianum salvis eorum honoribus suscepistis, quod cum eis pacifice concordetis (quod hodieque Felicianum vobiscum consedentem videtis) nulla communione peccatorum alienorum maculati, nullo contactu immunditiae coinquinati, nullius estis malignitatis fermento corrupti: et orbi christiano per haec testimonia alienum crimen objicitur, unitatis divisio a separatione funesta defenditur, a praeciso ramo, tanquam immundus ramus, qui in verae matris radice manserit, accusatur!

CAPUT V.

14. Quid illud, quod soletis de sustentatis persecutionibus gloriari? Si martyres non facit causa, sed poena; cum diceretur, Beati qui persecutionem patiuntur, frustra est additum, propter justitiam (Matth. V, 10). Nonne vos etiam in hujus tituli gloria Maximianistae facillime vincunt, qui persecutionem non solum postea vobiscum, sed prius et a vobis pertulerunt? Advocati accusantis Maximianum, vestro collega praesente Restituto, qui in locum Salvii Membressitani, cum caeteris illis undecim sine dilatione damnati, antequam ipse dies dilationis transiret, jam fuerat ordinatus, verba sunt quae jam paulo ante commemoravi. Titianus etiam die ipso dilationis transacto, Felicianum et Praetextatum de tota ipsa contra Primianum conspiratione verbis gravissimis accusavit.

and the shoot of Caecilianus is said to have stained the most numerous, most remote, most unknown Christian peoples of the whole world, many of whom could not know not only his case, but not even his name? Those do not communicate in other men's sins, who not only knew the sin of Maximianus, but also raised him up by lifting him against Primianus: and those communicate in other men's sins, who either did not know Caecilianus as bishop in distant nations, or only heard of him in nearer ones, or simply and peacefully knew him as such in Africa itself, or in Carthage itself raised him against no one! Nor were they running with a thief, who were communicating with him of whom Nummasius the advocate says, speaking for Restitutus your bishop then present, that "by a secret almost theft of sacrilege, he invaded the principacy of the episcopal name"; nor were they putting their portion with an adulterer, who were communicating with an adulterer of the truth; nor was their whole lump corrupted by a little leaven, when they favored him, when they remained in his part, not as if ignorant, being cut off from you, but were taking care to be raised and erected by you against cutting off; then you yourselves, who thus invited them to return, that you said those joined in so great a society to Maximianus were unpolluted by the shoot of sacrilege, because you received Praetextatus also and Felicianus with their honors safe, because you are peacefully in concord with them (because even today you see Felicianus sitting together with you) being stained by no communion of other men's sins, defiled by no contact of uncleanness, you are corrupted by the leaven of no malignity: and a foreign crime is objected to the Christian world through these testimonies, a division of unity is defended by a funereal separation, and he who has remained in the root of the true mother is accused by a cut-off branch as if an unclean branch!

CHAPTER V.

14. What of that, that you are accustomed to glory in having sustained persecutions? If the cause, and not the penalty, does not make martyrs; when it was said, "Blessed are they who suffer persecution," it was added in vain, "for the sake of justice" (Matth. V, 10). Do not the Maximianists very easily conquer you even in the glory of this title, who suffered persecution not only afterwards with you, but first and from you? The words of the advocate accusing Maximianus, in the presence of your colleague Restitutus—who had already been ordained in the place of Salvius of Membressa, when he had been condemned without delay with those other eleven before the day of the delay itself should pass—are those which I have already commemorated a little before. Titianus also, when the day of delay itself had passed, accused Felicianus and Praetextatus of that whole conspiracy against Primianus with very grave words.

Concilium etiam Vagaiense non semel Gestis proconsularibus, ac deinde municipalibus allegatum est, excitata judicia, impetratae minacissimae jussiones, postulatum atque praeceptum est, ad coercitionem resistentes perducerentur, impertitum officium, concessa auxilia civitatum, per quae id quod judicatum est, impleretur. Quid ergo nobiscum de imperata persecutione confligitis, qui vobiscum ista non aequo jure divisimus? Cum enim non semper qui persecutionem sustinet, perveniat ad passionem; sic inter nos composuerunt clerici et Circumcelliones vestri, ut vos persecutionem, nos passionem sustineremus. Sed, ut dixi, cum Maximianistis de ista laude certate, qui contra vos recitant Gesta forensia, ubi eos per judices persecutionibus agitastis: sed plane cum quibusdam eorum tali coercitione correctis postea concordastis; unde nec nostra est desperanda concordia, si Deus adjuvare, et vobis pacificam mentem inspirare dignetur. Nam et illud, quod contra nos a vestra parte magis ore maledico quam veridico solet dici, Veloces pedes eorum ad effundendum sanguinem (Psal. XIII, 3), nos potius ista in tantis latrociniis Circumcellionum, clericorumque vestrorum experti sumus, qui corporibus humanis caede atrocissima laniatis, tot loca nostrorum sanguine cruentarunt: quorum duces, quando te ingrediente in hanc patriam, cum suis cuneis deduxerunt, Deo laudes inter cantica conclamantes, quasi voces, velut tuba praeliorum in suis omnibus latrociniis habuerunt. Alio tamen die concussi ac stimulati aculeis verborum tuorum, quae in eos per punicum interpretem honesta et ingenua libertatis indignatione jaculatus es, factis eorum irritatus potius quam delectatus obsequiis, se de media congregatione, sicut ab eis qui aderant narrantibus audire potuimus, furibundis motibus rapuerunt, nec post eorum pedes veloces ad effundendum sanguinem, ulla aqua pavimenta salsavistis - quod post nostros clerici tui putaverunt esse faciendum.

Sed, ut dicere coeperam, hoc de Scripturis testimonium, quod in nos soletis magis conviciando quam probando jactare, Veloces pedes eorum ad effundendum sanguinem, etiam in Felicianum et Praetextatum impetu vehementi, grandiloqua illa sententia concilii Vagaiensis evomuit. Nam cum de Maximiano, quae visa sunt dicenda, dixissent: Nec solum hunc, inquiunt, sceleris sui mors justa condemnat; trahit et ad consortium criminis plurimos catena sacrilegii, de quibus scriptum est: «Venenum aspidum sub labiis eorum, quorum os maledictione et amaritudine plenum est.

The Council of Bagai also was alleged not once in the Proconsular Acts, and then in the municipal ones, judicial proceedings were excited, most threatening orders were impetrated, it was demanded and commanded that those resisting should be brought to coercion, the office was imparted, the aids of the cities were granted, through which that which had been judged might be fulfilled. Why then do you conflict with us about the commanded persecution, who have not divided those things with us by equal right? For since he who sustains persecution does not always reach passion; your clerics and Circumcellions have so composed between us, that you should sustain persecution, and we should sustain passion. But, as I said, contend with the Maximianists for that praise, who recite against you the forensic Acts, where you agitated them by persecutions through the judges: but plainly you afterwards were in concord with some of them corrected by such coercion; whence our concord is not to be despaired of, if God should deign to help, and to inspire a peaceful mind in you. For that also, which is accustomed to be said by your part against us with a maledictory rather than a truthful mouth, "Their feet are swift to shed blood" (Psalm XIII, 3), we have rather experienced those things in so many robberies of the Circumcellions and of your clerics, who, having mangled human bodies with a most atrocious slaughter, stained so many places of ours with blood: whose leaders, when you were entering into this country, they led out with their troops, shouting out praises to God among songs, which voices they had as if it were a trumpet of battles in all their robberies. Yet on another day, being shaken and stimulated by the stings of your words, which you hurled at them through a Punic interpreter with an honest and ingenuous indignation of liberty, being irritated rather than delighted by their obsequious deeds, they snatched themselves away from the midst of the congregation with furious motions, as we have been able to hear from those who were present narrating it, nor after their feet swift to shed blood did you salt the pavements with any water—which after ours your clerics thought ought to be done.

But, as I had begun to say, this testimony from the Scriptures, which you are accustomed to hurl at us more by way of reviling than by proving, Their feet are swift to shed blood, even against Felicianus and Praetextatus with vehement impetus, that grandiloquent sentence of the Council of Bagai vomited out. For when they had said concerning Maximian what seemed ought to be said: And not only him, they say, does the just death of his crime condemn; the chain of sacrilege also draws many into the fellowship of the crime, concerning whom it is written: «The poison of asps is under their lips, whose mouth is full of cursing and bitterness.

Veloces pedes eorum ad effundendum sanguinem (Psal. XIII, 3),» etc. Quibus dictis, ut deinde ostenderent qui essent, quos traheret ad consortium criminis catena sacrilegii, eosque cum Maximiano simili severitate damnarent: Famosi ergo, inquiunt, criminis reos Victorianum Carcavianensem, ad quem adjungunt alios undecim, inter quos Felicianum Mustitanum, et Praetextatum Assuritanum. Post haec in eos dicta, facta est cum eis tanta concordia, ut nihil eorum minueretur honoribus; nullus ab eis ablutus, post abluentium pedes veloces ad effundendum sanguinem, rursus abluendus judicaretur. Cur ergo de nostra concordia desperandum est? Deus diaboli averterit invidiam, et pax Christi vincat in cordibus nostris: ac, sicut idem Apostolus dicit, donemus nobismetipsis, si quis adversus aliquem habet querelam, sicut et Deus in Christo donavit nobis (Colos. III, 15, 13), ut, quod jam dixi et saepe dicendum est, charitas cooperiat multitudinem peccatorum (I Pet. IV, 8).

CAPUT VI.

Verum tu, frater, cum quo nunc ago, et de quo in Christo, sicut ipse novit, gaudere desidero, si partis Donati defensionem in hac Maximiani causa velis per ingenii tui et eloquii facultatem suscipere, nec mendaciter agere, quoniam recens est memoria ipsius, hominibus in quos haec gesta sunt, adhuc in corpore constitutis, tot etiam proconsularibus et municipalibus Gestis, ubi adversus vos semper catholica Ecclesia commonita est: ut nec illud de aqua aliena, et de aqua mendacii, et lavacro mortui, et si qua alia sunt hujusmodi, sicut soletis, intelligenda fatearis; sed eo potius modo, ut baptismus Christi ad participationem salutis aeternae datus Ecclesiae, nec extra Ecclesiam judicetur extraneus, nec in alienis deputetur alienus, sed extraneis et alienis valeat ad perniciem, suis autem et propriis ad salutem; atque in illis, cum ad pacem Ecclesiae convertuntur, error emendetur, non Sacramentum errorem puniendo destruatur, utque id quod oberat foris perverso, intus incipiat prodesse correcto: nec illa rursus de non communicando peccatis alienis, de separatione a malis, de non tangendo immundo atque polluto, de cavenda modici fermenti corruptione, et caetera talia, sicut soletis accepturus es, ne vos in Maximiani causa inexplicabiliter implicetis. Sed ita sapiens hoc asseres, hoc tenebis, quod sana doctrina commendat, quod vera regula exemplis propheticis atque apostolicis probat, malos esse potius tolerandos, ne deserantur boni, quam bonos deserendos, ut separentur mali.

Their feet are swift to shed blood (Psal. XIII, 3),» etc. Having said these things, so that they might then show who they were whom the chain of sacrilege drew into the fellowship of the crime, and condemn them with similar severity along with Maximian: Guilty, therefore, they say, of a famous crime, Victorianus of Carcavia, to whom they join eleven others, among whom Felicianus of Musti and Praetextatus of Assura. After these things were said against them, such a great concord was made with them, that nothing of their honors was diminished; no one washed by them, after the feet of the washers were swift to shed blood, was judged to be washed again. Why, therefore, must we despair of our concord? May God turn away the envy of the devil, and the peace of Christ conquer in our hearts: and, as the same Apostle says, let us forgive ourselves, if any one has a complaint against another, even as God in Christ has forgiven us (Colos. III, 15, 13), so that, as I have already said and must often be said, charity may cover a multitude of sins (I Pet. IV, 8).

CHAPTER VI.

But you, brother, with whom I now deal, and concerning whom in Christ, as He Himself knows, I desire to rejoice, if you wish to undertake the defense of the party of Donatus in this cause of Maximian through the faculty of your genius and eloquence, and not to act falsely, since the memory of it is recent, those men in whom these things were done still being in the body, with so many proconsular and municipal Acts, where the Catholic Church has always been reminded: so that you do not admit that matter of the water of another, and of the water of a lie, and the washing of a dead man, and if there are any other things of this kind, to be understood as you are accustomed; but rather in this way, that the baptism of Christ given to the Church for the participation of eternal salvation, should not be judged a stranger outside the Church, nor be accounted as alien among aliens, but should avail for the destruction of the strangers and aliens, but for the salvation of its own and proper ones; and in them, when they are converted to the peace of the Church, let the error be emended, and let not the Sacrament be destroyed by punishing the error, so that that which was a hindrance to the perverse one without, may begin to be profitable to the corrected one within: nor again are you to accept those things concerning not communicating with the sins of others, concerning separation from the evil, concerning not touching the unclean and polluted, concerning guarding against the corruption of a little leaven, and other such things, as you are accustomed, lest you involve yourselves inexplicably in the cause of Maximian. But so wisely will you assert this, this you will hold, which sound doctrine commends, which the true rule proves by prophetic and apostolic examples, that the evil are rather to be tolerated, lest the good be deserted, than that the good are to be deserted, so that the evil may be separated.

Tantum ut ab imitatione, a consensione, a vitae ac morum similitudine reprobi sejungantur, simul crescentes, simul in tribulatione permixti, simul intra retia congregati usque ad tempus messis, ventilationis, et littoris. De persecutione autem, quidquid ad expellendos et sedibus perturbandos Maximianistas a vestris per judices actum est, quomodo defensurus es, nisi hoc prudentiores vestros corrigendi animo, non nocendi moderato terrore fecisse: si qui autem humanum modum excesserunt, sicut in his quae Salvium Membressitanum esse perpessum civitas ipsa testatur, non praescribere caeteris, tanquam palea cum frumentis in una Sacramentorum communione constitutis, vitae autem dissimilitudine separatis?

Quae cum ita sint, amplector istam defensionem tuam. Ista quippe erit, si verax erit; et veritate vincetur, si ista non erit. Amplector, inquam, defensionem tuam; sed hanc esse cernis et meam. Cur non ergo in unitate areae dominicae simul frumentum esse laboremus, simul paleam toleramus? cur non, obsecro te, quae causa, cui bono, ob quam utilitatem, dic mihi? Fugitur unitas, ut Agni unici sanguine populi comparati, adversus invicem studiis contrariis inflammentur, et dividantur oves, quasi nostrae inter nos, patrisfamilias illius qui servo dixit, Pasce oves meas (Joan. XXI, 17), non, Pasce oves tuas; et de quibus dictum est, Ut sit unus grex, et unus pastor (Id. X, 16): qui clamat in Evangelio, In hoc scient omnes quia discipuli mei estis, si veram dilectionem habueritis in vobis (Id. XIII, 35); et, Sinite crescere utraque usque ad messem, ne forte cum vultis colligere zizania, eradicetis simul et triticum (Matth. XIII, 30). Fugitur unitas, ut huc maritus, illuc uxor conveniat: dicat ille, Mecum tene unitatem, quia ego sum vir tuus; respondeat illa, Ibi morior, ubi est pater meus: ut in uno lecto dividant Christum, quos detestamur si dividant lectum. Fugitur unitas, ut propinqui, et cives, friends, and guests, and quicumque sibi humana necessitudine colligati, utrique Christiani, in conviviis ineundis, in matrimoniis tradendis et accipiendis, in emendo ac vendendo, in pactis et placitis, in salutationibus, in consensionibus, in collocutionibus, in omnibus suis rebus negotiisque concordes sint, et ad Dei altare discordes. Qui enim quantamlibet aliunde conceptam, illic deberent finire discordiam, et secundum praeceptum Domini, prius reconciliari fratribus suis, et tunc offerre munus altaris (Id. V, 24), alibi concordes, ibi discordant.

Fugitur unitas, ut nos adversus vestrorum (nolo enim vestras dicere) improbitates quaeramus publicas leges, et adversus ipsas leges armentur Circumcelliones, quas eo ipso furore contemnant, quo in vos cas cum furerent excitarunt.

Only so that from imitation, from consent, from the similarity of life and morals the reprobate should be separated, growing together, mixed together in tribulation, gathered together within the nets until the time of harvest, of winnowing, and of the shore. Concerning the persecution, however, whatever has been done by your people through judges for the expelling and perturbing of the Maximianists from their seats, how are you going to defend it, unless that your more prudent ones did this with the mind of correcting, not with a moderate terror of harming: if however some exceeded the human measure, as in those things which the city itself testifies that Salvius of Membressa suffered, they do not prescribe for the rest, as the chaff with the wheat constituted in one communion of the Sacraments, but separated by dissimilarity of life?

Since these things are so, I embrace that defense of yours. For that will be it, if it be true; and it will be conquered by the truth, if it be not that. I embrace, I say, your defense; but you see that this is also mine. Why, therefore, should we not labor to be wheat together in the unity of the Lord's threshing floor, while we tolerate the chaff together? Why not, I beseech you, what is the cause, for what good, for what utility, tell me? Unity is fled from, so that the people purchased by the blood of the only Lamb may be inflamed against one another with contrary zeal, and the sheep be divided, as if they were ours between us, and not of that master of the house who said to the servant, Feed my sheep (John XXI, 17), not, Feed your sheep; and concerning whom it was said, That there may be one flock, and one shepherd (Id. X, 16): who cries in the Gospel, In this all men shall know that you are my disciples, if you have true love in you (Id. XIII, 35); and, Let both grow until the harvest, lest perhaps when you wish to gather the cockle, you root up the wheat together with it (Matth. XIII, 30). Unity is fled from, so that here the husband, there the wife may meet: let him say, Hold unity with me, because I am your husband; let her answer, I die there, where my father is: so that in one bed they divide Christ, whom we detest if they divide the bed. Unity is fled from, so that relatives, and citizens, and friends, and guests, and whoever are bound together by human closeness, both being Christians, in entering upon banquets, in delivering and receiving in marriage, in buying and selling, in pacts and agreements, in salutations, in consents, in conversations, in all their things and businesses should be in concord, and at the altar of God in discord. For they who ought to finish there whatever discord was conceived from elsewhere, and according to the precept of the Lord, first be reconciled to their brothers, and then offer the gift of the altar (Id. V, 24), being in concord elsewhere, there they are in discord.

Unity is fled from, so that we may seek public laws against the wickedness of your people (for I do not wish to say yours), and the Circumcellions may be armed against those same laws, which they contemn with that very fury with which they excited them against you when they were raging.

Fugitur unitas, ut contra possessores suos rusticana erigatur audacia, et fugitivi servi contra apostolicam disciplinam, non solum a dominis alienentur, verum etiam dominis comminentur; nec solum comminentur, sed et violentissimis aggressionibus depraedentur, auctoribus et ducibus, et in ipso scelere principibus agonisticis confessoribus vestris, qui ad Dei laudes ornant honorem vestrum, qui ad Dei laudes fundunt sanguinem alienum, ut vos propter hominum invidiam collectis vestris, atque discursis promittatis praedas eis, a quibus ablatae sunt, reddituros. Nec tamen et hoc velitis, ut valeatis implere, ne illorum audaciam, quam sibi putaverunt vestri presbyteri necessariam nimium cogamini offendere. Jactant enim praecedentia circa vos merita sua, demonstrantes, et enumerantes ante istam legem, qua gaudetis vobis redditam libertatem, quod loca et basilicas per eos presbyteri vestri vastatis nostris fugatisque tenuerunt, ut si in eos volueritis esse severi, beneficiis eorum appareatis ingrati.

Fugitur unitas, ut quicumque apud nos ferre detrectaverint disciplinam, ad illos fugiant defendendi, ut vobis offerantur rebaptizandi. Sicut iste de agro subdiaconus Rusticianus, cujus causa haec ad te scribere magno sum dolore ac timore compulsus, propter reprobos et perversos mores excommunicatus a presbytero suo, multorum etiam in illa regione debitor factus, et contra ecclesiasticum vigorem, et contra creditores suos, aliud praesidium non quaesivit, nisi ut abs te iterum plagaretur, et ab ipsis quasi mundissimus amaretur. Jam talem diaconum nostrum, et ipsum a suo presbytero excommunicatum, decessor tuus rebaptizavit, et vestrum diaconum fecit, qui non post multos dies, eorumdem perditorum sicut desideravit commixtus audaciae, et in nocturna aggressione, in medio latrocinio atque incendio suo, subvenientis multitudinis concursu, peremptus est. Hi sunt fructus divisionis hujus quam sanare non vultis, sic fugiendo unitatem, quemadmodum fuerat ipsa divisio fugienda; quae per seipsam foeda est, et damnabilis Deo, etsi propter ipsam haec et alia tam horrenda et nefanda non fierent.

CAPUT VII.

Unity is fled from, so that a rustic audacity may be raised up against its possessors, and fugitive slaves, against apostolic discipline, should not only be alienated from their masters, but even threaten their masters; and not only threaten, but also despoil them with most violent aggressions, with your agonistic confessors as authors and leaders, and as princes in the crime itself, who for the praises of God adorn your honor, who for the praises of God shed the blood of another, so that you, on account of the envy of men, having gathered your people and run about, may promise to return the spoils to those from whom they were taken. Nor yet would you wish even this, that you might be able to fulfill it, lest you be compelled to offend too much the audacity of those men, which your presbyters thought necessary for themselves. For they boast of their preceding merits toward you, demonstrating and enumerating before this law, by which you rejoice that liberty has been restored to you, that your presbyters held the places and basilicas through them, our people being devastated and put to flight, so that if you wish to be severe against them, you would appear ungrateful for their benefits.

Unity is fled from, so that whoever among us should refuse to bear discipline, may flee to them to be defended, so that they may be offered to you to be rebaptized. As that subdeacon Rusticianus from the country, on whose account I have been compelled to write these things to you with great grief and fear, being excommunicated by his presbyter on account of reprobate and perverse morals, having become a debtor of many in that region, and against ecclesiastical vigor, and against his creditors, sought no other protection, except that he should be struck again by you, and be loved by them as if most clean. Already your predecessor rebaptized such a deacon of ours, and he himself excommunicated by his presbyter, and made him your deacon, who not after many days, having mixed with the audacity of the same lost ones as he desired, and in a nocturnal aggression, in the midst of his robbery and fire, being slain by the concourse of a multitude coming to help, was killed. These are the fruits of this division which you do not wish to heal, so by fleeing unity, as the division itself ought to have been fled from; which is foul through itself, and damnable to God, even if these and other such horrendous and unspeakable things did not happen on account of it.

CHAPTER VII.

Agnoscamus ergo, frater, pacem Christi, pariterque teneamus, et quantum Deus donat, simul boni esse studeamus, et simul malos salva unitate, quanta possumus disciplina emendemus, et propter ipsam unitatem, quanta possumus patientia toleremus: ne, sicut Christus admonuit, cum volumus ante tempus colligere zizania, quae beatus Cyprianus non extra, sed in Ecclesia videri cernique testatus est, eradicemus simul et triticum. Neque enim revera vos habetis propria quaedam privilegia sanctitatis, ut nos polluant mali nostri, et vos non polluant mali vestri; ut nos antiqua contaminet, quam nescimus, timiditas traditorum, et vos non contaminet praesens, quam videtis, audacia perditorum. Agnoscamus arcam illam quae praefiguravit Ecclesiam: simul illic munda animalia simus; nec in ea nobiscum etiam immunda portari usque in finem diluvii recusemus. Simul in arca fuerunt, sed non simul Domino in odorem sacrificii de immundis obtulit Noe (Gen. VII, VIII). Nec ideo tamen a mundis aliquibus arca ante tempus propter immunda deserta est. Corvus tantum deseruit, et se ante tempus ab illius arcae communione separavit; sed de binis immundis, non de septenis mundis fuit: hujus separationis immunditiam detestemur. Nam quicumque talibus moribus laudabiles sunt, facit eos sola separatio ista damnabiles: quia filius malus ipse se justum dicit, exitum autem suum non abluit; quamvis insolenter elatus et ipse suo tumore caecatus audeat dicere, quod Propheta praevidens detestatus est: Noli me tangere, quoniam mundus sum. (Isai. LXV, 5) Quisquis ergo ante tempus velut propter quorumdam immunditiam, congregationem hujus deserit unitatis, tanquam arcam in diluvio, munda atque immunda portantem, ostendit se potius hoc esse quod fugit. Hoc voluit Dominus, ut et in hac civitate plebs tua per os cujusdam . . . . .

(Vacat spatium XXVII versuum in Ms. exemplari Vaticano, unde eruta est epistola CVIII).

EPISTOLA CIX.

Severus, Milevitanus antistes, maximam delectationem fructumque ex Augustini lectione capere se profitetur, summis laudibus ipsum efferens, ac demum provocans ad rescribendum.

Venerabili ac desiderabili et toto sinu charitatis amplectando episcopo AUGUSTINO, SEVERUS.

Let us recognize, therefore, brother, the peace of Christ, and let us hold it together, and as much as God grants, let us study to be good together, and together let us emend the evil with whatever discipline we can, saving unity, and on account of that same unity, let us tolerate them with whatever patience we can: lest, as Christ admonished, when we wish to gather the cockle before the time, which the blessed Cyprian testified was to be seen and discerned not without, but in the Church, we root up the wheat together with it. For you truly do not have certain private privileges of sanctity, so that our evil ones should pollute us, and your evil ones should not pollute you; so that an ancient fear of traditors, which we do not know, should contaminate us, and the present audacity of the lost, which you see, should not contaminate you. Let us recognize that ark which prefigured the Church: let us be clean animals together there; nor let us refuse that even the unclean be carried in it with us until the end of the flood. They were in the ark together, but Noah did not offer together of the unclean in the odor of sacrifice to the Lord (Gen. VII, VIII). Nor yet on that account was the ark deserted before the time by any clean ones because of the unclean. Only the raven deserted it, and separated itself from the fellowship of that ark before the time; but it was from the two unclean, not from the seven clean: let us detest the uncleanness of this separation. For whoever are praiseworthy with such morals, this separation alone makes them damnable: because the evil son says that he himself is just, but his exit he does not wash; although insolently elated and himself blinded by his own swelling, he dares to say what the Prophet, foreseeing it, detested: Touch me not, because I am clean. (Isai. LXV, 5) Whoever, therefore, before the time, as if on account of the uncleanness of certain ones, deserts the congregation of this unity, as if the ark in the flood carrying clean and unclean, shows himself rather to be that which he flees. This the Lord willed, that even in this city your people through the mouth of a certain one...

(A space of XXVII verses is vacant in the Vatican MS. exemplar, from which epistle CVIII was rescued).

EPISTLE CIX.

Severus, bishop of Milevis, professes that he takes the greatest delight and fruit from the reading of Augustine, extolling him with the highest praises, and finally provoking him to write back.

To the venerable and desirable bishop AUGUSTINE, to be embraced with the whole bosom of charity, SEVERUS.

1. Deo gratias, frater Augustine, cujus donum est quidquid in nobis bonorum gaudiorum est. Fateor, bene mihi tecum est; multum te lego: mirum dicam, sed verum plane, quam mihi absens solet esse praesentia, tam praesens facta est absentia tui. Nullae se nobis interponunt turbulentae actiones temporalium rerum. Ago quantum possum, etsi non tantum possum quantum volo: quid ego dicam, quantum volo? Nosti optime quam avarus sim tui: nec tamen murmuro, quia non tantum ago quantum volo, quoniam rursus non minus ago quantum possum. Deo ergo gratias, frater dulcissime, bene mihi tecum est, gaudeo tecum arctius conjunctus; et ut ita dicam, unissime quantum potest adhaerens tibi, redundantiam uberum tuorum suscipiens vires comparo, si possim idoneus effici ad ea concutienda et exprimenda, ut quidquid secretius et interius, clausum custodiunt remotis pellibus quas adhuc lactenti sugendas inserunt, ipsa mihi viscera si possibile est, dignentur effundere. Viscera, inquam, mihi ut refundantur cupio: viscera tua, viscera pinguia sagina coelesti, et condita omni dulcedine spirituali; viscera tua, viscera pura, viscera simplicia, nisi quod duplici sunt vinculo redimita geminae charitatis; viscera tua, viscera perfusa lumine veritatis, et refulgentia veritatem. Horum me manationi vel resultationi subjicio, quo nox mea in lumine tuo deficiat, ut in diei claritate simul ambulare possimus. O vere artificiosa apis Dei, construens favos divini nectaris plenos, manantes misericordiam et veritatem, per quos discurrens deliciatur anima mea, et vitali pastu quidquid in se minus invenit, aut imbecillum sentit, resarcire et suffulcire molitur.

2. Benedicitur Dominus per praeconium oris tui, et fidele ministerium: quod sic concinere et respondere facis canenti tibi Domino, ut quidquid de ejus plenitudine ad nos usque redundat, jucundius efficiatur et gratius per tuum elegantem famulatum, et succinctam munditiam, et fidele ac castum simplexque ministerium: quod ita resplendere facis per argutias tuas et vigilantiam tuam, ut perstringat oculos, et in se rapiat; nisi tu idem innuas Dominum, ut quidquid in te delectabile lucet, referentes nos ad illum, ipsius esse agnoscamus de cujus bonitate tam bonus es, et de cujus puritate et simplicitate ac pulchritudine purus, simplex et pulcher es; et illi agentes gratias de bono tuo, dono suo dignetur nos tibi adjungere, vel quoquo modo subjungere, ut plenius subjiciamur illi, cujus te ductu ac moderatione talem gaudemus, ut et tibi contingat gaudere de nobis: quod non diffido ore, si tuis me orationibus adjuves, cujus imitatione nonnihil jam profeci, ut talis esse desiderem.

1. Thanks be to God, brother Augustine, whose gift is whatever of good joys is in us. I confess, it is well with me with you; I read you much: I will say a wonder, but clearly true, that as much as your presence is accustomed to be absence to me, so much has your absence become presence of you. No turbulent actions of temporal things interpose themselves to us. I do as much as I can, although I cannot as much as I will: what should I say, as much as I will? You know best how greedy I am of you: nor yet do I murmur, because I do not do as much as I will, since again I do no less than as much as I can. Thanks be to God, therefore, most sweet brother, it is well with me with you, I rejoice being more closely joined with you; and so to speak, adhering to you as uniquely as possible, receiving the redundancy of your breasts I prepare my strength, if I might be able to be made fit to shake and squeeze them, so that whatever they keep closed more secretly and inwardly, the skins being removed which they still insert to be sucked by the suckling, the very bowels, if it is possible, may deign to pour out to me. The bowels, I say, I desire to be poured out to me: your bowels, bowels fat with celestial fodder, and seasoned with all spiritual sweetness; your bowels, pure bowels, simple bowels, except that they are bound with a double link of twin charity; your bowels, bowels infused with the light of truth, and reflecting the truth. To the flowing or reflecting of these I subject myself, that my night may fail in your light, so that we may be able to walk together in the clarity of the day. O truly skilful bee of God, constructing honeycombs full of divine nectar, flowing with mercy and truth, through which my soul running about is delighted, and with vital food whatever it finds less in itself, or feels weak, it strives to repair and support.

2. The Lord is blessed through the proclamation of your mouth, and your faithful ministry: which you cause to so harmonize and respond to the Lord singing to you, that whatever of His fullness overflows even to us, is made more pleasant and more grateful through your elegant service, and succinct cleanliness, and faithful and chaste and simple ministry: which you cause to so shine through your cleverness and your vigilance, that it may dazzle the eyes, and snatch them into itself; unless you yourself point to the Lord, so that whatever shines delightfully in you, we referring it to Him, may recognize it to be His from whose goodness you are so good, and from whose purity and simplicity and beauty you are pure, simple and beautiful; and to Him giving thanks for your good, He may deign to join us to you, or in some way subject us, that we may be more fully subjected to Him, by whose leading and moderation we rejoice that you are such, so that it may also happen to you to rejoice concerning us: which I do not distrust in my heart, if you help me with your prayers, by whose imitation I have already profited not a little, so that I desire to be such.

Vides quid facias, quod sic bonus es, quam nos rapias in amorem proximi, qui nobis primus ad dilectionem Dei et ultimus gradus est, et quasi limes quo sibi uterque annectitur Dei et proximi; in quo nos, ut dixi, quasi limite stantes amborum calore tangimur, et amborum flagramus amore. Sed quantum nos iste ignis exusserit et purgaverit proximi, tantum nos in illum puriorem Dei ire compellit. In quo jam nullus nobis amandi modus imponitur, quando ipse ibi modus est sine modo amare. Non ergo verendum est ne plus amemus Dominum nostrum, sed ne minus, timendum.

3. Haec epistola superior, quae tibi me quasi abstersa tristitia felicitate actionum, de liberali otio quod tecum mihi agere licuit in hoc rure posito (nam ita licere potuit) laetiorem offert, antequam sane venerabilis episcopus nos visitare dignaretur, quasi meta illorum gaudiorum scripta est, et quod vere mirer, eodem die venit quo scripta est. Quid hoc est, quaeso, anima mea, nisi forte quod nos delectat; tamen etsi honestum est, non tamen satis utile, quia in parte est? Interim licet universo hanc ipsam partem, id est nos ipsos, quantum pro peccatis nostris nobis cedit materia, id est nos ipsi cedimus, nobis etimatiores et compaginabiliores, si tamen admittis hoc verbum, aptare moliamur. Habes epistolam non pro tua magnitudine, sed pro mea parvitate longiorem, qua te provocaverim, ut jam non pro mea parvitate, sed pro tua magnitudine mihi epistola mittatur. Quae tamen quantacumque erit, mihi longa non erit, cui totum tempus breve est ad te legendum. Rescribe mihi quando, aut ubi occurrere debeam, propter illam causam qua me jussisti occurrere. Quod si est integra, et non forte aliud melius placuit, tunc occurram; sin minus, rogo te, nolo me a cursu revoces meo: illa enim sola visa est, quam praeponerem mihi. Fratres omnes qui nobis in Domino conservi sunt, et desidero multum, et saluto.

EPISTOLA CX.

Augustinus Severo episcopo, blandissime expostulans et quaerens se ab ipso tantopere laudatum in superiore epistola.

Domino beatissimo atque dulcissimo, venerabili nimiumque desiderabili fratri et consacerdoti SEVERO, et qui tecum sunt fratribus, AUGUSTINUS et qui mecum sunt fratres, in Domino salutem.

You see what you do, because you are so good, how you snatch us into the love of our neighbor, which is for us the first step toward the love of God and the last, and as it were the boundary by which each is annexed to the other, the love of God and of neighbor; in which we, as I said, standing as it were on the boundary of both, are touched by the heat of both, and burn with the love of both. But as much as that fire of neighbor has burned and purged us, so much it compels us to go more pure into that love of God. In which already no measure of loving is imposed on us, since He Himself there is the measure, to love without measure. It is not therefore to be feared lest we love our Lord too much, but it is to be feared lest too little.

3. This superior letter, which offers me to you as if having wiped away sadness with the happiness of actions, concerning the liberal leisure which it was permitted me to spend with you, being placed in this country (for so it could be permitted) more joyful, was written as if a goal of those joys, before indeed the venerable bishop deigned to visit us, and what I truly wonder at, it came on the same day it was written. What is this, I ask, my soul, except perhaps that which delights us; yet although it is honest, it is not yet useful enough, because it is in part? Meanwhile it is permitted to the universe to adapt this very part, that is ourselves, as much as the matter yields to us for our sins, that is we ourselves yield, more estimable and more linkable to ourselves, if yet you admit this word. You have a letter longer not according to your greatness, but according to my smallness, with which I have provoked you, that now not according to my smallness, but according to your greatness, a letter may be sent to me. Which however as great as it will be, will not be long to me, to whom the whole time is short for reading you. Write back to me when, or where I ought to meet you, on account of that cause for which you ordered me to meet. Which if it is intact, and not perhaps something else seemed better, then I shall meet; but if not, I ask you, I do not wish you to recall me from my course: for that alone seemed to be what I would prefer for myself. All the brothers who are fellow-servants with us in the Lord, I both desire much, and salute.

EPISTLE CX.

Augustine to Bishop Severus, most blandly expostulating and seeking why he was praised so much by him in the superior letter.

To the most blessed and sweet lord, the venerable and too desirable brother and fellow-priest SEVERUS, and to the brothers who are with you, AUGUSTINE and the brothers who are with me, greeting in the Lord.

1. Epistola mea, quam pervexit charissimus filius et condiaconus noster Timotheus, jam parata erat profecturo, quando filii nostri Quodvultdeus et Gaudentius ad nos venerunt cum litteris tuis. Inde factum est ut continuo proficiscens, non afferret responsionem meam, quoniam post illorum adventum quantulumcumque apud nos immoratus est, et profecturus per horas singulas videbatur. Sed etsi per eum respondissem, adhuc debitor forem. Nam et nunc quod videor respondisse debitor sum, non dico charitatis, quam tanto magis debemus quanto amplius impenderimus, cujus nos perpetuos debitores ostendit Apostolus dicens, Nemini quidquam debeatis, nisi ut invicem diligatis (Rom. XIII, 8); sed ipsius epistolae tuae: quando enim sufficiam tuae suavitati, tantaeque aviditati animi tui, quam mihi lecta nuntiavit? Rem quidem mihi in te notissimam insinuavit; verumtamen etsi non mihi rei novae insinuatrix, nova tamen rescriptorum exactrix fuit.

2. Miraris fortasse cur me hujus debiti persolutorem imparem dicam, cum tu de me tam multum sentias, qui me tanquam anima mea noveris: sed hoc ipsum est quod mihi magnam difficultatem fecit respondendi litteris tuis, quia et quantus mihi videaris parco dicere propter verecundiam tuam, et utique minus dicendo, cum tu in me tantam laudem contuleris, quid nisi debitor remanebo? Quod non curarem, si ea quae de me ad me locutus es, non ex charitate sincerissima dicta scirem, sed adulatione inimica amicitiae. Hoc quippe modo nec debitor fierem, quia talia rependere non deberem: sed quanto magis novi quam fideli animo loqueris, tanto magis video quanto debito graver.

3. Vide autem quid mihi contigit, ut me quodammodo ipse laudaverim, qui me a te fideliter laudatum dixerim. Sed quid aliud dicerem, quam id quod de te admonui. quem nosti. Ecce mihi novam feci quaestionem quam tu non proposuisti, et eam fortassis exspectas ut solvam: ita mihi parum erat quod debitor eram, nisi etiam me ampliore debito ipse cumularem; quanquam hoc facile sit ostendere, et, si non ostendam, facilè tibi videre, et vera infideliter dici posse, et non vera fideliter. Qui enim sic credit ut loquitur, etsi non vera loquitur, fideliter loquitur; qui autem non credit quae loquitur, etsi vera loquitur, infideliter loquitur. Numquid ergo dubito quod ea de me credas quae scripsisti? Quae cum in me non agnosco, potuisti fideliter de me non vera dicere.

1. My letter, which our most dear son and fellow-deacon Timothy carried, was already prepared for him when he was about to depart, when our sons Quodvultdeus and Gaudentius came to us with your letters. Thence it happened that departing immediately, he did not bring my response, since after their arrival he stayed with us for however short a time, and seemed about to depart through each hour. But even if I had responded through him, I would still be a debtor. For even now that I seem to have responded I am a debtor, I do not say of charity, which we owe so much more as we have expended more, of which the Apostle shows us to be perpetual debtors saying, Owe no man any thing, but to love one another (Rom. XIII, 8); but of your letter itself: for when shall I suffice for your sweetness, and for such a great greediness of your mind, which it announced to me when read? It indeed suggested to me a thing most known in you; nevertheless, although it was not a suggestor of a new thing to me, it was a new exactress of responses.

2. You wonder perhaps why I say I am an unequal payer of this debt, when you think so much of me, who know me as my own soul: but this itself is what made for me a great difficulty of responding to your letters, because I spare to say even how great you seem to me on account of your modesty, and certainly by saying less, when you have conferred such praise upon me, what else shall I remain but a debtor? Which I would not care for, if I knew that those things which you spoke concerning me to me, were not said from most sincere charity, but by adulation inimical to friendship. In this way indeed I would not even become a debtor, because I ought not to repay such things: but the more I know with how faithful a mind you speak, the more I see by how great a debt I am weighed down.

3. See however what has happened to me, that in a certain way I have praised myself, who have said that I was faithfully praised by you. But what else should I say, than that which I have suggested concerning you, whom you know. Behold, I have made a new question for myself which you did not propose, and you perhaps expect that I should solve it: so it was little to me that I was a debtor, unless I also piled up a more ample debt for myself; although this may be easy to show, and, if I do not show it, easy for you to see, both that true things can be said unfaithfully, and not true things faithfully. For he who so believes as he speaks, although he does not speak true things, speaks faithfully; but he who does not believe what he speaks, although he speaks true things, speaks unfaithfully. Do I then doubt that you believe those things concerning me which you wrote? Since I do not recognize them in me, you have been able to say faithfully of me things that are not true.

4. Sed nolo te vel benevolentia sic falli; cui benevolentiae debitor sum, quia et tam fideliter, et tam benevole ea quae vera sunt, possum de te dicere, nisi, ut supra dixi, verecundiae tuae parcerem. Ego autem quando laudor a germanissimo et familiarissimo animae meae, velut a meipso lauder, sic habeo. Quod cernis quam molestum sit, etiam vera si dicantur. Quanto potius quia etiam cum sis altera anima mea, imo una sit anima tua et mea, sic in me falleris putando mihi adesse quae desunt, quomodo et de se ipse unus homo falli potest? Quod non tantumideo nolo, ne quem diligo tu fallaris, verum etiam ne minus ores ut sim quod jam me esse credis: nec in eo sum tibi debitor, ut eadem progressu benevolentiae credam et loquar de te bona, quae adhuc et tu tibi deesse cognoscis, sed ut animo tam quidem benevolo ea tantum dicam bona tua, dona Dei, de quibus in te certus sum. Quod non ideo non facio ne fallar in eis, sed ne tu a me laudatus, ipse te laudasse videaris; et propter illam justitiae regulam, qua mihi fieri nolo. Quod si fieri debet, eligo esse debitor, quamdiu puto non esse faciendum; si autem fieri non debet, nec debitor sum.

5. Sed novi quod mihi ad haec respondere possis: ita ista loqueris quasi prolixam epistolam tuam de laudibus meis desideraverim. Absit ut hoc de te credam; sed epistola tua, nolo dicere quam veris, vel quam non veris, plena tamen laudibus meis, hoc de me ut reprehenderem, etiam te nolente, flagitavit. Nam si quid aliud volebas ut scriberem, largitorem me desiderabas, non redditorem. Porro justitiae ordo sic habet, ut debitum prius reddamus; tum deinde cui reddimus, si hoc placet, aliquid et donemus. Quanquam etiam talia qualia desiderasti ut scriberem, si diligentius praecepta dominica cogitemus, reddimus potius quam donamus, si nemini quidquam debendum est, nisi ut invicem diligamus. Ipsa quippe dilectio exigit debitum, ut fraternae charitati servientes, eum qui se adjuvari recte velit, in quo possumus, adjuvemus. Sed, mi frater, et tu credo quod noveris quanta sint in manibus meis, quibus ob diversas curas quas nostrae servitutis necessitas habet, vix mihi paucissimae guttae temporis stillantur, quas aliis rebus si impendero, contra officium meum mihi facere videor.

4. But I do not wish you to be so deceived even by benevolence; to which benevolence I am a debtor, because I can say both so faithfully, and so benevolently those things which are true concerning you, unless, as I said above, I should spare your modesty. I however, when I am praised by the most brotherly and most familiar one of my soul, have it as if I were praised by myself. Which you see how troublesome it is, even if true things are said. How much more because even when you are my other soul, or rather your soul and mine are one, you are so deceived in me by thinking that those things are present in me which are lacking, just as one man can be deceived concerning himself? Which I do not wish not only for this reason, lest you whom I love be deceived, but also lest you pray less that I may be what you already believe me to be: nor in this am I a debtor to you, that I should believe and speak the same good things of you by the progress of benevolence, which you still recognize to be lacking to yourself, but that with a mind so indeed benevolent I should say only those good things of yours, the gifts of God, concerning which I am certain in you. Which I do not fail to do not so that I may not be deceived in them, but lest you praised by me, should seem to have praised yourself; and on account of that rule of justice, by which I do not wish it to be done to me. Which if it ought to be done, I choose to be a debtor, as long as I think it ought not to be done; if however it ought not to be done, I am not even a debtor.

5. But I know what you can respond to me to these things: you speak those things as if I had desired a prolix letter of yours concerning my praises. Far be it that I should believe this of you; but your letter, I do not wish to say how true, or how not true, yet full of my praises, demanded this of me so that I might reprehend it, even you being unwilling. For if you wanted me to write anything else, you desired me as a giver, not a payer. Furthermore, the order of justice has it thus, that we should first return the debt; then finally to him to whom we return it, if this pleases, we may also give something. Although even such things as you desired that I should write, if we should more diligently think upon the dominical precepts, we return rather than give, if to no one anything is to be owed, except that we should love one another. For love itself exacts the debt, so that serving fraternal charity, we should help him who rightly wishes himself to be helped, in what we can. But, my brother, I believe that you also know how many things are in my hands, by which on account of diverse cares which the necessity of our servitude has, vix are the very fewest drops of time distilled to me, which if I expend on other things, I seem to myself to act against my office.

6. Quod enim vis, ut ad te prolixam epistolam scribam, et hoc quidem debeo, fateor; debeo prorsus hoc tam dulci, tam sincerae, tam merae voluntati tuae. Sed quia bonus es amator justitiae, inde te admoneo ut de illa quam diligis, hoc a me libentius audias. Cernis prius esse quod et tibi et aliis, quam quod tibi tantummodo debeo; et tempus ad omnia mihi non sufficit, quando nec ad illa quae priora sunt. Unde omnes charissimi et familiarissimi mei, quorum in nomine Christi inter primos mihi es, rem facient officii sui, si non solum alia mihi scribenda ipsi non imponant, verum etiam caeteros quanta possunt auctoritate et sancta benignitate prohibeant; ne videar ego durus cum a singulis petita non dedero, dum ea volo magis reddere quae omnibus debeo. Denique cum sicut speramus et promissum tenemus, ad nos venerit Venerabilitas tua, scies quibus operibus litterarum et quantum occupatus sim, et instantius facies quod rogavi, ut et alios quos potueris, mihi aliquid aliud scribendum volentes injungere, a me demoliaris. Dominus Deus noster impleat cordis tui tam grandem et tam sanctum sinum quem ipse fecit, domine beatissime.

EPISTOLA CXI.

Augustinus Victoriano presbytero, consolans eum ad toleranter accipienda mala quae barbari, in Italiam et Hispaniam incursionem facientes, inferebant sanctis viris et sacris virginibus.

Domino dilectissimo et desiderantissimo fratri et compresbytero VICTORIANO, AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

1. Litterae tuae impleverunt grandi dolore cor nostrum, quibus petisti ut prolixo opere aliqua responderem; cum talibus malis magis prolixi gemitus et fletus, quam prolixi libri debeantur. Totus quippe mundus tantis affligitur cladibus, ut pene pars nulla terrarum sit, ubi non talia, qualia scripsisti, committantur atque plangantur. Nam ante parvum tempus, etiam in illis solitudinibus Aegypti, ubi monasteria separata ab omni strepitu, quasi secura delogerant , a barbaris interfecti sunt fratres. Jamvero quae modo in regionibus Italiae, quae in Galliis nefaria perpetrata sint, etiam vos latere non arbitron; de Hispanis quoque tot provinciis, quae ab his malis diu videbantur intactae, coeperunt jam talia nuntiari. Sed quid longe imus? Ecce in regione nostra Hipponensi, quoniam eam barbari non attigerunt, clericorum donatistarum et Circumcellionum latrocinia sic vastant ecclesias, ut barbarorum fortasse facta mitiora sint.

6. For that which you wish, that I should write a prolix letter to you, even this indeed I owe, I confess; I owe this absolutely to this so sweet, so sincere, so pure will of yours. But because you are a good lover of justice, thence I admonish you so that you may hear this from me more willingly concerning her whom you love. You see that that which I owe to both you and others is prior to that which I owe to you alone; and time does not suffice me for all things, when it does not even for those things which are prior. Whence all my most dear and most familiar ones, of whom in the name of Christ you are among the first to me, will do a thing of their office, if not only they themselves do not impose other things to be written by me, but even prohibit the rest with as much authority and holy benignity as they can; lest I should seem hard when I have not given the things asked by individuals, while I wish rather to return those things which I owe to all. Finally when as we hope and hold the promise, your Venerability shall come to us, you will know by what works of letters and how much I am occupied, and you will more instantly do what I have asked, so that you may demolish from me others whom you can, wishing to enjoin me to write something else. May the Lord our God fill so great and so holy a bosom of your heart which He Himself made, most blessed lord.

EPISTLE CXI.

Augustine to Victorianus the presbyter, consoling him to accept with tolerance the evils which the barbarians, making an incursion into Italy and Spain, were bringing upon holy men and sacred virgins.

To the most dear lord and most desirable brother and fellow-presbyter VICTORIANUS, AUGUSTINE, greeting in the Lord.

1. Your letter filled our heart with great grief, in which you asked that I should respond something with a prolix work; when to such evils more prolix groans and weeping are owed, than prolix books. For the whole world is afflicted by such great calamities, that there is almost no part of the lands where such things, as you have written, are not committed and lamented. For a short time ago, even in those solitudes of Egypt, where the monasteries separated from all noise had lodged as if secure, the brothers were killed by barbarians. Now indeed what nefarious things have been perpetrated just now in the regions of Italy, what in the Gauls, I think does not even lie hidden from you; from so many provinces of Spain also, which for a long time seemed untouched by these evils, such things have already begun to be announced. But why do we go far? Behold in our Hippo region, since the barbarians have not reached it, the robberies of the Donatist clerics and Circumcellions so devastate the churches, that the deeds of the barbarians are perhaps milder.

Quis enim barbarus excogitare potuit quod isti, ut in oculos clericorum nostrorum calcem et acetum mitterent, quorum membra etiam caetera plagis horrendis vulneribusque sauciarunt? Depraedantur etiam domos aliquas et incendunt, fructus aridos diripiunt, humidos fundunt, et talia caeteris comminando, multos etiam rebaptizari compellunt. Pridie quam ista ad te dictavi, ex uno loco per hujusmodi terrores quadraginta et octo animae mihi rebaptizatae nuntiatae sunt.

2. Plangenda sunt haec, non miranda, et exclamandum ad Deum, ut non secundum merita nostra. sed secundum misericordiam suam a tantis malis liberet nos. Nam quid utique sperandum fuit generi humano, cum haec et in Prophetis et in Evangelio tanto aute praedicta sint? Non itaque debemus tam nobisipsis esse contrarii, ut credamus quando leguntur, et queramur quando complentur: sed potius et illi qui increduli fuerant, cum haec in sanctis Libris conscripta legerent vel audirent, nunc saltem credere debent cum compleri jam vident; ut de his tum magnis pressuris tanquam in torculari Domini Dei nostri, sicut amurca infidelium murmurantium et blasphemantium fluit, ita oleum quoque fidelium confitentium et orantium exprimi et liquari non cesset. Illis enim qui contra christianam fidem querelas impias jactare non quiescunt, dicentes quod antequam ista doctrina per mundum praedicaretur, tanta mala non patiebatur genus humanum, facile est ex Evangelio respondere; Dominus enim dicit: Servus nesciens voluntatem domini sui, et faciens digna plagis, vapulabit paucas; servus autem sciens voluntatem domini sui, et faciens digna plagis, vapulabit multas (Luc. XII, 47, 48). Quid ergo mirum, si christianis temporibus iste mundus, tanquam servus jam sciens voluntatem Domini sui, et faciens digna plagis, vapulat multas? Attendunt quanta celeritate Evangelium praedicatur, et non attendunt quanta perversitate contemnitur. Servi autem Dei humiles et sancti, qui dupliciter mala temporalia patiuntur, quia et ab ipsis impiis, et cum ipsis patiuntur, habent consolationes suas, et spem futuri seculi; unde dicit Apostolus: Non sunt condignae passiones hujus temporis ad futuram gloriam, quae revelabitur in nobis (Rom. VIII, 18).

For what barbarian could have thought out that these men, so that they might send lime and vinegar into the eyes of our clerics, whose other members they also mangled with horrendous blows and wounds? They also plunder some houses and set them on fire, they snatch away dry fruits, they pour out moist ones, and by threatening such things to the rest, they compel many also to be rebaptized. The day before I dictated these things to you, from one place through terrors of this kind forty-eight rebaptized souls were announced to me.

2. These things are to be lamented, not wondered at, and we must cry out to God, that He may deliver us from such great evils, not according to our merits, but according to His mercy. For what indeed was to be hoped for by the human race, when these things were predicted so long ago both in the Prophets and in the Gospel? Therefore we ought not to be so contrary to ourselves, as to believe when they are read, and to complain when they are fulfilled: but rather even those who had been incredulous, when they read or heard these things written in the holy Books, ought now at least to believe when they already see them being fulfilled; so that from these then great pressures as if in the press of the Lord our God, just as the amurca of the incredulous murmuring and blaspheming flows out, so also the oil of the faithful confessing and praying may not cease to be expressed and clarified. For to those who do not rest from casting impious complaints against the Christian faith, saying that before this doctrine was preached through the world, the human race did not suffer such great evils, it is easy to respond from the Gospel; for the Lord says: The servant not knowing the will of his lord, and doing things worthy of stripes, shall be beaten with few; but the servant knowing the will of his lord, and doing things worthy of stripes, shall be beaten with many (Luke XII, 47, 48). What wonder then, if in Christian times this world, as a servant already knowing the will of his Lord, and doing things worthy of stripes, is beaten with many? They attend to with what great celerity the Gospel is preached, and they do not attend to with what great perversity it is despised. But the humble and holy servants of God, who suffer temporal evils doubly, because they suffer both from the impious themselves, and with them, have their consolations, and the hope of the future world; whence the Apostle says: The sufferings of this time are not worthy of the future glory, which shall be revealed in us (Rom. VIII, 18).

3. Proinde, charissime, etiam illis quorum verba dicis te ferre non posse, quoniam dicunt, Si nos peccatores ista meruimus, quare et servi Dei barbarorum ferro perempti sunt, et ancillae Dei captivae ductae sunt? humiliter et veraciter et pie responde: Quantamlibet enim justitiam servemus, quantamlibet Domino obedientiam exhibeamus, numquid meliores esse possumus illis tribus viris, qui in caminum ignis ardentis pro conservanda lege Dei projecti sunt? Et tamen lege quid illic dicat Azarias, unus ex tribus qui aperiens os suum in medio ignis, dixit: Benedictus es, Domine Deus patrum nostrorum, et laudabilis; et gloriosum nomen tuum in saecula: quoniam justus es in omnibus quae fecisti nobis, et omnia opera tua vera, et rectae viae tuae, et omnia judicia tua veritas, et judicia veritatis fecisti per omnia quae intulisti nobis, et civitati sanctae patrum nostrorum Jerusalem; quoniam in veritate and judicio intulisti nobis omnia haec, propter peccata nostra; quoniam peccavimus, et Legi tuae non paruimus, et mandatis tuis non obandivimus, ut bene nobis esset; et omnia quae intulisti nobis, in judicio vero intulisti. Et tradidisti nos in manus iniquorum inimicissimorum transfugarum, et regi injusto et pessimo ultra universam terram. Et nunc non est ut possimus aperire os: vere confusio et opprobrium facti sumus servis tuis, et eis qui te colunt. Ne tradideris nos in perpetuum propter nomen tuum, Domine, et ne despexeris testamentum tuum, et ne abstuleris misericordiam tuam a nobis, propter Abraham qui a te dilectus est, et propter Isaac servum tuum, et Israel sanctum tuum, quibus locutus es multiplicaturum te semen eorum ut astra coeli et arenam maris: quoniam, Domine, minimi facti sumus prae omnibus nationibus, et sumus humiles hodie in terra propter peccata nostra (Dan. III, 26-37). Vides certe, frater, quales viri, quam sancti, quam fortes in medio tribulationis, ubi tamen eis parcebatur, et eos urere ipsa flamma verebatur, peccata sua confitebantur, pro quibus se digne et juste humiliari noverant, nec tacebant.

4. Numquid etiam meliores esse possumus ipso Daniele, de quo per Ezechielem prophetam dicit Deus ad principem Tyri: Numquid tu sapientior quam Daniel (Ezech. XXVIII. 3)? Et qui ponitur unus in tribus justis quos dicit Deus solos se liberaturum; ostendens utique in illis tres quasdam formas justorum, quos ita se liberaturum dicit, ut nec filios suos secum liberent. sed ipsi soli liberentur, Noe. Daniel, et Job (Id. XIV, 14, 16)? Lege tamen etiam precem Danielis, et vide quemadmodum in captivitate positus peccata, non tantum populi sui, verum etiam sua confiteatur, et pro his dicat per justitiam Dei se ad illam captivitatis poenam et opprobria pervenisse. Sic enim scriptum est: Et dedi faciem meam ad Dominum Deum, ut quaererem preces et obsecrationes in jejunationibus et sacco, et precatus sum Dominum Deum meum, et confessus sum, et dixi:

3. Therefore, most dear one, respond also humbly and truthfully and piously to those whose words you say you cannot bear, since they say, If we sinners have merited these things, why have both the servants of God been slain by the sword of the barbarians, and the handmaids of God been led away captive? For however great justice we may preserve, however great obedience we may exhibit to the Lord, can we be better than those three men, who were projected into the furnace of burning fire for preserving the law of God? And yet read what Azarias says there, one of the three who opening his mouth in the midst of the fire, said: Blessed art thou, O Lord God of our fathers, and laudable; and glorious is thy name for ever: for thou art just in all things which thou hast done to us, and all thy works are true, and thy ways are right, and all thy judgments are truth, and thou hast made judgments of truth in all things which thou hast brought upon us, and upon the holy city of our fathers, Jerusalem; for in truth and judgment thou hast brought all these things upon us, on account of our sins; for we have sinned, and have not obeyed thy Law, and have not hearkened to thy mandates, so that it might be well with us; and all things which thou hast brought upon us, thou hast brought in true judgment. And thou hast delivered us into the hands of iniquitous and most hostile deserters, and to an unjust king and most wicked beyond the whole earth. And now it is not for us that we can open our mouth: truly we have become a confusion and a reproach to thy servants, and to those who worship thee. Deliver us not up for ever on account of thy name, O Lord, and despise not thy testament, and take not away thy mercy from us, on account of Abraham who is beloved by thee, and on account of Isaac thy servant, and Israel thy holy one, to whom thou hast spoken that thou wouldst multiply their seed as the stars of heaven and the sand of the sea: for, O Lord, we have become the least among all nations, and we are humble today in the earth on account of our sins (Dan. III, 26-37). You see certainly, brother, what kind of men, how holy, how strong in the midst of tribulation, where nevertheless they were spared, and the flame itself feared to burn them, confessed their sins, for which they knew themselves to be worthily and justly humbled, nor were they silent.

4. Can we even be better than Daniel himself, concerning whom through Ezekiel the prophet God says to the prince of Tyre: Art thou wiser than Daniel (Ezek. XXVIII, 3)? And who is placed as one among the three just men whom God says He will alone deliver; showing certainly in them three forms of just men, whom He says He will so deliver, that they should not deliver even their sons with them, but they themselves alone should be delivered: Noah, Daniel, and Job (Ezek. XIV, 14, 16)? Read however also the prayer of Daniel, and see how being placed in captivity he confesses his sins, not only of his people, but also his own, and says for these things that through the justice of God he has come to that punishment of captivity and reproaches. For thus it is written: And I set my face toward the Lord God, that I might seek prayers and supplications in fastings and sackcloth, and I prayed to the Lord my God, and confessed, and said:

Domine Deus magne et mirabilis, et qui servas testamentum tuum, et misericordiam diligentibus te et servantibus praecepta tua, peccavimus, adversus Legem fecimus, impie egimus, et recessimus, et declinavimus a praeceptis tuis, et a judiciis tuis, et non exaudivimus servos tuos Prophetas, qui loquebantur in nomine tuo ad reges nostros, et ad omnem populum terrae. Tibi, Domine, justitia, nobis autem confusio faciei, sicut dies hic viro Juda, et habitantibus Jerusalem, et omni Israel, qui proximi sunt, et qui longe sunt in omni terra, in qua eos disseminasti ibi, propter contumaciam eorum, quia improbaverunt te, Domine. Nobis autem confusio faciei, regibus nostris, et principibus nostris, et patribus nostris, qui peccavimus. Tibi Domino Deo nostro miserationes et propitiationes, quoniam recessimus, et non audivimus vocem Domini Dei nostri, ut essemus in praeceptis legis hujus quam dedit in conspectu nostro in manu servorum ejus Prophetarum. Et omnis Israel peccaverunt adversus legem tuam, et declinaverunt ne audirent vocem tuam: et supervenit nobis maledictio et jusjurandum, quod scriptum est in lege Moysi servi Dei, quoniam peccavimus, et statuit sermones suos, quos locutus est ad nos et ad judices nostros, qui judicabunt nos, superducere in nos mala magna, quae nunquam facta sunt sub omni coelo secundum ea quae facta sunt in Jerusalem. Sicut scriptum est in Lege Moysi, omnia mala haec venerunt ad nos, et non rogavimus Dominum Deum nostrum, ut averteret a nobis delicta nostra, et ut intelligeremus omnem veritatem tuam. Et vigilavit Dominus Deus ad omnem sanctum suum, et perduxit ea quae fecit ad nos, quoniam justus Dominus Deus noster in omni mundo suo quem fecit, et non audivimus vocem ejus. Et nunc, Domine Deus noster, qui eduxisti populum tuum de terra Aegypti in manu forti, et fecisti tibi nomen sicut dies hic, delicta adversus legem tuam fecimus. Domine, in omni misericordia tua avertatur impetus tuus, et ira tua a civitate tua Jerusalem, et monte sancto tuo. Propter peccata enim nostra et iniquitates patrum nostrorum, Jerusalem et populus tuus in confusionem venit omnibus qui circum nos sunt. Et nunc exaudi, Deus noster, preces servi tui et orationem ejus, et ostende nobis faciem tuam ad sanctificationem tuam quae deserta est. Propter te inclina, Domine Deus meus, aurem tuam, et exaudi; aperi oculos tuos, et vide interitum nostrum et civitatis tuae Jerusalem, super quam invocatum est nomen tuum super eam, quoniam non in nostra justitia jactavimus precem nostram in conspectu tuo, sed ad misericordiam tuam quae magna est. Exaudi Domine, propitiare Domine, intende Domine, et ne tardaveris propter te, Deus meus; quoniam nomen tuum invocatum est in civitate tua, super civitatem tuam et populum tuum. Et adhuc me loquente et orante et enumerante peccata mea et peccata populi mei (Dan. IX, 3-20). Vide quemadmodum sua peccata prius dixit, et postea populi sui. Et hanc Dei commendat justitiam, et hanc Dei laudem dicit, quia non injuste, sed pro peccatis eorum flagellat etiam ipsos sanctos suos.

O Lord God, great and wonderful, and who keepest thy testament, and mercy to those who love thee and keep thy precepts, we have sinned, we have done against the Law, we have acted impiously, and we have departed, and have declined from thy precepts, and from thy judgments, and we have not hearkened to thy servants the Prophets, who spoke in thy name to our kings, and to all the people of the land. To thee, O Lord, justice, but to us confusion of face, as this day to the man of Judah, and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and to all Israel, who are near, and who are far off in all the land, in which thou hast scattered them there, on account of their contumacy, because they have disapproved of thee, O Lord. To us however confusion of face, to our kings, and to our princes, and to our fathers, who have sinned. To thee, O Lord our God, belong mercies and propitiations, because we have departed, and have not heard the voice of the Lord our God, so that we might be in the precepts of this law which He gave in our sight in the hand of His servants the Prophets. And all Israel have sinned against thy law, and have declined so as not to hear thy voice: and there has come upon us the curse and the oath, which is written in the law of Moses the servant of God, because we have sinned, and He has established His words, which He spoke to us and to our judges, who shall judge us, to bring upon us great evils, which have never been done under the whole heaven according to those which have been done in Jerusalem. As it is written in the Law of Moses, all these evils have come upon us, and we have not entreated the Lord our God, that He might turn away our delicts from us, and that we might understand all thy truth. And the Lord God has watched over all His holy one, and has led through those things which He has done to us, because the Lord our God is just in all His world which He has made, and we have not heard His voice. And now, O Lord our God, who hast brought out thy people from the land of Egypt in a strong hand, and hast made for thyself a name as this day, we have committed delicts against thy law. O Lord, in all thy mercy let thy impetus and thy wrath be turned away from thy city Jerusalem, and from thy holy mountain. For on account of our sins and the iniquities of our fathers, Jerusalem and thy people have come into confusion to all who are around us. And now hearken, O our God, to the prayers of thy servant and to his oration, and show us thy face to thy sanctification which is deserted. On account of thee incline, O my Lord God, thine ear, and hearken; open thine eyes, and see our destruction and that of thy city Jerusalem, over which thy name has been invoked upon it, because not in our justice have we cast our prayer in thy sight, but to thy mercy which is great. Hearken O Lord, be propitious O Lord, attend O Lord, and do not delay for thy sake, O my God; because thy name is invoked in thy city, upon thy city and thy people. And while I was still speaking and praying and enumerating my sins and the sins of my people (Dan. IX, 3-20). See how he spoke of his own sins first, and afterwards of his people's. And he commends this justice of God, and says this praise of God, because not unjustly, but for their sins He scourges even His holy ones themselves.

Si ergo ista dicunt qui excellentissima sanctitate ignes et leones circa se innoxios habuerunt, quid nos oportet dicere in humilitate nostra, qui tam longe illis impares sumus, quantamcumque justitiam servare videamur?

5. Sed ne aliquis existimet illos Dei servos, quos dicis a barbaris interfectos, sic illam mortem evadere debuisse, quomodo tres illi viri ab ignibus, et Daniel a leonibus liberatus est; sciat illa propterea facta miracula, ut eos verum Deum colere crederent reges, a quibus in illa supplicia tradebantur. Hoc enim erat in occulto judicio et misericordia Dei, ut illis regibus eo modo consuleret ad salutem. Antiocho autem regi, qui Machabaeos poenis crudelibus interemit, noluit ita consulere, sed eorum gloriosissimis passionibus cor duri regis acriori severitate punivit. Lege tamen, etiam unus illorum, qui sexto loco patiebatur, quid dicat. Ita enim scriptum est: Et post hunc sextum applicuerunt. Tu autem noli te putare impunitum futurum, qui adversus Deum et Legem ejus legibus tuis pugnare voluisti (II Mach. VII, 18, 19). Vides etiam isti quam humiliter et veraciter sapiant, qui pro peccatis suis se flagellari a Domino confitentur: de quo scriptum est, Quem enim diligit Dominus corripit (Prov. III, 12); flagellat autem omnem filium quem recipit (Hebr. XII, 6): unde et Apostolus, Si enim nosmetipsos judicaremus, a Domino non utique judicaremur. Cumque hic tormentis excruciatus moreretur, dixit: Noli te seducere propter nos; haec patimur peccantes in Deum nostrum, et facta sunt haec digna nobis. Cum judicamur autem a Domino corripimur, ne cum hoc mundo damnemur (I Cor. XI, 31, 32).

6. Haec fideliter lege, fideliter praedica, et quantum potes cave, et cavendum doce, ne adversus Deum in his tentationibus et tribulationibus murmuretur. Bonos dicis Dei servos et fideles et sanctos, gladio barbarorum peremptos. Quid autem interest, utrum eos febris an ferrum de corpore solverit? Non qua occasione exeant, sed quales ad se exeant Dominus attendit in servos suis, nisi quod majorem habet poenam languor diuturnus quam citissimus exitus: et tamen etiam ipsum languorem diuturnum et horrendum legimus, qualem passus est Job ille, cujus certe justitiae Deus ipse qui falli non potest, tale perhibet testimonium.

If therefore those say these things who by most excellent sanctity had fires and lions harmless around them, what does it behove us to say in our humility, who are so far unequal to them, however much justice we may seem to preserve?

5. But lest anyone should think that those servants of God, whom you say were killed by the barbarians, ought to have escaped that death in the same way as those three men were delivered from the fires, and Daniel from the lions; let him know that those miracles were done for this reason, so that the kings by whom they were delivered into those punishments might believe that they worship the true God. For this was in the hidden judgment and mercy of God, so that He might consult for the salvation of those kings in that way. To King Antiochus, however, who slew the Maccabees with cruel punishments, He did not wish to consult thus, but He punished the heart of the hard king with sharper severity by their most glorious sufferings. Read however, even what one of them, who suffered in the sixth place, says. For thus it is written: And after him they brought the sixth. But do not thou think that thou shalt be unpunished, who hast wished to fight against God and His Law with thy laws (II Mach. VII, 18, 19). You see even how humbly and truthfully these men are wise, who confess that they are scourged by the Lord for their sins: concerning whom it is written, For whom the Lord loveth he correcteth (Prov. III, 12); and he scourgeth every son whom he receiveth (Heb. XII, 6): whence also the Apostle, For if we would judge ourselves, we should not indeed be judged by the Lord. And when he, being tortured with torments, was dying, he said: Do not deceive thyself on account of us; we suffer these things sinning against our God, and these things have been done worthy of us. But when we are judged we are corrected by the Lord, lest we should be condemned with this world (I Cor. XI, 31, 32).

6. Read these things faithfully, preach them faithfully, and as much as you can beware, and teach that it must be bewared, lest it be murmured against God in these temptations and tribulations. You say that good servants of God and faithful and holy ones have been slain by the sword of the barbarians. But what does it matter, whether a fever or the sword has released them from the body? Not by what occasion they go out, but what kind they go out to Him the Lord attends in His servants, except that a long-lasting languor has a greater penalty than the swiftest exit: and yet even that long-lasting and horrendous languor we read, such as that Job suffered, to whose justice certainly God Himself who cannot be deceived, yields such a testimony.

7. Gravissima sane et multum dolenda est illa captivitas feminarum castarum atque sanctarum, sed non est captivus earum Deus, nec captivas deserit suas, si novit suas. Nam et illi sancti quorum passiones et confessiones de Scripturis sanctis commemoravi, ab hostibus ducti atque in captivitate positi, illa dixerunt quae conscripta legerentur a nobis, ut disceremus captivos Dei servos non deseri a Domino suo. Unde autem scimus quid etiam per istas omnipotens et misericors Deus in ipsa terra barbarica fieri velit mirabilium suorum? Tantum non cessetis pro illis ingemiscere ad Deum, et quaerere quantum potestis, et quantum ipse permittit, cum tempus et facultatem dederit, quid de illis factum sit, vel quae vestra possint habere solatia. Nam de Sitifensi ante paucos annos Severi episcopopi neptis sanctimonialis a barbaris ducta est, et per mirabilem Dei misericordiam cum honore magno suis parentibus restituta est. Domus enim illa barbarorum ubi captiva ingressa est, subita coepit dominorum infirmitate jactari, ita ut omnes ipsi barbari, tres nisi fallor, vel amplius fratres, periculosissima infirmitate laborarent. Quorum mater animadvertit puellam Deo deditam, et credidit quod ejus orationibus sui filii possent ab imminentis jam mortis periculo liberari; petivit ut oraret pro eis, pollicens quod, si salvi facti essent, eam suis parentibus redderent. Jejunavit illa et oravit, et exaudita continuo est. Ad hoc enim factum erat, quantum exitus docuit. Ita illi tam repentino Dei beneficio salute percepta, mirantes eam et honorantes, quod eorum mater promiserat impleverunt.

8. Ora ergo Deum pro eis, et roga ut etiam ipsas doceat talia dicere, qualia supra memoratus sanctus Azarias, inter caetera in oratione et confessione sua fudit ad Deum. Sic enim sunt illae in terra captivitatis suae, quomodo erant illi in ea terra, ubi nec sacrificare more suo poterant Domino, sicut nec istae possunt, vel ferre oblationem ad altare Dei, vel invenire ibi sacerdotem per quem offerant Deo. Donet ergo eis Dominus ut ei dicant, quod Azarias dixit in consequentibus precum suarum: Non est in hoc tempore princeps et propheta et dux, non holocausta, neque oblatio, neque supplicationes, nec locus ad sacrificandum in conspectu tuo, et invenire misericordiam; sed in anima contrita et spiritu humilitatis accipiamur. Sicut in holocaustomatibus arietum et taurorum, et in multitudine agnorum pinguium, sic fiat sacrificium nostrum in conspectu tuo hodie perficere subsequentes te, quoniam non erit confusio iis qui in te confidunt. Et nunc sequimur toto corde et timemus te, et quaerimus faciem tuam, Domine;

7. Very grave indeed and much to be lamented is that captivity of chaste and holy women, but their God is not a captive, nor does He desert His captives, if He knows them as His own. For even those saints whose sufferings and confessions I have commemorated from the holy Scriptures, being led by enemies and placed in captivity, said those things which should be read by us when written, so that we might learn that the captive servants of God are not deserted by their Lord. Whence however do we know what the omnipotent and merciful God wishes to be done of His wonders even through those women in that barbarian land itself? Only do not cease to groan for them to God, and to seek as much as you can, and as much as He Himself permits, when He shall have given time and faculty, what has been done concerning them, or what consolations of yours they may be able to have. For from Sitifis a few years ago the nun niece of Bishop Severus was led away by barbarians, and through the wonderful mercy of God was restored to her parents with great honor. For that house of the barbarians where she entered as a captive, began to be tossed by a sudden infirmity of the masters, so that all the barbarians themselves, three unless I am deceived, or more brothers, labored with a most dangerous infirmity. Their mother noticed the girl dedicated to God, and believed that by her orations her sons could be delivered from the danger of already imminent death; she asked that she should pray for them, promising that, if they were made safe, they would return her to her parents. She fasted and prayed, and was immediately heard. For it had been done for this, as much as the outcome taught. Thus they, having perceived health by such a sudden benefit of God, wondering at her and honoring her, fulfilled what their mother had promised.

8. Pray therefore to God for them, and ask that He may also teach them to say such things as the above-mentioned saint Azarias, among other things in his prayer and confession, poured out to God. For they are in the land of their captivity just as they were in that land where they could not sacrifice to the Lord according to their custom, just as these women cannot, either to bring an oblation to the altar of God, or to find there a priest through whom they may offer to God. May the Lord therefore grant to them that they may say to Him what Azarias said in the consequences of his prayers: There is not at this time a prince and a prophet and a leader, no burnt offerings, nor oblation, nor supplications, nor a place for sacrificing in thy sight, and to find mercy; but in a contrite soul and a spirit of humility let us be accepted. As in the burnt offerings of rams and bulls, and in a multitude of fat lambs, so let our sacrifice be made in thy sight today to perfect those following thee, because there shall be no confusion to those who trust in thee. And now we follow with our whole heart and fear thee, and seek thy face, O Lord;

ne confundas nos, sed fac nobiscum secundum mansuetudinem tuam, et secundum multitudinem misericordiae tuae, et libera nos secundum mirabilia tua, et da gloriam nomini tuo, Domine, et revereantur omnes, qui ostendunt servis tuis mala, et confundantur ab omnipotentia, et virtus eorum conteratur, et sciant quoniam tu es Dominus Deus solus et gloriosus in universo orbe terrae (Dan. III, 38-45).

9. Haec illis dicentibus, et ad Deum ingemiscentibus, omnino suis aderit qui suis adesse consuevit, et aut nihil earum castissimis membris libidine hostili perpetrari permittet; aut si permittet, non imputabit. Cum enim animus nulla consensionis turpitudine maculatur, etiam carnem suam defendit a crimine: et quidquid in ea nec commisit, nec permisit libido patientis, solius erit culpa facientis; omnisque illa violentia non pro corruptionis turpitudine, sed pro passionis vulnere deputabitur. Tantum enim in mente valet integritas castitatis, ut illa inviolata, nec in corpore possit pudicitia violari, cujus membra potuerint superari.

Haec epistola pro tuo desiderio brevis, pro meis tamen occupationibus multum prolixa, et propter perlatoris festinationem nimis accelerata sufficiat charitati tuae. Multo uberius vos Dominus consolabitur, si Scripturas ejus intentissime legeritis.

EPISTOLA CXII . Donatum exproconsulem hortatur ut abjecto omni fastu sectetur Christum, atque ad Ecclesiae catholicae communionem suos alliciat. Domino eximio, et sincerissima dilectione honorabili fratri DONATO, AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

1. Quod te administrantem multum desiderans, etiam cum Tibilim venisses, videre non potui, credo propterea factum esse, ut animo tuo curis publicis expedito potius fruerer, quam ut illa salutatio, me apud te otioso, et te negotioso, neutri nostrum, quantum satis esset, desiderium temperaret: recolens quippe honestatem ab ineunte aetate indolis tuae, abundanter idoneum tuum pectus existimo cui se Christus largissime infundat, ut fructus ei afferas aeterna et coelesti gloria quam temporali et terreno praeconio digniores.

do not confound us, but deal with us according to thy gentleness, and according to the multitude of thy mercy, and deliver us according to thy wonders, and give glory to thy name, O Lord, and let all be ashamed who show evils to thy servants, and let them be confounded from thy omnipotence, and let their strength be bruised, and let them know that thou art the Lord God alone and glorious in the whole circle of the earth (Dan. III, 38-45).

9. To them saying these things, and groaning to God, He will altogether be present to His own who is accustomed to be present to His own, and either He will permit nothing to be perpetrated in their most chaste members by hostile lust; or if He shall permit it, He will not impute it. For when the mind is stained by no turpitude of consent, it defends even its own flesh from crime: and whatever in it the lust of the sufferer has neither committed nor permitted, shall be the fault of the doer alone; and all that violence shall be deputed not for the turpitude of corruption, but for the wound of passion. For so much does the integrity of chastity avail in the mind, that while it remains inviolate, pudicity cannot be violated even in the body, whose members could be overcome.

Let this letter, brief for your desire, yet very prolix for my occupations, and too much accelerated on account of the haste of the bearer, suffice for your charity. Much more abundantly will the Lord console you, if you shall have read His Scriptures most intently.

EPISTLE CXII. He exhorts Donatus the ex-proconsul that, all pomp being cast aside, he should follow Christ, and allure his own to the communion of the Catholic Church. To the distinguished lord and brother honorable for most sincere affection, DONATUS, AUGUSTINE, greeting in the Lord.

1. That I, desiring much to see you while you were administering, even when you had come to Tibili, could not see you, I believe to have been done for this reason, so that I might rather enjoy your mind being freed from public cares, than that that salutation, with me idle before you, and you busy, should temper the desire of neither of us as much as would be enough: recollecting indeed the honesty of your disposition from an early age, I think your breast abundantly fit into which Christ might most largely infuse Himself, so that you may bring fruits to Him more worthy of eternal and heavenly glory than of temporal and earthly proclamation.

2. A multis enim, imo prorsus ab omnibus quos vel percontari, vel ultro etiam praedicantes audire potui, castitatem virtutemque administrationis tuae constanter omnino laudantibus atque praeferentibus, et sine ullo scrupulo dissonae varietatis accepi, et eo certius quo ignorabant necessitudinem nostram, et utrum te vel tenuiter nossem penitus nesciebant praedicatores tui, ne magis eos auribus meis se dedisse, quam vera de te spargere crederem. Ibi enim est a vanitate remota laudatio, ubi etiam vituperatio ab offensione secura est. Verumtamen, o frater eximie, et sincerissima dilectione honorabilis, non nunc docendus es, sed fortasse admonendus, omnem istam gloriam famamque popularem non in ore vulgi esse laetabilem, sed in rebus ipsis: quae etiamsi vulgo displiceant, proprio tamen fulgore ac pondere, non imperitorum commendatione pretiosae sunt; magisque miserandus est qui talia improbat, quam ille qui de talibus improbatur judicandus miser. Cum vero placent, et sibi debita laude populariter quoque praedicantur, nec sic quidem ipsae majores melioresque fiunt alieno judicio; quoniam integrantur intima veritate, et solius conscientiae robore solidantur. Unde magis hominibus recte existimantibus, quam ei de quo vulgus bene existimat, aliquid ex eo felicitatis accidit.

3. Quae cum optime noveris, vir bone, intuere, ut coepisti, fortissima cordis acie Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, et ab omni inani fastu omnino detumescens, assurge in illum qui non ventose allevat conversos ad se, sed certis fidei passibus innitentes atque ascendentes collocat in sempiterno fastigio coelestis atque angelicae dignitatis. Per quem te obsecro ut rescribas mihi, tuosque omnes quos in Sinitensi vel Hipponensi habes, ad catholicae Ecclesiae communionem comiter et benigne adhorteris. In cujus gremio etiam patrem tuum laudabilem et egregium virum abs te genitum esse cognovi; quem ut debito meritis ejus a me officio salutes peto, et nos visere non graveris. Quod etiam propter rem tuam, quam hic habes, meliorem apud Deum faciendam, non impudenter exposco. Dei misericordia te circumplectatur, et ab omni iniquitate conservet.

Epistola CXIII.

Cresconium rogat Augustinus ut suae pro Faventio petitionis adjutor sit.

Domino dilectissimo, meritoque honorabili et suscipiendo fratri CRESCONIO , AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

2. For from many, or rather indeed from all whom I could either question, or even hear voluntarily proclaiming, praising and preferring your chastity and virtue of administration quite constantly, and without any scruple of dissonant variety I have received it, and so much more certainly as your proclaimers were ignorant of our closeness, and did not know at all whether I knew you even slightly, lest I should believe that they had given themselves more to my ears than that they were spreading true things concerning you. For there praise is remote from vanity, where even vituperation is secure from offense. Nevertheless, O distinguished brother, and honorable for most sincere affection, you are not now to be taught, but perhaps to be admonished, that all that glory and popular fame is not to be rejoiced in the mouth of the common people, but in the things themselves: which even if they displease the common people, yet by their own splendor and weight, they are precious not by the commendation of the unskilled; and he is more to be pitied who disapproves of such things, than he who is to be judged miserable concerning such things when disapproved. When however they please, and are also popularly proclaimed with the praise due to them, not even thus indeed do they themselves become greater or better by another's judgment; since they are integrated by inward truth, and are solidified by the strength of conscience alone. Whence more of happiness happens to men thinking rightly, than to him concerning whom the common people think well.

Which things since you know best, good man, behold, as you have begun, with the strongest sight of your heart the Lord our God Jesus Christ, and altogether detumescing from all vain pomp, rise up into Him who does not windily lift up those converted to Him, but places those leaning and ascending with certain steps of faith in the everlasting height of heavenly and angelic dignity. Through whom I beseech you that you may write back to me, and that you may courteously and kindly exhort all your own whom you have in Sinita or Hippo to the communion of the Catholic Church. In whose bosom I have known that your father also, a laudable and excellent man, was begotten by you; whom I ask that you salute from me with the office due to his merits, and do not be reluctant to visit us. Which also on account of your business, which you have here, to be made better before God, I do not impudently demand. May the mercy of God encompass you, and preserve you from all iniquity.

Epistle CXIII.

Augustine asks Cresconius that he may be a helper of his petition for Faventius.

To the most dear lord, and worthily honorable and to be accepted brother CRESCONIUS, AUGUSTINE, greeting in the Lord.

Si ab ista causa dissimulavero, de qua tuae religioni ecce iterum scribo; non solum Eximietas tua, sed etiam ipse, quisquis ille est, in cujus causa Faventius sic raptus est, merito me culpabit, et recte reprehendet: judicans utique, si etiam ipse ad auxilium Ecclesiae confugisset, si ei simile aliquid accidisset, ita me fuisse ab ejus necessitate et tribulatione dissimulaturum. Deinde, si hominum existimatio contemnenda est, ipsi Domino Deo nostro quid dicam, et quam rationem reddam, si quantum possum non egero pro ejus salute, qui se Ecclesiae, cui servio, tuendum adjuvandumque commisit, domine dilectissime et venerabilis fili? Rogo itaque Benignitatem tuam, quoniam difficile et incredibile est, ut non jam vel noveris vel nosse possis in qua causa detentus sit, hoc interim apud apparitorem qui eum tenet, petitionem meam adjuvare digneris, ut faciat quod Imperatoris leget praecipitur : ut eum apud Acta municipalia interrogari faciat, utrum sibi velit dies triginta concedi, quibus agat sub moderata custodia in ea civitate in qua detentus est, ut sua ordinet, sumptusque provideat. Quorum dierum spatio, tua nobis annuente benevolentia, si ejus causam amica disceptatione finire potuerimus, gratulabimur: si autem non potuerimus, inveniet eum exitus judiciorum qui placuerit Deo, secundum causae ipsius meritum vel Domini omnipotentissimi voluntatem.

Epistola CXIV.

Ad Florentinum super eadem causa Faventii.

Domino dilectissimo filio FLORENTINO, AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

Cujus potestatis jussione Faventium rapueris, ipse videris: hoc autem scio, quod omnis potestas sub imperio constituta, imperatoris sui legibus servit.

If I shall have dissembled from this cause, concerning which behold I write again to your religion; not only your Excellence, but even he himself, whoever he is, in whose cause Faventius was thus snatched away, will worthily blame me, and rightly reprehend me: judging certainly, if he himself also had fled to the aid of the Church, if anything similar had happened to him, that I would have thus dissembled from his necessity and tribulation. Then, if the estimation of men is to be contemned, what shall I say to the Lord our God himself, and what account shall I give, if I shall not have acted as much as I can for the safety of him, who committed himself to the Church, which I serve, to be protected and helped, most dear lord and venerable son? I ask therefore your Benignity, since it is difficult and incredible, that you should not already either know or be able to know in what cause he is detained, that you may deign to help my petition in the meantime before the apparitor who holds him, so that he may do what is commanded by the law of the Emperor: that he may cause him to be interrogated before the municipal Acts, whether he wishes thirty days to be granted to him, in which he may act under moderate custody in that city in which he is detained, so that he may order his affairs, and provide for the expenses. In the space of which days, by your benevolence favoring us, if we shall have been able to finish his cause by a friendly discussion, we shall rejoice: if however we shall not have been able, the outcome of the judgments which shall please God will find him, according to the merit of the cause itself or the will of the most omnipotent Lord.

Epistle CXIV.

To Florentinus upon the same cause of Faventius.

To the most dear lord and son FLORENTINO, AUGUSTINE, greeting in the Lord.

By the command of whose power you snatched Faventius, you yourself will see: but this I know, that every power constituted under the empire serves the laws of its emperor.

Quamvis ergo jam per fratrem et compresbyterum meum Coelestinum miserim legem, quam quidem et antequam mitterem, ignorare utique non deberes, qua concessum est eis qui praecipiuntur ab aliqua potestate judiciis exhiberi, ut ad Gesta municipalia perducantur, atque illic interrogentur utrum velint triginta dies in ea civitate ubi tenentur, agere sub moderata custodia, ad parandos sibi fructus, vel rem suam, sicut necesse fuerit, ordinandam; quae lex, sicut mihi memoratus presbyter renuntiavit, tuae religioni recitata est: tamen etiam nunc eam cum his litteris identidem misi; non terrens, sed rogans, et pro homine humane, et episcopali misericordia, quantum ipsa permittit humanitas et pietas, intercedens, domine fili, ut et hoc existimationi tuae et petitioni meae praestare digneris, et quod lex Imperatoris jubet, cujus reipublicae militas, meo quoque interventu et deprecatione accedente facere non graveris.

Epistola CXV.

Ad Fortunatum Cirtensem episcopum, de eadem re.

Domino beatissimo et venerabiliter charissimo fratri et consacerdoti FORTUNATO, et qui tecum sunt fratribus, AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

Faventium bene novit Sanctitas tua, qui Paratianensis saltus conductor fuit. Is, cum ab ejusdem possessionis domino nescio quid sibi metueret, ad Hipponensem confugit ecclesiam; et ibi erat, ut confugientes solent, exspectans quomodo per intercessionem nostram sua negotia terminaret. Qui, ut saepe fit, per dies singulos minus minusque sollicitus, et quasi adversario cessante securus, cum ab amico suo de coena egrederetur, subito raptus est a Florentino quodam, ut dicunt, Comitis Officiali, per armatorum manum, quanta eis ad hoc factum sufficere visa est. Quod cum mihi nuntiatum, et adhuc a quo vel a quibus raptus fuerit ignoraretur, suspicio tamen esset de illo, quem metuens se per ecclesiam tuebatur; continuo misi ad tribunum, qui custodiendo littori constitutus est. Misit militares: nemo potuit reperiri. Sed mane cognovimus et in qua domo fuerit, et quod post galli cantum cum illo abscesserit, qui eum tenuerat. Etiam illuc misi quo dicebatur abductus: ubi memoratus Officialis inventus, concedere presbytero quem miseram, noluit ut eum saltem videret.

Although therefore I have already sent through my brother and fellow-presbyter Celestine the law, which indeed even before I sent it, you ought by no means to have been ignorant of, by which it is granted to those who are commanded by any power to be exhibited to judgments, that they may be led to the municipal Acts, and there be interrogated whether they wish thirty days to be granted to them in that city where they are held, to act under moderate custody, for preparing their resources, or for ordering their business, as shall be necessary; which law, as the mentioned presbyter reported to me, was recited to your religion: yet even now I have sent it again and again with these letters; not terrifying, but asking, and interceding for a man humanely, and with episcopal mercy, as much as humanity and piety itself permits, lord son, so that you may deign to grant this both to your reputation and to my petition, and what the law of the Emperor commands, whose republic you serve, you may not be reluctant to do with my intervention and prayer also approaching.

Epistle CXV.

To Fortunatus, Bishop of Cirta, concerning the same matter.

To the most blessed and venerably most dear brother and fellow-priest FORTUNATUS, and to the brothers who are with you, AUGUSTINE, greeting in the Lord.

Your Holiness knows Faventius well, who was the tenant of the Paratian forest. He, when he feared something for himself from the lord of the same possession, fled to the church of Hippo; and there he was, as those fleeing are wont, waiting how he might finish his business through our intercession. Who, as often happens, being less and less solicitous through each day, and secure as if the adversary were ceasing, when he was going out from his friend from dinner, was suddenly snatched by a certain Florentinus, as they say, an Official of the Count, by a band of armed men, as many as seemed to them sufficient for this deed. When this was announced to me, and as yet it was unknown by whom or by which persons he had been snatched, yet there was a suspicion concerning him whom he, fearing, was protecting himself through the church; immediately I sent to the tribune, who is established for guarding the shore. He sent soldiers: no one could be found. But in the morning we knew both in what house he had been, and that after cock-crow he had departed with him who had held him. I also sent thither whither he was said to have been led away: where the mentioned Official being found, was unwilling to grant to the presbyter whom I had sent, that he might at least see him.

Alio die misi litteras, petens ut ei concederetur quod jussit in causis talibus Imperator, id est ut Actis municipalibus interrogarentur qui praecepti fuerint exhibendi, utrum velint in ea civitate sub custodia moderata triginta dies agere, ut rem suam ordinent vel praeparent sumptus: id utique existimans quod per dies ipsos possemus fortasse causam ejus amica disceptatione finire. Jam vero cum illo Officiali profectus ductus est: sed metus est ne forte ad Consularis perductus officium, mali aliquid patiatur. Habet enim causam cum homine pecuniosissimo, quamvis judicis integritas fama clarissima praedicetur. Ne quid tamen apud Officium pecunia praevaleat, peto Sanctitatem tuam, domine dilectissime et venerabilis frater, ut honorabili nobisque charissimo Consulari digneris tradere litteras meas, et has ei legere; quia bis eamdem causam insinuare necessarium non esse arbitratus sum; et ejus causae differat audientiam, quoniam nescio utrum in ea nocens an innocens sit. Et quod circa eumdem leges non servatae sunt, ut sic raperetur, neque ut ab Imperatore praeceptum est, ad Acta municipalia perduceretur interrogandus, utrum beneficium dilationis vellet accipere, non contemnat; ut per hoc possimus cum ejus adversario rem finire.

Epistola CXVI.

Generoso Numidiae Consulari Augustinus commendans causam Faventii.

Domino eximio et merito insigni, honorabiliterque charissimo filio GENEROSO, AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

Laus et praedicatio administrationis tuae et fama praeclara cum me pro dilectione quam tuis meritis benevolentiaeque debemus, plurimum delectaret, nunquam adhuc in aliquo beneficio postulando Eximietati tuae mea intercessio extitit onerosa, domine dilectissime et venerabilis fili. Sed nunc quid in civitate in qua Ecclesiae Dei servio, factum sit, cum ex litteris quas ad venerabilem fratrem et coepiscopum meum Fortunatum dedi, cognoverit Praestantia tua qua fuerim necessitate compulsus ut petitionem meam ingererem occupationibus tuis, tua benignitas pervidebit. Et profecto facies quod non solum integrum, verum etiam christianum judicem decet, eo circa nos animo, de quo in nomine Christi utique fuerat praesumendum.

Epistola CXVII.

Dioscorus ad Augustinum mittit multas quaestiones ex libris Ciceronis, rogans ut mature ad eas respondeat.

On another day I sent letters, asking that there be granted to him what the Emperor commanded in such causes, that is, that they who have been commanded to be exhibited be interrogated by the municipal Acts, whether they wish to act thirty days in that city under moderate custody, so that they may order their business or prepare expenses: thinking certainly that through those very days we could perhaps finish his cause by a friendly discussion. Now however having set out with that Official he was led away: but there is fear lest perhaps being led to the Consular office, he may suffer something of evil. For he has a cause with a most wealthy man, although the integrity of the judge is proclaimed with most clear fame. Lest however money should prevail at the Office, I ask your Holiness, most dear lord and venerable brother, that you deign to deliver my letters to the honorable and most dear to us Consular, and to read these to him; because I have not thought it necessary to insinuate the same cause twice; and let him defer the audience of his cause, since I do not know whether he is guilty or innocent in it. And let him not contemn that the laws were not kept concerning the same man, so that he was thus snatched, nor as it was commanded by the Emperor, was led to the municipal Acts to be interrogated, whether he wished to receive the benefit of delay; so that through this we may be able to finish the matter with his adversary.

Epistle CXVI.

To Generosus, the Consular of Numidia, Augustine commending the cause of Faventius.

To the distinguished and worthily illustrious lord, and honorably most dear son GENEROSUS, AUGUSTINE, greeting in the Lord.

Since the praise and proclamation of your administration and your distinguished fame delighted me very much, on account of the affection which we owe to your merits and benevolence, never as yet in requesting any benefit has my intercession been burdensome to your Excellence, most dear lord and venerable son. But now your Benignity will perceive what has been done in the city in which I serve the Church of God, since your Excellence will have known from the letters which I gave to my venerable brother and fellow-bishop Fortunatus, by what necessity I was compelled to thrust my petition upon your occupations. And indeed you will do what becomes not only an upright, but also a Christian judge, with that mind toward us, concerning which in the name of Christ it was certainly to be presumed.

Epistle CXVII.

Dioscorus sends many questions to Augustine from the books of Cicero, asking that he respond maturely to them.

Prooemiari apud te non solum superfluum est, sed etiam molestum, qui rem, non verba desideras. Ideoque simpliciter audi. Senex Alypius rogatus a me, saepius pollicitus erat, tecum respondere dialogorum pauculis interrogatiunculis; et quoniam in Mauritania dicitur hodieque esse, peto viribus omnibus et rogo, ut tu solus respondere digneris, quod etiam praesente ipso fratre tuo, sine dubio facturus eras. Non est pecunia, non est aurum, quod pro quovis daturus eras procul dubio, si haberes; nunc vero sine labore loqueris quod requiro. Possem te plus et per multos charos tuos exorare; sed novi animum tuum, qui non rogari desiderat, sed omnibus praestare, si tantum absit quod dedecet, quod in hac re penitus nihil est dedecoris: tamen quodcumque est, peto praestes navigaturo. Nosti quam mihi molestissimum est oneri esse, non dico Sinceritati tuae, sed cuipiam. Solus autem Deus novit quomodo nimia necessitate impulsus hoc feci. Vobis enim salvis et favente Deo navigaturus sum: et mores hominum non ignoratis, qui proclives sunt ad vituperandum, et quam, si interrogatus quis non responderit, indoctus et hebes putabitur vides. Ergo, obsecro te, ad omnia sine cunctatione responde; ne me tristem dimittas. Sic videam parentes meos; quia propter hoc solum Cerdonem misi, et ipsum exspecto solum. Frater Zenobius, Magister memoriae factus est , et misit nobis evectionem cum annonis. Si ego dignus non sum ut respondeas interrogatiunculis meis, saltem timeantur annonae. Incolumem te summa Divinitas longa nobis tueatur aetate. Papas plurimum Dignationem tuam salutat.

EPISTOLA CXVIII . Augustinus Dioscoro respondet ejusmodi quaestiones nec decore tractari ab episcopo, nec utiliter disci a christiano. Disputat de studiorum fine ac de summo bono, exhortans Dioscorum ut christianam sectetur philosophiam, quae sola divinae humilitatis exemplo proposito veritatem persuadere potuit. Illustrat demum locos quosdam Ciceronis, philosophorum de Deo sententias reprehendentis.

CAPUT PRIMUM.

1. Tu me innumerabilium quaestionum turba repente circumvallandum, vel potius obruendum putasti, etiamsi vacantem otiosumque credidisti: quando enim ego in quolibet otio, tot rerum nodos tam festinanti, et ut scribis, jam pene proficiscenti possem dissolvere? Numero enim rerum ipsarum impedirer, etiamsi nodi faciles ad solvendum forent. Tanta sunt autem perplexitate involuti, et tenacitate constricti, ut etiamsi pauci essent, otiosissimum me occupantes, magna mora temporis fatigarent intentionem, atque attererent ungues meos.

To prooemiarize with you is not only superfluous, but also troublesome, you who desire the matter, not words. And therefore simply hear. The old man Alypius, being asked by me, had very often promised to respond with you to a few little questions of the dialogues; and since he is said to be in Mauritania today, I ask with all my strength and pray, that you alone may deign to respond, which without doubt you were going to do even in the presence of that brother of yours. It is not money, it is not gold, which you were without doubt going to give for anyone if you had it; now however you speak without labor what I require. I could entreat you more and through many of your dear ones; but I know your mind, which does not desire to be asked, but to grant to all, if only that which is unseemly be absent, which in this matter is entirely nothing of unseemliness: yet whatever it is, I ask that you grant it to one about to sail. You know how very troublesome it is for me to be a burden, I do not say to your Sincerity, but to anyone. For God alone knows how, compelled by excessive necessity, I have done this. For while you are safe and God favoring, I am about to sail: and you are not ignorant of the manners of men, who are prone to vituperating, and you see how, if anyone being interrogated shall not have responded, he will be thought unlearned and dull. Therefore, I beseech you, respond to all without delay; lest you send me away sad. So may I see my parents; because for this alone I sent Cerdo, and I await him alone. Brother Zenobius has been made Master of the memory, and sent us a conveyance with provisions. If I am not worthy that you should respond to my little questions, at least let the provisions be feared. May the supreme Divinity protect you in safety for us for a long age. The Pope greets your Dignity very much.

EPISTLE CXVIII. Augustine responds to Dioscorus that questions of this kind are neither becomingly treated by a bishop, nor usefully learned by a Christian. He disputes concerning the end of studies and concerning the supreme good, exhorting Dioscorus that he follow Christian philosophy, which alone, the example of divine humility being proposed, was able to persuade the truth. Finally he illustrates certain passages of Cicero, who rebukes the opinions of philosophers concerning God.

CHAPTER ONE.

1. You thought that I was to be suddenly encompassed, or rather overwhelmed by a crowd of innumerable questions, even if you believed me to be free and at leisure: for when could I, in any leisure whatever, dissolve so many knots of things for one so hastening, and as you write, now almost about to depart? For I should be hindered by the number of the things themselves, even if the knots were easy to be dissolved. But they are involved with such perplexity, and constrained by such tenacity, that even if they were few, occupying me most at leisure, they would fatigue my intention with a great delay of time, and wear away my nails.

Ego autem vellem te abripere de medio deliciosarum inquisitionum tuarum, et constipare inter curas meas, ut vel disceres non esse inaniter curiosus, vel curiositatem tuam cibandam atque nutriendam imponere non auderes eis, quorum inter curas vel maxima cura est reprimere ac refrenare curiosos. Quanto enim melius, quantoque fructuosius, si in dandis ad te ullis litteris tempus atque opera impenditur, ad hoc potius impenditur, ut resecentur vanae atque fallaces cupiditates tuae, quae tanto magis cavendae sunt, quanto facilius decipiunt, nescio qua umbra honestatis et liberalium studiorum nomine velatae atque palliatae; quam ut nostro ministerio, atque, ut ita dixerim, satellitio, in dominatum , quo tam bonam tuam mentem premant, vehementius excitentur?

2. Ecce enim tot dialogi lecti, si ad videndum finem et capessendum omnium actionum tuarum nihil te adjuverunt, quid prosunt, dic mihi? Nam ubi finem constitueris totius hujus flagrantissimi studii tui, et tibi infructuosi, et nobis molesti, epistola tua satis indicas. Cum enim de solvendis quaestionibus quas misisti, apud me per litteras satageres, ita scripsisti: Possem te, inquis, plus et per multos charos tuos exorare; sed novi animum tuum, qui non rogare desiderat, sed omnibus praestare, si tantum absit quod dedecet, quod in hac re penitus nihil est dedecoris: tamen quodcumque est, peto praestes navigaturo. In his verbis epistolae tuae recte quidem de me existimas, quod omnibus praestare desiderem, si absit quod dedecet; sed in hac re nihil esse dedecoris, non mihi videtur. Non enim decora facies rerum attingit sensum meum, cum cogito episcopum ecclesiasticis curis circumstrepentibus districtum atque distentum, repente quasi obsurdescentem cohibere se ab his omnibus, et dialogorum Tullianorum quaestiunculas uni scholastico exponere. Quod quantum dedeceat, quanquam tuorum studiorum raptus ardore prorsus nolis attendere, tu etiam sentis tamen. Quid enim aliud indicat, quod cum dixisses in hac re penitus nihil est dedecoris, statim adjunxisti: Tamen quodcumque est, peto praestes navigaturo. Hoc enim sonat videri tibi quidem nihil in hac re esse dedecoris, tamen quodcumque est dedecoris, petere te ut praestem navigaturo. Sed quid est, quaeso te, quod addidisti, navigaturo? An ego, nisi navigaturus esses, praestare tibi aliquid dedecoris non deberebent? Nimirum putas quod aqua marina dedecus abluatur. Quod si ita esset, meum certe qui navigaturus non sum, inexpiatum remaneret.

But I should wish to snatch you away from the midst of your delicate inquiries, and to pack you among my cares, so that you might either learn not to be vainly curious, or not dare to impose your curiosity to be fed and nourished upon those, among whose cares the greatest care is to repress and restrain the curious. For how much better, and how much more fruitfully, if time and labor is spent in giving any letters to you, it is spent rather to this, that your vain and fallacious desires may be cut back, which are to be avoided so much the more, as they deceive more easily, veiled and cloaked as they are by I know not what shadow of honesty and the name of liberal studies; than that by our ministry, and, so to speak, attendance, they should be more vehemently excited into a dominion, by which they may press down your so good mind?

2. For behold, so many dialogues having been read, if they have helped you nothing toward seeing the end and laying hold of all your actions, what do they profit, tell me? For where you have established the end of all this most burning study of yours, both unfruitful to you, and troublesome to us, your letter indicates enough. For when you were busy with me through letters concerning the resolving of the questions which you sent, you wrote thus: "I could," you say, "entreat you more and through many of your dear ones; but I know your mind, which does not desire to be asked, but to grant to all, if only that which is unseemly be absent, which in this matter is entirely nothing of unseemliness: yet whatever it is, I ask that you grant it to one about to sail." In these words of your letter you think indeed rightly of me, that I desire to grant to all, if that which is unseemly be absent; but that in this matter there is nothing of unseemliness, does not seem so to me. For a becoming face of things does not touch my sense, when I think of a bishop distracted and distended by clattering ecclesiastical cares, suddenly as if becoming deaf, withholding himself from all these, and expounding the little questions of Tullian dialogues to a single schoolman. Which, however much you may by no means wish to attend to, being snatched by the ardor of your studies, you also feel nevertheless. For what else does it indicate, that when you had said that in this matter there was entirely nothing of unseemliness, you immediately added: "Yet whatever it is, I ask that you grant it to one about to sail." For this sounds as if it seems to you indeed that there is nothing of unseemliness in this matter, yet whatever of unseemliness there is, you ask that I grant it to one about to sail. But what is it, I ask you, that you added, "about to sail"? Or ought I, unless you were about to sail, not to grant to you anything of unseemliness? Doubtless you think that unseemliness is washed away by sea water. Which if it were so, mine certainly, who am not about to sail, would remain unexpiated.

3. Scribis etiam nosse me quam tibi molestissimum sit oneri esse cuipiam, et attestaris solum Deum nosse quod nimia necessitate impulsus hoc feceris. Hic sane cum epistolam tuam legerem, satis adverti animum cognoscere necessitatem tuam, cum ecce mihi affers et dicis: Mores hominum non ignoratis, qui proclives sunt ad vituperandum, et quam, si interrogatus quis non responderit, indoctus et hebes putabitur. Hoc loco vero exarsi ad rescribendum tibi: hoc enim languore animi tui penetrasti mihi pectus, et irrupisti in curas meas, ut dissimulare non possem, quantum me Deus adjuvaret, mederi tibi; non ut de tuis quaestionibus enodandis explicandisque cogitarem, sed ut felicitatem tuam pendentem ex linguis hominum atque nutantem a tam infelici retinaculo abrumperem, et cuidam sedi omnino inconcussae stabilique religarem. Tune, o Dioscore, nec Persium tuum respicis insultantem tibi contorto versiculo, sed plane puerile caput, si sensus adsit, idoneo colapho contundentem atque coercentem: Scire tuum nihil est, nisi te scire hoc sciat alter? (Persius Satyra 1.) Tot, ut superius dixi, legisti dialogos, tot philosophorum altercationibus cor inseruisti. Dic mihi quis eorum finem actionum suarum constituerit in fama vulgi, aut in lingua hominum vel bonorum atque sapientium. Tu autem, et quod magis pudendum est, jam navigaturus, satis praeclare te in Africa profecisse testaris, cum aliam ob causam te oneri non esse asseris negotiosissimis, et in alia longe distantia intentis episcopis, ut tibi exponant Ciceronem, nisi quia times homines proclives ad vituperandum, ne interrogatus ab eis, si non responderis, indoctus et hebes puteris! O rem dignam vigiliis et lucubrationibus episcoporum!

4. Non mihi videris aliunde dies noctesque cogitare, nisi ut in studiis tuis atque doctrina lauderis ab hominibus. Quod etsi semper ad certa et recta tendentibus periculosum esse judicavi, nunc tamen in te maxime experior. Non enim aliunde quam ex eadem pernicie non vidisti qua tandem re possemus moveri, ut tibi quod petebas daremus. Quam enim perverse tu ipse non ob aliud ad ea discenda quae interrogas raperis, nisi ut lauderis, aut non vitupereris ab hominibus; tam perverse etiam nos putas in tua petitione talibus causis allegatis moveri.

3. You write also that I know how very troublesome it is for you to be a burden to anyone, and you attest that God alone knows that you have done this compelled by excessive necessity. Here surely when I read your letter, I sufficiently noticed my mind recognizing your necessity, when behold you bring to me and say: "You are not ignorant of the manners of men, who are prone to vituperating, and you see how, if anyone being interrogated shall not have responded, he will be thought unlearned and dull." At this place indeed I burned to write back to you: for by this languor of your mind you have penetrated my breast, and burst into my cares, so that I could not dissemble, how much God would help me, to heal you; not so that I might think concerning the disentangling and explaining of your questions, but that I might break off your happiness hanging from the tongues of men and nodding from so unhappy a stay, and bind it to a certain seat altogether unshaken and stable. Do you, O Dioscorus, not even look back at your Persius insulting you with a twisted little verse, but plainly crushing and restraining a childish head, if sense be present, with a suitable box on the ear: "Is your knowing nothing, unless another knows that you know this?" (Persius, Satire 1). So many, as I said above, dialogues you have read, into so many altercations of philosophers you have inserted your heart. Tell me which of them established the end of his actions in the fame of the common people, or in the tongue of men even good and wise. But you, and what is more to be shamed, now about to sail, testify that you have progressed quite illustriously in Africa, when for no other cause you assert that you are a burden to the most busy bishops, and those intent upon things far distant, that they should expound Cicero to you, except because you fear men prone to vituperating, lest being interrogated by them, if you shall not have responded, you be thought unlearned and dull! O thing worthy of the vigils and night-labors of bishops!

4. You do not seem to me to think of anything else day and night, except that in your studies and doctrine you may be praised by men. Which even if I have always judged to be dangerous to those tending toward certain and right things, yet now in you especially I experience it. For from no other source than from the same destruction have you not seen by what thing at last we could be moved, that we should give you what you were seeking. For as perversely you yourself are snatched to learning those things which you interrogate for no other reason than that you may be praised, or not be vituperated by men; so perversely also you think that we are moved in your petition by such causes alleged.

Et utinam possemus efficere ut tu quoque tam inani atque fallaci humanae laudis bono minime movereris, cum tibi nos indicaremus, non ad praestandum tibi quod petis, quoniam haec de te scribis, sed ad te corrigendum moveri! Mores hominum, inquis, proclives sunt ad vituperandum. Quid deinde? Si interrogatus quis non responderit, inquis, indoctus et hebes putabitur. Ecce ego te interrogo non de Ciceronis libris aliquid, cujus sensum fortasse legentes indagare non possunt, sed de epistola ipsa tua, et de sententia verborum tuorum. Quaero enim cur non dixeris, Qui non responderit, indoctus et hebes manifestabitur, sed potius dixeris, Indoctus et hebes putabitur; nisi quia satis etiam ipse intelligis, eum qui talia non responderit, non esse indoctum et hebetem, sed putari. At ego te admoneo, eum qui talium putatorum linguis tanquam falcibus concidi timet, lignum esse aridum, et ideo non putari tantum indoctum et hebetem, sed vere esse atque convinci.

5. Fortasse dixeris: Sed cum hebes animo non sim, et praecipue non esse studeam, nolo hebes animo vel putari. Recte; sed quo fine nolis, id quaero. Quod enim in illis quaestionibus aperiendis tibi et explicandis, nec nobis oneri esse dubitasti, hanc causam et hunc finem esse dixisti, et tam necessarium, ut eam nimiam necessitatem appellares, ne scilicet de his interrogatus neque respondens, ab hominibus ad vituperandum proclivibus, hebes indoctusque puteris. Ego autem quaero, hoccine totum sit cur a nobis ista desideres, an etiam indoctus et hebes putari propter aliud aliquid nolis. Si hoc totum est, cernis, ut arbitror, hunc esse finem tam vehementis intentionis tuae, qua nobis quoque oneri es, ut fateris. Quid autem a Dioscoro potest nobis esse oneri, nisi quod ipsum Dioscorum etiam nescientem onerat? quod non sentiet, nisi cum surgere voluerit; atque utinam non sic alligentur haec onera, ut frustra etiam humeros conetur excutere! Quod non ideo dico, quia istae discuntur quaestiones, sed quia tali fine discuntur. Hunc enim finem jam certe sentis esse nugatorium, inanem, ventosum. Habet et tumorem, sub quo etiam tabes gignitur, et pupula mentis ad non videndam opulentiam veritatis offunditur. Crede, sic est, mi Dioscore, ita te fruar in ipsa voluntate, et in ipsa, cujus umbra averteris, dignitate veritatis. Unde enim tibi, nisi vel hoc modo, de hac re fidem faciam, non invenio. Non enim vides eam, aut ullo modo quandiu linguis humanis ruinosa gaudia construis, potes eam videre.

And would that we could effect that you also might be moved very little by so vain and fallacious a good of human praise, when we should indicate to you, that we are moved not to grant to you what you seek, since you write these things of yourself, but to correct you! "The manners of men," you say, "are prone to vituperating." What then? "If anyone being interrogated shall not have responded," you say, "he will be thought unlearned and dull." Behold, I interrogate you not concerning anything from the books of Cicero, the sense of which perhaps those reading cannot track down, but concerning your very letter itself, and concerning the meaning of your words. For I ask why you did not say, "He who shall not have responded, will be manifested unlearned and dull," but rather you said, "He will be thought unlearned and dull"; unless because you yourself also sufficiently understand, that he who shall not have responded to such things, is not unlearned and dull, but is thought so. But I admonish you, that he who fears to be cut down by the tongues of such thinkers as by sickles, is dry wood, and therefore not only thought unlearned and dull, but truly is and is convicted so.

5. Perhaps you will have said: But since I am not dull in mind, and especially I strive not to be, I do not wish to be thought dull in mind either. Rightly; but for what end you do not wish it, that I ask. For that which in those questions opening and explaining to you, you did not doubt also to be a burden to us, you said this was the cause and this the end, and so necessary, that you called it an excessive necessity, lest namely being interrogated concerning these and not responding, you be thought dull and unlearned by men prone to vituperating. But I ask, whether this be the whole why you desire those things from us, or whether also you do not wish to be thought unlearned and dull on account of something else. If this is the whole, you perceive, as I think, that this is the end of so vehement an intention of yours, by which you are also a burden to us, as you confess. But what from Dioscorus can be a burden to us, unless that which burdens Dioscorus himself even not knowing it? which he will not feel, except when he shall have wished to rise; and would that these burdens might not be so bound, that he may also strive in vain to shake his shoulders! Which I do not say for this reason, because those questions are learned, but because they are learned for such an end. For this end you now certainly feel to be trifling, vain, windy. It has also a swelling, under which also a wasting is begotten, and the pupil of the mind is overshadowed so as not to see the opulence of truth. Believe it, so it is, my Dioscorus, so may I enjoy you in that very will, and in that dignity of truth, from whose shadow you are turned away. For whence I may make faith to you concerning this matter, except even in this way, I do not find. For you do not see it, or in any way as long as you construct ruinous joys from human tongues, can you see it.

6. Si autem ibi non finis est harum actionum atque intentionis tuae, sed propter aliud aliquid indoctus et hebes non vis putari; quaero quid illud sit? Si propterea ne angustior tibi aditus ad acquirendas temporales divitias, uxorem impetrandam, honores capessendos, et caetera hujusmodi, praecipiti fluxu transcurrentia, atque in se lapsos in imum rapientia; neque ad hunc finem tibi servire nos decet, imo decet etiam hinc te amovere. Non enim sic te prohibemus in incerto famae finem ponere, ut tanquam de Mincio in Eridanum emigres; quo te ipse fortasse Mincius etiam non emigrantem impingeret. Cum enim non satiaverit avidum spiritum vanitas laudis humanae, quia nihil ad cibandum affert nisi inane et inflatum, cogit eam ipsa aviditas referre in aliud, quasi uberius atque fructuosius; quod nihilominus si temporali lapsu praeterfluit, ita est quasi fluvius ducat in fluvium, ut non sit finis miseriae, quamdiu finis officiorum nostrorum in re instabili collocatur . In aliquo igitur firmo atque incommutabili bono te figere volumus constantissimae intentionis domum, et securissimam requiem omnis bonae atque honestae actionis tuae. An forte istam ipsam terrenam felicitatem quam commemoravi, si prosperi rumoris aura, aut even flatibus vela pandendo ad eam potueris pervenire, hanc etiam cogitas referre in aliud certum, et verum et plenum bonum? At mihi non videtur, atque omnino ipsa veritas negat, vel tantis ad se anfractibus, quae tam proxima est, vel tantis sumptibus, quae tam gratuita est, perveniri.

7. An ipsa humana laude, tanquam instrumento utendum existimas, ut aditum per hanc praepares ad animos hominum, persuadendi vera atque salubria; et caves ne te, cum indoctum atque hebetem putaverint, indignum arbitrentur cui aurem vel intentissimam vel patientissimam praebeant, sive ad recte facta quemquam exhorteris, sive malitiam atque nequitiam peccantis objurges? Hunc tu finem justitiae ac beneficentiae, si in illis interrogandis quaestionibus cogitasti, nos de te male meruimus, quibus in epistola tua, non id potius quo moveremur, posuisti, ut aut libenter daremus quod petebas, aut ideo non daremus, quia causa quaelibet alia fortasse prohiberet, non tamen quia tuae vanae cupiditati, non solum servire, verum etiam non resistere puderet.

6. If however the end of these actions and of your intention is not there, but on account of something else you do not wish to be thought unlearned and dull; I ask what that is? If for this reason lest a narrower access be to you for acquiring temporal riches, for obtaining a wife, for laying hold of honors, and other things of this kind, passing through with a headlong flux, and snatching those fallen into themselves to the bottom; neither does it become us to serve you for this end, nay it even becomes us to remove you from hence. For we do not so prohibit you to place the end in the uncertainty of fame, so that you might emigrate as from the Mincius into the Eridanus; whither perhaps the Mincius itself might impinge you even not emigrating. For when the vanity of human praise shall not have satisfied the greedy spirit, because it brings nothing for feeding except what is vain and inflated, that very greediness compels it to refer to something else, as if more fertile and more fruitful; which nevertheless if it flows past by a temporal slip, it is just as if a river should lead into a river, so that there is no end of misery, as long as the end of our offices is placed in an unstable thing. In some firm therefore and incommutable good we wish to fix the home of your most constant intention, and the most secure rest of all your good and honest action. Or perhaps that very earthly happiness which I have mentioned, if by the breeze of a prosperous rumor, or even by opening sails to the blasts you shall have been able to reach it, this also you think to refer into another certain, and true and full good? But it does not seem so to me, and truth itself altogether denies, that it is reached either by so many windings to itself, which is so near, or by so many expenses, which is so gratuitous.

7. Or do you think that human praise itself is to be used as an instrument, so that you may prepare access through this to the minds of men, for persuading true and wholesome things; and you beware lest they, when they shall have thought you unlearned and dull, should judge you unworthy to whom they might lend either a most intent or a most patient ear, whether you exhort anyone to right deeds, or rebuke the malice and iniquity of a sinner? This end of justice and beneficence, if you thought of it in interrogating those questions, we have deserved ill of you, to whom in your letter, you did not rather put that by which we might be moved, so that either we might willingly give what you were seeking, or for that reason might not give, because any other cause perhaps might prohibit, yet not because it would be a shame not only to serve, but even not to resist your vain desire.

Quanto enim melius atque salubrius, quaeso te, ipsas veritatis regulas, multo certius et brevius per seipsas accipis, quibus falsa omnia possis ipse refellere, ne quod falsum et pudendum est, si multorum annosas et decrepitas falsitates studio jactantiori quam prudentiori didiceris, doctum atque intelligentem te esse arbitreris; quod jam non existimo tibi videri. Non enim frustra tam diu tam vera Dioscoro diximus: ex quo in hac epistola gradimur.

CAPUT II.

8. Quapropter jam illud videamus, cum te istarum rerum ignorantia nequaquam indoctum atque hebetem judices, sed ipsius potius veritatis, ut quisquis de his rebus scripsit vel scripserit, aut ea sint quae jam certus tenes, aut si falsa sunt, securus ignores, neque de diversitate cognoscenda sententiarum alienarum, ne quasi indoctus et hebes remaneas, inani sollicitudine macereris. Cum ergo haec ita sint, etiam illud, si placet, videamus, utrum aliorum falsa existimatio, qui sunt, ut scribis, ad vituperandum proclives, ita ut si te ista ignorare persenserint, indoctum atque hebetem, falso quidem, sed tamen putent, sic te movere debeat ut etiam ab episcopis tibi haec exponi non incongruenter petas; quandoquidem eo fine jam te ista cupere credimus, quo illis consulas ad persuadendam veritatem, vitamque eorum corrigendam, qui te, si in illis Ciceronis libris indoctum hebetemque putaverint, indignum habebunt a quo aliquid utilis salubrisque scientiae sibi accipiendum esse arbitrentur. Quod non ita est, mihi crede.

For how much better and more wholesomely, I ask you, do you receive the rules of truth themselves, much more certainly and more briefly through themselves, by which you may be able yourself to refute all false things, lest what is false and shameful, if you shall have learned the years-old and decrepit falsities of many with a study more boastful than prudent, you should judge yourself to be learned and intelligent; which now I do not think seems so to you. For not in vain for so long have we said such true things to Dioscorus: from which we proceed in this letter.

CHAPTER II.

Wherefore now let us see that, since you judge yourself by no means unlearned and dull by the ignorance of those things, but rather of truth itself, so that whoever has written or shall have written concerning these things, either they are those things which you already hold certain, or if they are false, you may securely be ignorant of them, nor be macerated with vain solicitude concerning the knowing of the diversity of others' opinions, lest you remain as if unlearned and dull. Since therefore these things are so, let us see also that, if it pleases, whether the false estimation of others, who are, as you write, prone to vituperating, so that if they shall have perceived you to be ignorant of those things, they should think you unlearned and dull, falsely indeed, but yet think it, ought so to move you that you should even not incongruously seek that these things be expounded to you by bishops; since indeed we believe you to desire those things for that end, by which you may consult for them for persuading the truth, and correcting the life of those, who, if they shall have thought you unlearned and dull in those books of Cicero, will judge you unworthy from whom anything of useful and wholesome science is to be received by them. Which is not so, believe me.

9. Primum quia esse aliquos in illis terris, ubi imperitus minimeque acutus videri times, qui te de istis quaestionibus quidquam interrogent, omnino non video: quandoquidem hic, quo ad ea discenda venisti, et Romae expertus es quam negligenter habeantur, et ob hoc neque doceantur neque discantur; et in Africa usque adeo de his interrogatorem pateris neminem, ut nec teipsum qui patiatur invenias, eaque inopia episcopis exponenda ea mittere cogaris: quasi vero episcopi isti, etiamsi adolescentes, eodem quo tu raperis animi ardore, vel potius errore, quasi aliquid magnum haec discere curarunt, usque ad canos episcopales, et usque ad cathedras ecclesiasticas, ea sibi in memoria durare paterentur; aut si ipsi vellent, non illa, etiam de invitorum cordibus, curae majores gravioresque secluderent; aut si aliqua ex eis in animis eorum nimia consuetudine remanerent, non etiam ipsa oblivione sepeliri mallent recordata, quam ad inepta respondere quaesita, cum in ipsa etiam scholari levitate et rhetoricis cathedris, ita obmutuisse atque obtorpuisse videantur, ut a Carthagine Hipponem, quo exponi possint, mittenda existimentur; ubi tam insolita atque omnino peregrina sunt, ut si vellem respondendi cura inspicere aliquid, volens videre quomodo ad sententiam quae mihi exponenda esset, desuper veniatur, aut ab ea deinceps quae contexeretur oratio, codicem prorsus invenire non possem. Illi autem Carthaginenses rhetores, si huic tuo studio defuerunt, non modo a me non reprehenduntur, sed etiam approbantur, si forte jam recolunt, non Romanorum fororum, sed Graecorum gymnasiorum ista solere esse certamina. Tu vero cum et in gymnasia cogitationem injecisti, et ea quoque ipsa invenisti talibus rebus nuda atque frigida, ubi has curas tuas deponeres, christianorum tibi basilica Hipponensis occurrit, quia in ea nunc sedet episcopus qui aliquando ista pueris vendidit. Sed nec te volo esse adhuc puerum; et me jam esse puerilium rerum, sicut non venditorem, ita nec largitorem decet. Quae cum ita sint, id est, cum duae tantae urbes, latinarum litterarum artifices, Roma atque Carthago, nec taedio tibi sint, ut a te ista perquirant, nec taedia tua curent, ut te ista perquirentem exaudiant; miror tantum quantum dici non potest, vereri te, tam boni ingenii juvenem, ne in Graecis atque Orientalibus urbibus quemquam de his rebus molestum interrogatorem feras. Facilius quippe corniculas in Africa audieris, quam in illis partibus hoc genus vocis.

First because I do not see at all that there are some in those lands, where you fear to be seen unskilled and very little acute, who may interrogate you anything concerning those questions: since indeed here, whither you came for learning those things, both in Rome you have experienced how negligently they are held, and on account of this neither are they taught nor learned; and in Africa even to such a degree do you suffer no interrogator concerning these, that you do not find even yourself who may suffer them, and by that want you are compelled to send them to bishops to be expounded: as if indeed those bishops, even if young men, were snatched by the same ardor of mind as you, or rather error, as if they cared to learn these things as something great, and would suffer them to endure in their memory even to episcopal grey hairs, and even to ecclesiastical chairs; or if they themselves wished it, greater and weightier cares would not seclude those things, even from unwilling hearts; or if any of them should remain in their minds by excessive custom, they would not also prefer them being recollected to be buried in oblivion itself, than to respond to inept things sought, when even in that very scholarly levity and rhetorical chairs, they seem to have so become silent and so become torpid, that they are judged to be sent from Carthage to Hippo, whither they may be able to be expounded; where they are so unusual and altogether foreign, that if I wished by the care of responding to inspect anything, wishing to see how the sentence which was to be expounded to me is reached from above, or from it thereafter what speech is woven together, I could not find a book at all. Those rhetoricians of Carthage, however, if they failed this study of yours, are not only not reprehended by me, but also are approved, if perhaps they now recollect, that these are wont to be the contests not of Roman forums, but of Greek gymnasia. But you, when you also cast your thought into the gymnasia, and found those very things also naked and cold of such things, where you might lay down these cares of yours, the basilica of the Christians of Hippo occurred to you, because in it now sits a bishop who sometimes sold those things to boys. But neither do I wish you to be a boy still; and it does not become me now to be of childish things, as not a seller, so neither a giver. Which since these things are so, that is, since two so great cities, artificers of Latin letters, Rome and Carthage, neither are a weariness to you, so that they should search out those things from you, nor do they care for your wearinesses, so that they should hear you searching out those things; I wonder so much as cannot be said, that you fear, a youth of so good a talent, lest you should suffer any troublesome interrogator concerning these things in Greek and Oriental cities. More easily indeed will you have heard jackdaws in Africa, than in those parts this kind of voice.

10. Deinde si fallor, et quisquam ibi forte hujusmodi quaestionum tanto utique odiosior, quanto in illis locis ineptior percontator extiterit; nonne magis caves ne multo facilius existant, qui te graeci homines in Graecia constitutum, et graeca imbutum primitus lingua, de ipsis philosophorum libris aliqua interrogent, quae Cicero in suis litteris non posuit? Quod si acciderit, quid responsurus es? potius te ista in latinorum auctorum libris, quam in graecorum nosse voluisse? Qua responsione primo Graeciae facies injuriam, et nosti quam illi homines hoc non ferant. Deinde jam exulcerati et irati, quam cito te, quod nimis non vis, et habetem judicabunt, qui graecorum philosophorum dogmata, vel potius dogmatum particulas quasdam discerptas atque dispersas in latinis dialogis, quam in ipsorum auctorum libris graecis tota atque contexta discere maluisti; et indoctum, qui cum tam multa in tua lingua nescias, earum rerum frustra in aliena colligere ambisti. An forte illud respondebis, non te graecos de his rebus libros contempsisse, sed prius latinos curasse cognoscere, nunc autem velle te in latinis doctum, jam graeca quaerere? Si hoc non pudet hominem graecum latina puerum didicisse, nunc velle discere graeca barbarum, pudebitne tandem in ipsis latinis ignorare aliqua, quae quam multi latini docti tecum nesciant, vel hoc ipso sentis, quod te nobis magna necessitate dicis onerosum, in tanta doctorum multitudine apud Carthaginem constitutus?

11. Postremo fac te de omnibus quae a nobis quaeris, interrogatum respondere potuisse. Ecce jam doctissimus atque acutissimus diceris, ecce jam te laudibus in coelum graeculus flatus attollit; tu tantum memento gravitatis tuae, et illam mereri laudem quo fine volueris, ut scilicet eos leviter levia ista miratos, et benevolentissime atque avidissime jam in tua ora suspensos, gravissimum aliquid et saluberrimum doceas: idipsum quidquid est gravissimum et saluberrimum, utrum teneas, et recte tradere noveris, vellem cognoscere. Ridiculum est enim cum propterea superflua multa didiceris, ut tibi aures hominum ad necessaria praeparentur, ipsa necessaria non tenere, quibus excipiendis eas per superflua praeparaveris; et dum occuparis ut discas unde facias intentos, nolle discere quod infundatur intentis. Sed si hoc te scire jam dicis, idque ipsum christianam doctrinam esse respondes, quam te omnibus praeponere novimus, et in ea sola esse praesumere spem salutis aeternae, non opus est ei cognitione dialogorum Ciceronis, et collectione emendicatarum discordantium sententiarum alienarum procurari auditores.

Then if I am deceived, and anyone there should perhaps exist as a so much more odious percontator of this kind of questions, as he is more inept in those places; do you not rather beware lest much more easily those exist, who being Greek men established in Greece, and initially imbued with the Greek language, should interrogate you some things concerning the very books of the philosophers, which Cicero did not put in his letters? Which if it shall have happened, what are you going to respond? that you wished rather to know those things in the books of Latin authors, than of Greek? By which response first you will do an injury to Greece, and you know how those men do not bear this. Then now ulcerated and angry, how quickly they will judge you, what you very much do not wish, both dull, who preferred to learn the dogmas of Greek philosophers, or rather certain pieces of dogmas plucked and dispersed in Latin dialogues, than in the Greek books of the authors themselves whole and connected; and unlearned, who since you do not know so many things in your own language, have ambitiously sought to collect those things in a foreign one in vain. Or perhaps you will respond that, you did not contemn the Greek books concerning these things, but first cared to know the Latin, now however wishing to be learned in Latin, now to seek the Greek? If it does not shame a Greek man to have learned Latin as a boy, now to wish to learn Greek as a barbarian, will it shame you at last to be ignorant of some things in the Latin ones themselves, which how many learned Latin men are ignorant of with you, you feel even by this very thing, that you say you are a burden to us with great necessity, established in so great a multitude of the learned at Carthage?

Finally make it that you could have responded to all things which you ask from us. Behold now you are called most learned and most acute, behold now a "Greekling" blast lifts you up with praises to heaven; do you only remember your gravity, and to deserve that praise for what end you shall have wished, namely that you may teach them, having lightly wondered at these light things, and now hanging upon your mouths most benevolently and most avidly, something most grave and most wholesome: that very thing whatever is most grave and most wholesome, whether you hold it, and know how to deliver it rightly, I should wish to know. For it is ridiculous when for that reason you shall have learned many superfluous things, that the ears of men may be prepared for you for necessary things, not to hold the necessary things themselves, for receiving which you shall have prepared them through superfluous things; and while you are occupied that you may learn whence you may make them intent, to be unwilling to learn what may be infused into them being intent. But if you say that you know this already, and you respond that that very thing is Christian doctrine, which we know you to prefer to all things, and in it alone to presume the hope of eternal salvation, there is no need for it that auditors be procured by the knowledge of the dialogues of Cicero, and by the collection of begged discordant sentences of others.

Moribus tuis intenti fiant, qui abs te aliquid tale accepturi sunt. Nolo prius aliquid doceas quod dediscendum est, ut vera doceas.

12. Nam si alienarum sententiarum dissidentium et repugnantium cognitio aliquid adjuvat insinuatorem christianae veritatis, ut noverit quomodo adversantes destruat falsitates, ad hoc duntaxat, ne quis contra disserens, nonnisi in refellendis tuis figat oculum, sua vero sedulo occultet. Nam cognitio veritatis omnia falsa, si modo proferantur, etiam quae prius inaudita erant, et dijudicare et subvertere idonea est. Sed ut non solum aperta feriantur, sed etiam abscondita eruantur, si alienos opus est cognoscere errores, erige oculos auresque, oro te, et vide atque ausculta utrum aliquis adversus nos de Anaximene et de Anaxagora proferat aliquid; quando jam ne ipsorum quidem multo recentiorum, multumque loquacium Stoicorum aut Epicureorum cineres caleant, unde aliqua contra fidem christianam scintilla excitetur: sed circuli atque conventicula partim fugacia, partim etiam audacter prompta, vel Donatistarum, vel Maximianensium, vel Manichaeorum, vel etiam ad quorum greges turbamque venturus es Arianorum, Eunomianorum, Macedonianorum, Cataphrygarum, caeterarumque pestium innumerabiliter perstrepant; quorum omnium errores si cognoscere piget, quid nobis est, propter defensionem christianae religionis, quaerere quid senserit Anaximenes, et olim sopitas lites inani curiositate recoquere, cum quorumdam etiam haereticorum, qui nomine christiano gloriari voluerunt, ut Marcionitarum et Sabellianorum, multorumque praeterea, jam dissensiones quaestionesque sileantur? Tamen si opus est, ut dixi, veritati adversantes praenoscere aliquas, et pertractatas habere sententias; de haereticis potius, qui se christianos vocant, quam de Anaxagora et Democrito nobis cogitandum fuit.

CAPUT III.

13. Ille autem quisquis abs te quaesiverit quae tu a nobis quaeris, audiat quod ea doctius et prudentius nescias. Si enim Themistocles non curavit quod est habitus indoctior, cum canere nervis in epulis recusasset, ubi cum se nescire illa dixisset, atque ei dictum esset, Quid igitur nosti? respondit, Rempublicam ex parva magnam facere: dubitandum est tibi dicere te ista nescire, cum ei qui rogarit quid noveris, respondere possis, nosse te quomodo etiam sine istis homo esse possit beatus?

Let them become intent upon your manners, who are about to receive any such thing from you. I do not wish that you first teach something which is to be unlearned, so that you may teach true things.

For if the knowledge of the dissenting and repugnant sentences of others helps anything the insinuator of Christian truth, that he may know how he may destroy opposing falsities, at least to this end, lest anyone dissenting against him, should fix his eye only upon refuting your things, but diligently hide his own. For the knowledge of the truth is suitable both to judge and to subvert all false things, if only they are brought forward, even those which were previously unheard of. But so that not only open things may be struck, but also hidden things may be dug out, if it is necessary to know others' errors, lift up your eyes and ears, I pray you, and see and listen whether anyone against us brings forward anything concerning Anaximenes and concerning Anaxagoras; since now not even the ashes of the much more recent, and much loquacious Stoics or Epicureans are warm, whence any spark may be excited against the Christian faith: but the circles and conventicles partly fugacious, partly also boldly prompt, either of the Donatists, or of the Maximianists, or of the Manichaeans, or even of the Arians, Eunomians, Macedonians, Cataphrygians, and other pests, to whose flocks and crowd you are about to come, clatter innumerably; the errors of all of whom if it irks to know, what is it to us, for the sake of the defense of the Christian religion, to seek what Anaximenes thought, and to boil up again with vain curiosity long-since stilled strifes, when the dissensions and questions even of certain heretics, who wished to glory in the Christian name, as of the Marcionites and Sabellians, and of many besides, are now silent? Nevertheless if it is necessary, as I said, to foreknow some sentences opposing the truth, and to have them thoroughly treated; we ought rather to have thought concerning the heretics, who call themselves Christians, than concerning Anaxagoras and Democritus.

CHAPTER III.

But let him whoever shall have sought from you what you seek from us, hear that you are more learnedly and more prudently ignorant of those things. For if Themistocles did not care that he was held more unlearned, when he had refused to sing to the strings at feasts, where when he had said that he was ignorant of those things, and it had been said to him, "What then do you know?" he responded, "To make a great republic from a small one": must you doubt to say that you are ignorant of those things, when to him who shall have asked what you know, you can respond, that you know how even without those things a man can be blessed?

Quod si adhuc non tenes, tam perverse ista conquiris, quam perverse si aliquo corporis periculoso morbo gravareris, delicias et tenerrimas vestes potius quam medicamenta medicosque conquireres. Non enim ullo modo differenda est ista cognitio, aut ulla huic a te, praesertim jam in hac aetate, vel discendi ordine praeferenda est. Vide autem quam facile posses hoc scire, si velles. Qui enim quaerit quomodo ad beatam vitam perveniat, nihil aliud profecto quaerit, nisi ubi sit finis boni, hoc est ubi constitutum sit, non prava opinione atque temeraria, sed certa atque inconcussa veritate, summum hominis bonum: quod a quolibet ubi constituatur non invenitur, nisi aut in corpore, aut in animo, aut in Deo, aut in duobus aliquibus horum, aut certe in omnibus. Quod si didiceris, neque summum bonum, nec aliquam partem summi boni omnino esse in corpore, duo restabunt, animus et Deus, quorum vel in uno vel in ambobus sit. Si autem adjeceris et didiceris hoc idem de animo quod de corpore, quid aliud jam nisi Deus occurret, in quo summum hominis bonum constitutum sit; non quo alia bona non sint, sed summum id dicitur, quo cuncta referuntur. Eo enim fruendo quisque beatus est, propter quod caetera vult habere, cum illud jam non propter aliud, sed propter seipsum diligatur. Et ideo finis ibi dicitur, quia jam quo excurrat, et quo referatur, non invenitur. Ibi requies appetendi, ibi fruendi securitas, ibi tranquillissimum gaudium optimae voluntatis.

14. Da igitur qui cito videat, non corpus esse animi bonum, sed animum potius esse corporis bonum; recedetur jam ab inquirendo utrum summum illud bonum, vel aliqua ejus pars sit in corpore. Quod enim stultissime negatur, melior est animus corpore. Item stultissime negatur meliorem esse eum qui dat beatam vitam, vel partem aliquam beatae vitae, quam eum qui accipit. Non igitur accipit animus a corpore vel summum bonum, vel partem aliquam summi boni. Hoc qui non vident caecati sunt dulcedine carnalium voluptatum, quam ex indigentia sanitatis venire non intuentur. Sanitas autem perfecta corporis, illa extrema totius hominis immortalitas erit. Tam potenti enim natura Deus fecit animam, ut ex ejus plenissima beatitudine quae in fine temporum sanctis promittitur, redundet etiam in inferiorem naturam, quod est corpus, non beatitudo quae fruentis et intelligentis est propria, sed plenitudo sanitatis, id est incorruptionis vigor. Quod qui non vident, ut dixi, bellant inquietis altercationibus, varie pro suo quisque captu, in corpore constituentes summum hominis bonum, et carnalium seditiosorum turbas concitant; inter quos Epicurei apud indoctam multitudinem excellentiore auctoritate viguerunt.

Which if as yet you do not hold, you seek those things as perversely as perversely if you were burdened by some dangerous disease of the body, you would seek delicacies and most delicate garments rather than medicines and doctors. For by no means is that knowledge to be deferred, or any to be preferred to this by you, especially now in this age, or in the order of learning. But see how easily you could know this, if you wished. For he who seeks how he may arrive at a blessed life, seeks nothing else indeed, unless where the end of good is, that is where the supreme good of man is established, not by a depraved and rash opinion, but by a certain and unshaken truth: which is not found where it is established by anyone, unless either in the body, or in the mind, or in God, or in any two of these, or certainly in all. Which if you shall have learned, that neither the supreme good, nor any part of the supreme good is altogether in the body, two will remain, the mind and God, in one or in both of which it may be. If however you shall have added and learned this same thing concerning the mind as concerning the body, what else now will occur except God, in whom the supreme good of man is established; not that other goods are not, but that is called supreme, whither all things are referred. For by enjoying that everyone is blessed, on account of which he wishes to have the other things, since that is loved now not on account of something else, but on account of itself. And therefore the end is called there, because now whither it may run out, and whither it may be referred, is not found. There is the rest of desiring, there the security of enjoying, there the most tranquil joy of the best will.

14. Give therefore one who quickly sees, that the body is not the good of the mind, but the mind rather is the good of the body; it will be receded now from inquiring whether that supreme good, or any part of it is in the body. For what is most foolishly denied, the mind is better than the body. Likewise it is most foolishly denied that he is better who gives a blessed life, or some part of a blessed life, than he who receives it. Therefore the mind does not receive from the body either the supreme good, or some part of the supreme good. They who do not see this are blinded by the sweetness of carnal pleasures, which they do not behold to come from the indigence of health. But the perfect health of the body, will be that extreme immortality of the whole man. For with so potent a nature God made the soul, that from its most full beatitude which is promised to the saints in the end of times, there should redound even into the inferior nature, which is the body, not the beatitude which is proper to one enjoying and understanding, but the fullness of health, that is the vigor of incorruption. They who do not see which, as I said, war with unquiet altercations, variously according to each one's capacity, establishing the supreme good of man in the body, and excite crowds of carnal seditious men; among whom the Epicureans flourished with more excellent authority among the unlearned multitude.

Da item qui cito videat animum quoque ipsum, non suo bono beatum esse, cum beatus est, alioquin nunquam esset miser; et recedetur a quaerendo utrum in animo sit summum illud atque, ut ita dixerim, beatificum bonum, vel aliqua pars ejus. Nam cum seipso sibi quasi suo bono animus gaudet, superbus est. Cum vero perspicit se esse mutabilem, vel hoc uno saltem quod de stulto sapiens efficitur, sapientiamque esse incommutabilem cernit, simul oportet cernat esse illam supra suam naturam, ejusque participatione atque illustratione se uberius et certius gaudere quam seipso. Ita cessans atque detumescens a jactatione atque inflatione propria, inhaerere Deo, atque ab illo incommutabili refici et reformari nititur, a quo esse jam capit non solum omnem speciem rerum omnium, sive quae sensu corporis, sive quae intelligentia mentis attinguntur, sed etiam ipsam capacitatem formationis ante formationem, cum vel informe aliquid dicitur, quod formari potest. Itaque tanto minus se esse stabilem sentit, quanto minus haeret Deo qui summe est: et ideo illum summe esse, quia nulla mutabilitate proficit seu deficit; sibi autem illam commutationem expedire qua proficit, ut perfecte illi cohaereat, eam vero commutationem quae in defectu est, esse vitiosam; omnem autem defectum ad interitum vergere, quo utrum aliqua res perveniat tametsi non appareat, tamen apparere omnibus eo ducere interitum ut non sit quod erat. Unde colligit non ob aliud res deficere, vel posse deficere, nisi quod ex nihilo factae sunt: ut quod in eis est quod sunt et manent, et pro defectibus etiam suis ad universitatis complexum ordinantur, ad ejus bonitatem omnipotentiamque pertineat, qui summe est et conditor, qui potens est etiam ex nihilo, non tantum aliquid, sed etiam magnum aliquid facere: primum autem peccatum, hoc est primum voluntarium defectum, esse gaudere ad propriam potestatem; ad minus enim gaudet, quam si ad potestatem Dei gaudeat, quae utique major est. Hoc non videntes, et potentias intuentes animi humani, magnamque pulchritudinem factorum atque dictorum, etiamsi in corpore puduit ponere summum bonum, in ipso tamen animo ponentes, infra utique posuerunt, quam ubi sincerissima ratione ponendum est. Inter hos qui ita sentiunt apud graecos philosophos, et numero et disputandi subtilitate Stoici praevaluerunt, qui tamen in naturalibus corporea omnia esse arbitrantes, magis a carne quam a corpore animum avertere potuerunt.

Give me again one who quickly sees that the soul itself is not blessed by its own good when it is blessed, otherwise it would never be wretched; and we shall cease from inquiring whether that supreme and, so to speak, beatific good, or some part of it, is in the soul. For when the soul rejoices in itself as if in its own good, it is proud. But when it perceives that it is mutable, at least by this one fact that it is made wise from being foolish, and beholds that wisdom is immutable, it must at the same time behold that it is above its own nature, and that it rejoices more abundantly and more certainly in the participation and illumination of it than in itself. Thus ceasing and de-swelling from its own boasting and inflation, it strives to adhere to God, and to be refreshed and reformed by that immutable one, from whom it begins to have not only every species of all things, whether those reached by the sense of the body or by the understanding of the mind, but even the very capacity of formation before formation, when something is called unformed which can be formed. Therefore it feels itself to be so much less stable, by as much as it less adheres to God who is in the highest degree: and for this reason He is in the highest degree, because He neither increases nor decreases by any mutability; but for itself that change is expedient by which it increases, so that it may perfectly cohere to Him, while that change which is in defect is vicious; but every defect tends toward destruction, to which whether any thing arrives although it does not appear, yet it appears to all that destruction leads to this, that it be not what it was. Whence it concludes that things do not fail, or are able to fail, for any other reason than that they were made from nothing: so that what is in them, that they are and remain, and are ordered even for their own defects toward the complex of the universe, pertains to the goodness and omnipotence of Him who is in the highest degree and the founder, who is powerful to make even from nothing, not only something, but even something great: but the first sin, that is the first voluntary defect, is to rejoice at one's own power; for it rejoices at less, than if it rejoiced at the power of God, which is surely greater. Not seeing this, and intuiting the powers of the human soul, and the great beauty of deeds and words, even if they were ashamed to place the supreme good in the body, yet placing it in the soul itself, they surely placed it lower than where it is to be placed by the most sincere reason. Among those who so think among the Greek philosophers, both in number and in subtlety of disputation the Stoics prevailed, who nevertheless thinking all things to be corporeal in natural things, were able to turn the soul away more from the flesh than from the body.

Inter eos autem qui fruendum Deo, a quo et nos et omnia facta sunt, unum atque summum bonum nostrum esse dicunt, apud illos eminuerunt Platonici, qui non immerito ad officium suum pertinere arbitrati sunt, Stoicis, et Epicureis maxime et prope solis omnino resistere. Iidem quippe Academici qui Platonici, quod docet auditorum ipsa successio. Arcesilas enim qui primus occultata sententia sua, nihil aliud istos quam refellere statuit, quaere cui successerit, Polemonem invenies; quaere cui Polemon, Xenocratem: Xenocrati autem discipulo Academiam scholam suam reliquit Plato. Quantum igitur pertinet ad quaestionem de summo hominis bono, remove personas hominum, atque ipsam disceptationem constitue; profecto reperies duos errores inter se adversa fronte collidi: unum constituentem in corpore, alium constituentem in animo summum bonum. Rationem autem veritatis, qua summum bonum nostrum Deus esse intelligitur, utrique resistere, sed non prius docentem vera quam prava dedocentem. Idipsum rursum adjunctis personis constitue, reperies Epicureos et Stoicos inter se acerrime dimicantes; eorum vero litem conantes dijudicare Platonicos, occultantes sententiam veritatis, et illorum vanam in falsitate fiduciam convincentes et redarguentes.

Sed non sicut illi errorum suorum, ita Platonici verae rationis personam implere potuerunt. Omnibus enim defuit divinae humilitatis exemplum, quod opportunissimo tempore per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum illustratum est; cui uni exemplo in cujusvis animo ferociter arrogantis, omnis superbia cedit et frangitur et emoritur. Ideoque non valentes illi auctoritate turbas terrenarum rerum dilectione caecatas ad invisibilium fidem ducere, cum eas viderent Epicureis maxime contentionibus commoveri, non solum ad hauriendam, quo ultro ferebantur, sed etiam ad defensitandam corporis voluptatem, ut in ea summum bonum hominis constitueretur; eos autem qui adversus hanc voluptatem virtutis laude moverentur, minus difficulter eam contemplari in animis hominum, unde facta bona, de quibus utcumque poterant judicare, procederent: simul videbant si eis conarentur insinuare aliquam rem divinam et super omnia incommutabilem, quae nullo attingeretur corporis sensu, sed sola mente intelligeretur, quae tamen etiam naturam ipsius mentis excederet, eumque esse Deum propositum animo humano ad fruendum, purgato ab omni labe humanarum cupiditatum, in quo uno acquiesceret omnis beatitudinis appetitus, et in quo nobis uno bonorum omnium finis esset, non eos intellecturos, et repugnantibus vel Epicureis vel Stoicis multo quam sibi facilius palmam daturos, ita ut vera salubrisque sententia, quod perniciosissimum est generi humano, imperitorum populorum irrisione sordesceret: et hoc in moralibus.

But among those who say that the enjoyment of God, by whom both we and all things were made, is our one and supreme good, the Platonists were eminent, who not undeservedly thought it pertained to their duty to resist the Stoics, and the Epicureans especially and almost alone. For the same Academics are Platonists, as the very succession of listeners teaches. For Arcesilas, who first having hidden his own opinion, decided to do nothing else than refute those men, seek to whom he succeeded, you will find Polemo; seek to whom Polemo, Xenocrates: and to the disciple Xenocrates Plato left the Academy as his school. As far therefore as pertains to the question of the supreme good of man, remove the persons of men, and constitute the discussion itself; surely you will find two errors colliding with each other with adverse front: one establishing the supreme good in the body, the other establishing it in the soul. But the reason of truth, by which God is understood to be our supreme good, resists both, but not teaching true things before unteaching false ones. Constitute that same thing again with the persons joined, you will find Epicureans and Stoics fighting most fiercely among themselves; but the Platonists trying to judge their strife, hiding the opinion of truth, and convicting and refuting their vain confidence in falsehood.

But just as those could not fulfill the role of their errors, so the Platonists could not fulfill the role of true reason. For to all of them the example of divine humility was lacking, which was illustrated at the most opportune time through our Lord Jesus Christ; to which one example in the soul of any fiercely arrogant man, all pride yields and is broken and dies. And therefore they, not being able by authority to lead the crowds blinded by the love of earthly things to the faith of invisible things, when they saw them moved by the greatest Epicurean contentions, not only to drain, whither they were carried of their own accord, but even to defend the pleasure of the body, so that in it the supreme good of man might be established; and those who were moved against this pleasure by the praise of virtue, were less difficulty contemplating it in the souls of men, whence good deeds, about which they could judge in whatever way, proceeded: at the same time they saw that if they tried to insinuate to them some divine thing and immutable above all things, which was touched by no sense of the body, but understood by the mind alone, which nevertheless also exceeded the nature of the mind itself, and that that was God proposed to the human soul for enjoyment, purged from every stain of human desires, in whom alone every appetite of beatitude might acquiesce, and in whom alone might be the end of all our goods, they would not understand them, and with either Epicureans or Stoics resisting, they would give the palm much more easily to them than to themselves, so that the true and salutary opinion, which is most pernicious to the human race, would become base by the mockery of unlearned peoples: and this in morals.

In naturalibus autem quaestionibus, si isti dicerent effectricem omnium naturarum esse incorpoream Sapientiam, illi autem a corpore nusquam discederent, cum alii atomis, alii quatuor elementis, in quibus ad efficienda omnia ignis praevaleret, principia rerum darent; quis non videret stultorum abundantiam corpori deditam, cum in corpoream potentiam conditricem rerum nequaquam valeret intueri, in quorum potius suffragium raperetur?

Restabat pars rationalium quaestionum. Nosti enim quidquid propter adipiscendam sapientiam quaeritur, aut de moribus, aut de natura, aut de ratione quaestionem habere. Cum ergo Epicurei nunquam sensus corporis falli dicerent, Stoici autem falli aliquando concederent, utrique tamen regulam comprehendendae veritatis in sensibus ponerent; quis istis contradicentibus audiret Platonicos? Quis non modo in sapientium, sed omnino in hominum numero habendos putaret, si ab eis prompte diceretur, non solum esse aliquid quod neque tactu corporis, neque olfactu vel gustatu, neque his auribus aut oculis percipi possit, neque omnino talium rerum, quae ita sentirentur, aliqua imaginatione cogitari; sed id solum vere esse, atque id solum posse percipi, quia incommutabile et sempiternum est; percipi autem sola intelligentia, qua una veritas, quomodo attingi potest, attingitur?

Cum ergo talia sentirent Platonici, quae neque docerent carni deditos homines, neque tanta essent auctoritate apud populos, ut credenda persuaderent, donec ad eum habitum perduceretur animus quo ista capiuntur, elegerunt occultare sententiam suam, et contra eos disserere, qui verum se invenisse jactarent, cum inventionem ipsam veri in carnis sensibus ponerent. Et eorum quidem consilium quale fuerit quid attinet quaerere? divinum certe vel divina aliqua auctoritate praeditum non fuit. Tantum illud attende, quoniam Plato a Cicerone multis modis apertissime ostenditur, in sapientia non humana, sed plane divina, unde humana quodammodo accenderetur, in illa utique sapientia prorsus immutabili, atque eodem modo semper se habente veritate, constituisse et finem boni, et causas rerum, et ratiocinandi fiduciam: oppugnatos autem esse nomine Epicureorum et Stoicorum a Platonicis eos, qui in corporis vel in animi natura ponerent et finem boni, et causas rerum, et ratiocinandi fiduciam; eo rem successione temporum esse devolutam, ut christianae jam aetatis exordio, cum rerum invisibilium atque aeternarum fides per visibilia miracula salubriter praedicaretur hominibus, qui nec videre nec cogitare aliquid praeter corpora poterant, beato apostolo Paulo, qui eamdem finem Gentibus praeseminabat, iidem ipsi Epicurei et Stoici, in Actibus Apostolorum contradixisse inveniantur.

But in natural questions, if these said that the efficient cause of all natures is incorporeal Wisdom, while those never departed from the body, when some gave the principles of things to atoms, others to the four elements, in which fire prevailed for the effecting of all things; who would not see the abundance of fools devoted to the body, when they were in no way able to intuit the corporeal creative power of things, to whose suffrage they would rather be snatched away?

There remained the part of rational questions. For you know that whatever is sought for the sake of attaining wisdom, has a question either of morals, or of nature, or of reason. When therefore the Epicureans said that the senses of the body are never deceived, while the Stoics conceded that they are sometimes deceived, yet both placed the rule of comprehending truth in the senses; who would hear the Platonists with these contradicting? Who would think they were to be had not only in the number of the wise, but even in the number of men at all, if it were promptly said by them, that not only is there something which can be perceived neither by the touch of the body, nor by smell or taste, nor by these ears or eyes, nor at all thought of by any imagination of such things as were so felt; but that that alone truly is, and that alone can be perceived, because it is immutable and eternal; but is perceived by the intelligence alone, by which alone truth, as it can be reached, is reached?

When therefore the Platonists felt such things, which they neither taught to men devoted to the flesh, nor were of such authority among the peoples as to persuade them to be believed, until the soul should be led to that habit by which these things are grasped, they chose to hide their opinion, and to dispute against those who boasted that they had found the truth, since they placed the very finding of truth in the senses of the flesh. And indeed, what pertained to what their counsel was? It certainly was not divine, or endowed with any divine authority. Only attend to this, since Plato is most clearly shown by Cicero in many ways to have established both the end of good, and the causes of things, and the confidence of reasoning, in wisdom not human, but plainly divine, whence the human might be in some way kindled, in that wisdom surely altogether immutable, and in truth always having itself in the same way; and that those were attacked under the name of Epicureans and Stoics by the Platonists, who placed both the end of good, and the causes of things, and the confidence of reasoning in the nature of the body or of the soul; that the matter has devolved by succession of times, so that at the beginning of the Christian age, when the faith of invisible and eternal things was healthfully preached to men through visible miracles, who could neither see nor think anything besides bodies, the same Epicureans and Stoics are found to have contradicted the blessed apostle Paul, who was sowing the same end among the Gentiles, in the Acts of the Apostles.

Qua in re satis mihi videtur demonstratum esse errores Gentium, sive de moribus, sive de natura rerum, sive de ratione investigandae veritatis, qui quamvis essent multi atque multiplices, in his tamen maxime duabus sectis eminebant, expugnantibus doctis et tanta disserendi subtilitate atque copia subvertentibus, durasse tamen usque in tempora christiana. Quos jam certe nostra aetate sic obmutuisse conspicimus, ut vix jam in scholis rhetorum commemoretur tantum quae fuerint illorum sententiae: certamina tamen etiam de loquacissimis Graecorum gymnasiis eradicata atque compressa sunt, ita ut si qua nunc erroris secta contra veritatem, hoc est, contra Ecclesiam Christi emerserit, nisi nomine cooperta christiano, ad pugnandum prosilire non audeat. Ex quo intelligitur ipsos quoque Platonicae gentis philosophos, paucis mutatis quae christiana improbat disciplina, invictissimo uni regi Christo pias cervices oportere submittere, et intelligere Verbum Dei homine indutum, qui jussit, et creditum est quod illi vel proferre metuebant.

Huic te, mi Dioscore, ut tota pietate subdas velim, nec aliam tibi ad capessendam et obtinendam veritatem viam munias, quam quae munita est ab illo qui gressuum nostrorum tanquam Deus vidit infirmitatem. Ea est autem prima, humilitas; secunda, humilitas; tertia, humilitas: et quoties interrogares hoc dicerem; non quo alia non sint praecepta, quae dicantur, sed nisi humilitas omnia quaecumque bene facimus et praecesserit et comitetur et consecuta fuerit, et proposita quam intueamur, et apposita cui adhaereamus, et imposita qua reprimamur, jam nobis de aliquo bono facto gaudentibus totum extorquet de manu superbia. Vitia quippe caetera in peccatis, superbia vero etiam in recte factis timenda est, ne illa quae laudabiliter facta sunt, ipsius laudis cupiditate amittantur. Itaque sicut rhetor ille nobilissimus cum interrogatus esset quid ei primum videretur in eloquentiae praeceptis observari oportere, Pronuntiationem dicitur respondisse; cum quaereretur quid secundo, eamdem pronuntiationem; quid tertio, nihil aliud quam pronuntiationem dixisse: ita si interrogares, et quoties interrogares de praeceptis christianae religionis, nihil me aliud respondere nisi humilitatem liberet, etsi forte alia dicere necessitas cogeret.

Huic humilitati saluberrimae, quam Dominus noster Jesus Christus ut doceret humiliatus est; huic, inquam, maxime adversatur quaedam, ut ita dicam, imperitissima scientia, dum nos scire gaudemus quid Anaximenes, quid Anaxagoras, quid Pythagoras, quid Democritus senserint, et caetera hujusmodi, ut docti eruditique videamur, cum hoc a vera doctrina et eruditione longe absit.

In which matter it seems to me to be sufficiently demonstrated that the errors of the Gentiles, whether concerning morals, or concerning the nature of things, or concerning the reason of investigating truth, which although they were many and manifold, yet were eminent especially in these two sects, with the learned attacking them and subverting them with such subtlety and abundance of disputing, yet lasted even until Christian times. Whom now certainly in our age we perceive to have so become silent, that now in the schools of rhetoricians it is scarcely commemorated only what their opinions were: yet the contests have been eradicated and suppressed even from the most talkative gymnasia of the Greeks, so that if any sect of error should now emerge against the truth, that is, against the Church of Christ, unless covered by the Christian name, it would not dare to leap forward to fight. From which it is understood that the philosophers of the Platonic nation themselves also, with a few things changed which the Christian discipline disapproves, ought to submit their pious necks to the one most invincible King Christ, and to understand the Word of God clothed in man, who commanded, and what they feared even to bring forth was believed.

To Him I would wish you to subject yourself, my Dioscorus, with all piety, nor should you fortify for yourself any other way to grasp and obtain the truth than that which has been fortified by Him who, as God, saw the infirmity of our steps. And that is first, humility; second, humility; third, humility: and as often as you should ask I would say this; not because there are not other precepts which are said, but unless humility both precedes and accompanies and follows all whatever things we do well, and is proposed for us to behold, and applied for us to adhere to, and imposed by which we are repressed, now pride wrests the whole from our hand while we are rejoicing in some good deed. For other vices are in sins, but pride is to be feared even in things rightly done, lest those things which were laudably done be lost by the desire of that very praise. Therefore just as that most noble rhetorician, when he had been asked what seemed to him first to be observed in the precepts of eloquence, is said to have answered, Delivery; when it was asked what second, the same delivery; what third, to have said nothing else than delivery: so if you should ask, and as often as you should ask about the precepts of the Christian religion, I would not like to answer anything else than humility, even if perhaps necessity should compel me to say other things.

To this most salutary humility, which our Lord Jesus Christ was humbled to teach; to this, I say, a certain, so to speak, most unlearned science is especially opposed, while we rejoice to know what Anaximenes, what Anaxagoras, what Pythagoras, what Democritus felt, and other such things, so that we may seem learned and erudite, when this is far from true doctrine and erudition.

Qui enim didicerit Deum non distendi aut diffundi per locos, neque finitos neque infinitos, quasi in aliqua parte major sit, in aliqua minor, sed totum ubique esse praesentem, sicut veritatem cujus nemo sobrie dicit partem esse in isto loco, et partem in illo, quoniam veritas utique Deus est; nequaquam eum movebit quod de infinito aere sensit, quicumque sensit quod ipse Deus esset. Quid ad illum, si nesciat quam dicant isti corporis formam; eam quippe dicunt quae undique finita sit: et utrum refellendi causa tanquam Academicus, Anaximeni Cicero objecerit formam et pulchritudinem Deum habere oportere, quasi corpoream speciem cogitans, quia ille corporeum Deum esse dixerat, aer enim corpus est; an ipse sentiebat esse formam, et pulchritudinem incorpoream veritati, qua ipse animus informatur, et per quam omnia sapientis facta pulchra esse judicamus, ut non tantum refellendi gratia, sed etiam verissime dixerit quod Deum pulcherrima specie deceat esse, quia nihil est pulchrius ipsa intelligibili atque incommutabili veritate? Quod autem ait ille gigni aerem, quem tamen Deum esse censebat, nullo modo movet hunc virum qui intelligit, non sicut aer gignitur, id est aliqua causa ut sit efficitur, cum omnino Deus non sit, ita genitum esse Verbum Dei, Deum apud Deum, sed longe alio modo, quem nemo, nisi cui ipse Deus inspirarit, intelligit. Illum autem etiam in ipsis corporalibus desipere quis non videat, cum aerem gigni dicat, et Deum velit; eum autem a quo aer gignitur, non enim a nullo gigni potest, non dicat Deum? Cum autem dicitur aer esse semper in motu, nequaquam conturbabit hominem, ut propterea illum Deum putet, qui novit omnis corporis motum inferiorem esse quam est motus animi; motum autem animi longe pigriorem, quam est motus summae atque incommutabilis Sapientiae.

Item Anaxagoras, sive quilibet, si mentem dicit ipsam veritatem atque sapientiam, quid mihi est de verbo cum homine contendere? Manifestum est enim omnium rerum descriptionem et modum ab illa fieri, eamque non incongrue dici infinitam, non per spatia locorum, sed per potentiam, quae cogitatione humana comprehendi non potest; neque quod informe aliquid sit ipsa sapientia, hoc enim corporum est, ut quaecumque infinita fuerint, sint et informia. Cicero autem studio refellendi, quantum videtur, propter adversarios corporaliter sentientes negat infinito aliquid jungi posse, quia ex ea parte qua quidquam adjungitur, necesse esse in corporibus aliquem finem. Ideo ait non eum vidisse, neque motum sensui junctum et continentem, id est continua copulatione adhaerentem, infinito, id est infinitae rei, ullum esse posse, quasi de corporibus ageret, quibus nihil jungi nisi per fines locorum potest.

For he who shall have learned that God is not distended or diffused through places, neither finite nor infinite, as if He were greater in some part, smaller in some other, but is everywhere whole present, just as truth, of which no one soberly says that a part is in this place, and a part in that, since truth is surely God; in no way will it move him what he felt concerning the infinite air, whoever felt that it was God Himself. What is it to him, if he does not know what form of body these say; for they surely say that which is everywhere finite: and whether for the sake of refuting as an Academic, Cicero objected to Anaximenes that God ought to have form and beauty, thinking as if of a corporeal species, because he had said that God was corporeal, for air is a body; or whether he himself felt that there is an incorporeal form and beauty to truth, by which the soul itself is informed, and through which we judge all the deeds of a wise man to be beautiful, so that not only for the sake of refuting, but even most truly he said that it becomes God to be of the most beautiful species, because nothing is more beautiful than the intelligible and immutable truth itself? But that which he says, that air is begotten, which nevertheless he censed to be God, in no way moves this man who understands, that not as air is begotten, that is, is effected by some cause that it be, since it is in no way God, so was the Word of God begotten, God with God, but in a far other way, which no one understands, unless he to whom God Himself shall have inspired it. But who would not see that he is foolish even in corporeal things themselves, when he says that air is begotten, and wishes it to be God; but does not call Him God by whom the air is begotten, for it can be begotten by no one? But when it is said that the air is always in motion, in no way will it disturb a man, so that he should therefore think it to be God, who knows that the motion of every body is inferior than is the motion of the soul; but the motion of the soul far slower than is the motion of the supreme and immutable Wisdom.

Likewise Anaxagoras, or whoever, if he calls mind the very truth and wisdom, what is it for me to contend with the man about a word? For it is manifest that the description and measure of all things is made by it, and that it is not incongruously called infinite, not through spaces of places, but through power, which cannot be comprehended by human thought; nor that wisdom itself is something unformed, for this is of bodies, so that whatever things should be infinite, are also unformed. But Cicero, by the study of refuting, as it seems, on account of adversaries feeling corporally, denies that anything can be joined to the infinite, because on that part by which anything is joined, there must be some end in bodies. Therefore he says that he did not see, neither that any motion joined and containing the sense, that is, adhering by continual coupling, to the infinite, that is, to an infinite thing, can be any, as if he were acting concerning bodies, to which nothing can be joined except through ends of places.

Sic autem addidit: Neque sensum omnino, quo non tota natura pulsa sentiret; quasi ille dixisset mentem illam ordinatricem et moderatricem rerum omnium habere sensum, qualem habet anima per corpus. Nam manifestum est totam sentire animam, cum per corpus aliquid sentit: nam totam utique non latet, quidquid illud est quod sentitur. Ad hoc autem dixit totam naturam sentire, ut illi quasi auferret quod ait mentem infinitam. Quomodo enim tota sentit, si infinita est? Sensus enim corporis ab aliquo loco incipit, nec percurrit totum, nisi ad cujus finem pervenerit; quod in infinito dici non potest. Sed neque ille de sensu corporis aliquid dixerat. Et aliter dicitur totum quod incorporeum est, quia sine finibus locorum intelligitur, ut et totum et infinitum dici possit: totum propter integritatem; infinitum, quia locorum finibus non ambitur.

Deinde, inquit, si mentem ipsam quasi animal aliquod esse voluit, erit aliquid interius ex quo illud animal nominetur; ut mens ista quasi corpus sit, et habeat intus animam unde animal appelletur. Vide quemadmodum corporali consuetudine loquitur, quomodo solent videri animalia, propter sensum crassum, ut opinor, eorum contra quos disserit: et tamen dixit rem quae illos, si evigilare possent, satis admoneret, omne quod sicut corpus vivum animo occurrit, magis animam habere et esse animal, quam animam esse cogitari oportere. Hoc est enim quod ait: Erit aliquid interius, ex quo illud animal nominetur. Sed adjungit: Quid autem interius mente? Non ergo potest mens habere interiorem animam ut sit animal, quia ipsa est interior. Ergo corpus habeat extrinsecus, cui sit interior, ut sit animal. Hoc est enim quod ait, Cingitur igitur corpore externo; quasi Anaxagoras dixerit, nisi animalis alicujus esset, mentem esse non posse. Si mentem ipsam summam sapientiam esse sentiebat, quae nullius quasi animantis propria est, quia omnibus animis se frui valentibus veritas communiter praesto est. Et ideo vide quam urbane concludat: Quod quoniam non placet, inquit, hoc est non placet Anaxagorae, ut illa mens, quam dicit Deum, cingatur corpore externo, quo animal esse possit, aperta simplexque mens nulla re adjuncta qua sentire possit, id est nullo corpore adjuncto per quod sentire possit, fugere intelligentiae nostrae vim et notionem videtur (Cicero, l. 1 de Nat. Deorum).

But thus he added: Nor the sense at all, by which not the whole nature should feel when struck; as if he had said that that mind, the ordainer and moderator of all things, has a sense, such as the soul has through the body. For it is manifest that the whole soul feels, when it feels something through the body: for surely it is not hidden from the whole, whatever that is which is felt. But for this reason he said that the whole nature feels, so that he might as it were take away from him what he says, that the mind is infinite. For how does the whole feel, if it is infinite? For the sense of the body begins from some place, nor does it run through the whole, unless it should come to the end of it; which cannot be said in the infinite. But neither had he said anything concerning the sense of the body. And in another way is that called whole which is incorporeal, because it is understood without ends of places, so that it can be called both whole and infinite: whole on account of integrity; infinite, because it is not encompassed by the ends of places.

Then, he says, if he wished the mind itself to be as it were some animal, there will be something interior from which that animal may be named; so that that mind should be as it were a body, and have a soul within from which it might be called an animal. See in what way he speaks according to corporeal custom, how animals are accustomed to be seen, on account of the gross sense, as I think, of those against whom he disputes: and yet he said a thing which would sufficiently admonish them, if they were able to wake up, that everything which occurs to the mind as a living body, ought rather to be thought to have a soul and to be an animal, than to be a soul. For this is what he says: There will be something interior, from which that animal may be named. But he adds: But what is more interior than mind? Therefore the mind cannot have an interior soul so as to be an animal, because it is itself interior. Therefore let it have a body on the outside, to which it may be interior, so that it may be an animal. For this is what he says: It is girt therefore by an external body; as if Anaxagoras had said that unless it were of some animal, mind could not be. If he felt the mind itself to be the supreme wisdom, which is proper to no living being as it were, because truth is commonly at hand to all souls able to enjoy it. And therefore see how politely he concludes: Which since it does not please, he says, that is, it does not please Anaxagoras, that that mind, which he calls God, should be girt by an external body, by which it might be an animal, an open and simple mind with no thing joined by which it might feel, that is, with no body joined through which it might feel, seems to flee the force and notion of our intelligence (Cicero, lib. 1 de Nat. Deorum).

Nihil verius quam fugere hoc vim et notionem intelligentiae Stoicorum et Epicureorum, qui nisi corporalia cogitare non possunt. Quod autem ait, nostrae, humanae intelligi voluit; et bene non ait, Fugit; sed, Fugere videtur. Hoc enim illis videtur, neminem hoc posse intelligere, et ideo nihil tale esse arbitrantur: sed quorumdam intelligentiam, quantum homini datum est, non fugit esse apertam simplicemque sapientiam atque veritatem, quae nullius animantis sit propria, sed qua communiter omnis, quae id potest anima, sapiens et verax efficitur. Quam si sensit esse Anaxagoras, eamque Deum esse vidit, mentemque appellavit, non solum nomen Anaxagorae, quod propter litterata vetustate, omnes, ut militariter loquar, litteriones libenter sufflant, nos doctos et sapientes non facit, sed ne ipsa quidem ejus cognitio, qua id verum esse cognovit. Non enim mihi propterea veritas chara esse debet, quia non latuit Anaxagoram, sed quia veritas est, etiamsi nullus eam cognovisset illorum.

Si igitur nec ejus hominis qui verum forsitan vidit, cognitio nos inflare debet, ut ea quasi docti esse videamur, sed nec ipsius veri solida res, qua vere docti esse possumus; quanto minus eorum hominum qui falsa senserunt, nomina et dogmata nostram possunt adjuvare doctrinam, et latentia cognita facere? cum si homines simus, magis nos contristari deceat tot et tam nobilitatorum hominum erroribus, si eos audire contigerit, quam haec propterea studiose quaerere, ut inter eos qui illa nesciunt, jactatione inanissima ventilemur. Quanto enim melius ne audissem quidem nomen Democriti, quam cum dolore cogitarem, nescio quem suis temporibus magnum putatum, qui deos esse arbitraretur imagines, quae de solidis corporibus fluerent, solidaeque ipsae non essent, easque hac atque hac motu proprio circumeundo atque illabendo in animos hominum facere ut vis divina cogitetur; cum profecto illud corpus, unde imago flueret, quanto solidius est, tanto praestantius quoque esse judicetur? Ideoque fluctuavit ejus, sicut isti dicunt, nutavitque sententia, ut aliquando naturam quamdam de qua fluerent imagines Deum esse diceret, qui tamen cogitari non posset, nisi per eas imagines quas fundit ac emittit, id est quae de illa natura, quam nescio quam corpoream et sempiternam, ac etiam per hoc divinam putat, quasi vaporis similitudine continua velut emanatione ferrentur, et venirent atque intrarent in animos nostros, ut Deum vel deos cogitare possemus.

Nothing is more true than that this flees the force and notion of the intelligence of the Stoics and Epicureans, who cannot think unless corporeal things. But that which he says, of ours, he wished to be understood of human; and well he does not say, It flees; but, It seems to flee. For this seems to them, that no one can understand this, and therefore they think there is no such thing: but from the intelligence of some, as much as is given to man, it does not flee that there is an open and simple wisdom and truth, which is proper to no living being, but by which commonly every soul, which is able for it, is made wise and truthful. Which if Anaxagoras felt it to be, and saw it to be God, and called it mind, not only the name of Anaxagoras, which on account of literate antiquity all, to speak militarily, litteriones willingly blow up, does not make us learned and wise, but not even the knowledge itself of his, by which he knew it to be true. For truth ought not to be dear to me for this reason, because it was not hidden from Anaxagoras, but because it is truth, even if none of them had known it.

If, therefore, the knowledge of that man who perhaps saw the truth ought not to puff us up, so that we seem as it were to be learned by it, nor even the solid reality of the truth itself, by which we can be truly learned; how much less can the names and dogmas of those men who perceived false things help our learning, and make hidden things known? since, if we are men, it should rather befit us to be saddened by the errors of so many and such renowned men, if it happens that we hear them, than to seek these things studiously for this reason, that we may be tossed about by the most vain boasting among those who do not know them. For how much better it would be not even to have heard the name of Democritus, than to think with grief of someone thought great in his own times, who judged that there were gods who were images, which flowed from solid bodies, and were not solid themselves, and that these, by going around and gliding into the minds of men with their own motion here and there, caused the divine power to be thought of; when surely that body from which the image flowed should be judged to be as much more excellent as it is more solid? And therefore his opinion fluctuated and wavered, as they say, so that sometimes he said that a certain nature from which the images flowed was God, who nevertheless could not be thought of except through those images which he pours out and emits, that is, which were carried from that nature—which he thinks to be I know not what corporeal and eternal thing, and even through this divine—as if in the likeness of vapor by a continuous emanation as it were, and came and entered into our minds, so that we could think of God or gods.

Nullam enim aliam causam cujuslibet cogitationis nostrae opinantur isti, nisi cum ab his corporibus quae cogitamus, veniunt atque intrant imagines in animos nostros: quasi non multa ac prope innumerabilia cogitentur incorporaliter atque intelligibiliter ab eis qui talia cogitare noverunt, sicut ipsa sapientia et veritas. Quam si isti non cogitant, miror quomodo de illa utcumque disputent: si autem cogitant, vellem mihi dicerent, vel de quo corpore, vel qualis in eorum animos veniat imago veritatis.

Quanquam Democritus etiam hoc distare in naturalibus quaestionibus ab Epicuro dicitur, quod iste sentit inesse concursioni atomorum vim quamdam animalem et spirabilem: qua vi eum credo et imagines ipsas divinitate praeditas dicere, non omnes omnium rerum, sed deorum, et principia mentis esse in universis, quibus divinitatem tribuit, et animantes imagines, quae vel prodesse nobis soleant vel nocere. Epicurus vero neque aliquid in principiis rerum penit praeter atomos, id est corpuscula quaedam tam minuta, ut jam dividi nequeant, neque sentiri, aut visu, aut tactu possint; quorum corpusculorum concursu fortuito, et mundos innumerabiles, et animantia, et ipsas animas fieri dicit, et deos quos humana forma non in aliquo mundo, sed extra mundos, atque inter mundos constituit: et non vult omnino aliquid praeter corpora cogitare; quae tamen ut cogitet, imagines dicit ab ipsis rebus quas atomis formari putat, defluere, atque in animum introire subtiliores quam sunt illae imagines quae ad oculos veniunt. Nam et videndi causam hanc esse dicit, ingentes quasdam imagines, ita ut universum mundum complectantur extrinsecus. Intelligis autem jam, ut arbitror, quas isti opinentur imagines.

Miror non admonuisse Democritum vel hoc ipso falsa esse quae dicit, quia venientes tam magnae imagines in tam brevem animum nostrum, si corporeus, ut illi volunt, tam parvo corpore includitur, totae illum tangere non possunt. A magno enim corpore cum parvum corpus attingitur, a toto simul attingi nullo pacto potest: quomodo igitur totae simul cogitantur, si in tantum cogitantur, in quantum venientes atque intrantes animum attingunt, quae nec totae intrare possunt per tam parvum corpus, nec totae tam parvum animum attingere? Memento me secundum illos haec dicere; non enim ego talem animum sentio: aut si incorporeum Democritus animum existimat, Epicurus quidem solus ista ratione urgeri potest; sed etiam ille quare non vidit, non opus esse nec fieri posse ut incorporeus animus adventu atque contactu corporearum imaginum cogitet? De visu certe oculorum ambo pariter redarguuntur; tam enim breves oculos, tam grandia imaginum corpora tota attingere nullo modo possunt.

For they think there is no other cause of any thought of ours, except when images come from these bodies which we think of and enter into our minds: as if many and almost innumerable things were not thought of incorporeally and intelligibly by those who have learned to think such things, like wisdom and truth themselves. Which if they do not think of, I wonder how they dispute about it in any way; but if they do think of it, I would wish they would tell me either from what body or of what sort the image of truth comes into their minds.

Although Democritus is also said to differ in natural questions from Epicurus in this, that he feels there is in the concurrence of atoms a certain animal and breathable force: by which force I believe he also says that the images themselves are endowed with divinity, not all images of all things, but those of the gods, and that the principles of mind are in the universe, to which he attributes divinity, and living images, which are accustomed either to benefit us or to harm us. But Epicurus places nothing in the principles of things except atoms, that is, certain little bodies so minute that they can no longer be divided, nor can they be perceived either by sight or by touch; by the fortuitous concurrence of which little bodies he says that both innumerable worlds, and living beings, and souls themselves are made, and the gods whom he established in human form not in some world, but outside the worlds and between the worlds: and he does not wish to think of anything at all besides bodies; yet in order that he may think of them, he says that images flow down from the things themselves which he thinks are formed by atoms, and enter into the mind, subtler than are those images which come to the eyes. For he also says that this is the cause of seeing: certain huge images, so that they embrace the whole world from the outside. But you understand already, as I think, what sort of images these men imagine.

I wonder that it did not admonish Democritus by this very fact that the things he says are false, because so great images coming into our so small mind, if it is corporeal, as they wish, and is included in so small a body, cannot touch it as a whole. For when a small body is touched by a great body, it can in no way be touched by the whole at the same time: how therefore are they thought of as a whole at the same time, if they are thought of insofar as they touch the mind by coming and entering it, when they can neither enter as a whole through so small a body, nor touch so small a mind as a whole? Remember that I am saying these things according to them; for I do not perceive the mind to be such: or if Democritus thinks the mind is incorporeal, Epicurus indeed alone can be pressed by this reason; but why did even he not see that it is not necessary and cannot happen that an incorporeal mind should think by the arrival and contact of corporeal images? Concerning the sight of the eyes certainly both are equally refuted; for so small eyes can in no way touch the so huge bodies of the images as a whole.

Cum autem quaeritur ab eis quare una imago videatur corporis alicujus, a quo innumerabiliter imagines fluunt; respondent, eo ipso quo frequenter fluunt et transeunt imagines, quasi quadam earum constipatione et densitare fieri ut ex multis una videatur. Quam vanitatem Cicero ita refellit, ut eo ipso neget aeternum deum eorum posse cogitari, quo innumerabiliter fluentibus et labentibus imaginibus cogitatur. Et quoniam innumerabilitate atomorum suppeditante, dicunt fieri formas deorum sempiternas, cum ita discedant quaedam corpuscula de divino corpore ut alia succedant, et dissolvi illam naturam eadem successione non sinant: Omnia ergo, inquit, aeterna essent, quia nulli deest ista innumerabilitas atomorum, quae perpetuas ruinas subinde suppleat. Deinde quomodo non vereatur iste deus ne intereat, cum sine ulla intermissione pulsetur, agiteturque atomorum incursione sempiterna? pulsari enim dicit illud corpus quod irruentibus atomis feriatur, et agitari quod penetretur: deinde cum ex ipso imagines, de quibus jam satis dictum est, semper affluant (Lib. 1 de Nat. Deorum), quomodo potest de immortalitate confidere?

In cuibus omnibus deliramentis haec opinantium, illud praecipue dolendum est, quod non sufficit ea narrari, ut nulla cujusquam disputatione adversante respuantur; sed acutissimorum hominum ingenia id etiam negotium susceperunt, ut copiose ista refellerent, quae statim dicta etiam a tardissimis derideri abjicique debuerunt. Si enim concesseris esse atomos, si concesseris etiam concursu fortuito seipsas pellere et agitare; num et illud eis fas est concedere, ut inter se atomi fortuito concurrentes, rem aliquam ita conficiant, ut eam forma modificent, figura determinent, aequalitate poliant, colore illustrent, anima vegetent? quae omnia nullo modo nisi arte divinae providentiae fieri videt, quisquis magis mente quam oculis amat videre, idque ab eo expetit a quo factus est. Nam nec ipsas atomos esse ullo modo concedendum est; quod, omissa subtilitate quae de divisione corporum a doctis traditur, vide quam facile secundum ipsorum opinionem possit ostendi. Certe enim ipsi dicunt omnia quae sint naturae, nihil esse aliud quam corpora et inane, quaeque his accidant; quod credo motum et pulsum dicere et consequentes formas. Dicant ergo in quo genere ponant imagines, quas de corporibus solidioribus affluere putant, ipsas minime solidas, ita ut tactu nisi oculorum cum videmus, et animi cum cogitamus, sentiri non possint, si et ipsa corpora sunt.

But when it is asked of them why one image is seen of some body, from which images flow innumerably; they respond that by this very fact that the images flow and pass frequently, it happens as if by a certain crowding and density of them that from many one is seen. Which vanity Cicero so refutes that by this very fact he denies that their eternal god can be thought of, by which he is thought of by innumerably flowing and gliding images. And since, with an innumerability of atoms being supplied, they say that the forms of the gods are made eternal, while certain little bodies depart from the divine body so that others succeed them, and they do not allow that nature to be dissolved by the same succession: "All things therefore," he says, "would be eternal, because that innumerability of atoms is lacking to no one, which might promptly supply perpetual ruins." Then how does that god not fear lest he perish, "since he is beaten without any intermission, and agitated by the eternal incursion of atoms?" For he says that that body is beaten which is struck by rushing atoms, and agitated which is penetrated: then "since images," concerning which enough has already been said, "always flow away from him" (Lib. 1 de Nat. Deorum), how can he be confident of immortality?

In all these ravings of those who hold these opinions, this is especially to be grieved over, that it is not enough for them to be narrated, so that they might be rejected with no one's disputation opposing; but the geniuses of the most acute men have even undertaken this business, so that they might copiously refute these things, which ought to have been derided and cast away by even the slowest as soon as they were said. For if you grant that there are atoms, if you grant even that they push and agitate themselves by fortuitous concurrence; is it also lawful to grant them this, that atoms fortuitously concurring among themselves should so complete some thing, that they modify it by form, determine it by figure, polish it by equality, illustrate it by color, vegetate it by soul? All which things he who loves to see by mind rather than by eyes sees can in no way be made except by the art of divine providence, and he seeks that from Him by whom he was made. For not even that there are atoms themselves is to be granted in any way; which, omitting the subtlety which is handed down by the learned concerning the division of bodies, see how easily it can be shown according to their own opinion. For surely they themselves say that all things which are of nature are nothing else than bodies and void, and those things which happen to these; which I believe means motion and pulse and the consequent forms. Let them say therefore in what genus they place images, which they think flow from more solid bodies, being themselves very little solid, so that they cannot be felt except by the touch of the eyes when we see, and of the mind when we think, if they also are bodies.

Nam ita censent, ut exire a corpore et venire ad oculos, vel ad animum possint, quem nihilominus dicunt esse corporeum. Quaero utrum etiam ab ipsis atomis affluant imagines? Si affluunt, quomodo jam sunt atomi, a quibus aliqua corpora separantur? si non affluunt, aut potest aliquid sine imaginibus cogitari, quod vehementer nolunt; aut unde norunt atomos, quas nec cogitare potuerunt? Sed jam pudet me ista refellere, cum eos non puduerit ista sentire. Cum vero ausi sint etiam defendere, non jam eorum, sed ipsius generis humani me pudet, cujus aures haec ferre potuerunt.

Cum igitur tanta sit caecitas mentium per illuviem peccatorum amoremque carnis, ut etiam ista sententiarum portenta, otia doctorum conterere disputando potuerint, dubitabis tu, Dioscore, vel quisquam vigilanti ingenio praeditus, ullo modo ad sequendam veritatem melius consuli potuisse generi humano, quam ut homo ab ipsa Veritate susceptus ineffabiliter atque mirabiliter, et ipsius in terris personam gerens, recta praecipiendo, et divina faciendo, salubriter credi persuaderet quod nondum prudenter posset intelligi? Hujus nos gloriae servimus, huic te immobiliter atque constanter credere hortamur, per quem factum est, ut non pauci, sed populi etiam, qui non possunt ista dijudicare ratione, fide credant, donec salutaribus praeceptis adminiculati, evadant ab his perplexitatibus in auras purissimae atque sincerissimae veritatis. Cujus auctoritati tanto devotius obtemperari oportet, quanto videmus nullum jam errorem se audere extollere, ad congregandas sibi turbas imperitorum, qui non christiani nominis velamenta conquirat: eos autem solos ex veteribus, praeter christianum nomen in conventiunculis suis aliquanto frequentius perdurare, qui Scripturas eas tenent, per quas annuntiatum esse ipsum Dominum Jesum Christum, se intelligere et videre dissimulant. Porro illi qui cum in unitate atque communione catholica non sint, christiano tamen nomine gloriantur, coguntur adversari credentibus, et audent imperitos quasi ratione traducere, quando maxime cum ista medicina Dominus venerit, ut fidem populis imperaret. Sed hoc facere coguntur, ut dixi, quia jacere se abjectissime sentiunt, si eorum auctoritas cum auctoritate catholica conferatur. Conantur ergo auctoritatem stabilissimam fundatissimae Ecclesiae quasi rationis nomine et pollicitatione superare. Omnium enim haereticorum quasi regularis est ista temeritas.

For they so judge, that they can go out from a body and come to the eyes, or to the mind, which they nevertheless say is corporeal. I ask whether images also flow from the atoms themselves? If they flow, how are they already atoms, from which some bodies are separated? If they do not flow, either something can be thought of without images, which they vehemently do not wish; or whence do they know atoms, which they have not even been able to think of? But I am already ashamed to refute these things, when they were not ashamed to feel them. But when they have dared even to defend them, I am ashamed not now of them, but of the human race itself, whose ears were able to bear these things.

Since, therefore, so great is the blindness of minds through the filth of sins and the love of the flesh, that even these monsters of opinions have been able to wear out the leisure of the learned by disputing, will you, Dioscorus, or anyone endowed with a vigilant genius, doubt in any way that the human race could have been better consulted for following the truth, than that man should be received by Truth itself ineffably and wonderfully, and bearing His person on earth, by right commanding and by doing divine things, should healthfully persuade to be believed what could not yet be prudently understood? We serve His glory, we exhort you to believe in Him immovably and constantly, through whom it has been done that not a few, but even peoples, who cannot judge these things by reason, believe by faith, until, supported by healthful precepts, they escape from these perplexities into the breezes of the purest and most sincere truth. Whose authority ought to be obeyed so much more devotedly, as we see that no error now dares to extol itself to gather crowds of the unskilful to itself, which does not seek the veils of the Christian name: and that those alone of the ancients, besides the Christian name, continue somewhat more frequently in their little assemblies, who hold those Scriptures, through which they pretend they do not understand and see that the Lord Jesus Christ Himself was announced. Furthermore, those who, although they are not in the catholic unity and communion, nevertheless boast in the Christian name, are forced to oppose believers, and dare to lead the unskilful across as if by reason, especially when the Lord came with that medicine to command faith to the peoples. But they are forced to do this, as I said, because they feel that they lie most abjectly, if their authority is compared with the catholic authority. They try, therefore, to overcome the most stable authority of the most founded Church as if by the name and promise of reason. For this is as it were the regular temerity of all heretics.

Sed ille fidei imperator clementissimus, et per conventus celeberrimos populorum atque gentium, sedesque ipsas Apostolorum arce auctoritatis munivit Ecclesiam, et per pauciores pie doctos et vere spirituales viros, copiosissimis apparatibus etiam invictissimae rationis armavit. Verum illa rectissima discipline est, in arcem fidei quam maxime recipi infirmos, ut pro eis jam tutissime positis, fortissima ratione pugnetur.

Platonici vero, qui falsorum philosophorum erroribus illo tempore circumlatrantibus, non habentes divinam personam qua imperarent fidem, sententiam suam tegere quaerendam, quam polluendam proferre maluerunt, cum jam Christi nomen terrenis regnis admirantibus perturbatisque crebresceret, emergere coeperant, ad proferendum atque aperiendum quid Plato sensisset. Tunc Plotini schola Romae floruit, habuitque condiscipulos, multos acutissimos et solertissimos viros. Sed aliqui eorum magicarum artium curiositate depravati sunt, aliqui Dominum Jesum Christum ipsius veritatis atque sapientiae incommutabilis, quam conabantur attingere, cognoscentes gestare personam, in ejus militiam transierunt. Itaque totum culmen auctoritatis lumenque rationis in illo uno salutari nomine atque in una ejus Ecclesia, recreando atque reformando humano generi constitutum est.

Haec me tibi diutissime in hac epistola locutum, etsi alia forte tu malles, omnino non poenitet. Probabis enim haec magis, quanto magis in veritate proficies; et tunc probabis consilium meum, quod nunc utilitati studiorum tuorum minus obsecutum putas. Quanquam etiam illis ipsis quaestionibus tuis non solum quibusdam in hac epistola, sed etiam caeteris pene omnibus in ipsis membranis, in quibus eas misisti ut potui breviter annotando responderim. In quibus si me parum, aut aliud quam volebas egisse arbitraris, non recte cogitas, mi Dioscore, a quo nunc ista quaesieris. Oratoris autem librorumque de Oratore omnes quaestiones praetermisi. Nescio quis enim nugator mihi esse visus sum, si eas exponendas persequerer. Nam de caeteris possem etiam decenter interrogari, si mihi quisquam res ipsas, non de libris Ciceronis, sed per seipsas tractandas dissolvendasque proferret. In illis autem res ipsae nunc nostrae professioni minus congruunt. Haec autem omnia non facerem, nisi me post aegritudinem, in qua eram cum homo tuus venisset, aliquantum ab Hippone removissem. Quibus item diebus perturbatione valetudinis febribusque repetitus sum. Inde factum est ut tardius quam possent tibi haec mitterentur. Quae quomodo acceperis, rescripta flagito.

Domino sancto ac beatissimo papae AUGUSTINO, CONSENTIUS.

But that most clement commander of faith both fortified the Church with the citadel of authority through the most celebrated assemblies of peoples and nations and the seats themselves of the Apostles, and armed it with the most copious preparations of even invincible reason through fewer piously learned and truly spiritual men. But that is the most right discipline, that the weak be received as much as possible into the citadel of faith, so that, they being now most safely placed, the strongest reason may be fought for them.

But the Platonists, who, at that time when the errors of false philosophers were barking around them, not having a divine person by whom they might command faith, preferred to hide their opinion to be sought, rather than to bring it forth to be polluted, when the name of Christ was now becoming frequent while earthly kingdoms were admiring and perturbed, had begun to emerge to bring forth and open what Plato had felt. Then the school of Plotinus flourished at Rome, and had many most acute and skillful men as fellow-disciples. But some of them were depraved by the curiosity of magic arts, some, knowing that the Lord Jesus Christ, of that truth itself and incommutable wisdom which they were trying to reach, bore the person, passed over into His service. And so the whole peak of authority and light of reason was established in that one healthful name and in His one Church, for the recreating and reforming of the human race.

I do not at all repent of having spoken these things to you for a very long time in this letter, even if perhaps you would have preferred other things. For you will approve these things more, the more you profit in the truth; and then you will approve my counsel, which you now think has less complied with the utility of your studies. Although even to those questions of yours, I have responded not only to some in this letter, but also to almost all the others in the very parchments in which you sent them, by annotating briefly as I could. In which if you think that I have done too little, or something other than you wished, you do not think rightly, my Dioscorus, from whom you have now sought those things. But all the questions of the Orator and of the books about the Orator I have passed over. For I seemed to myself to be I know not what trifler, if I were to pursue them to be explained. For concerning the others I could also be fittingly questioned, if anyone brought forth the things themselves to be treated and dissolved, not from the books of Cicero, but by themselves. But in those the things themselves are now less suitable to our profession. But I would not do all these things, unless I had removed myself somewhat from Hippo after the sickness in which I was when your man had come. On which days also I was attacked again by the perturbation of health and fevers. Thence it has happened that these are sent to you later than they could have been. How you have received these, I demand a reply.

To the holy and most blessed lord pope AUGUSTINE, CONSENTIUS.

Jam quidem sancto, mihique cunctis animi virtutibus admirando, fratri tuo Alypio episcopo genus petitionis meae brevi sermone suggesseram, sperans precum mearum ut apud te esse adjutor dignaretur. Sed quia praesentiam mihi tuam ea, quae ad villam ire compulit, causa fraudavit, malui litteris precem inserere, quam exspectationem animi fluctuare; maxime cum id quod postulo, si mihi concedi oportere perspexeris, adjuvare sensum tuum altissima mysteria perscrutantem, loci ipsius, ut arbitror, in quo nunc consistis, valeat solitudo. Ego igitur cum apud memetipsum prorsus definierim, veritatem rei divinae ex fide magis quam ex ratione percipi oportere; si enim fides sanctae Ecclesiae ex disputationis ratione, non ex credulitatis pietate apprehenderetur, nemo praeter philosophos atque oratores beatitudinem possideret. Sed quia placuit Deo, qui infirma mundi hujus elegit ut confundat fortia, per stultitiam praedicationis salvare credentes, non tam ratio requirenda de Deo, quam auctoritas est sequenda sanctorum. Nam profecto neque Ariani, qui Filium, quem genitum confitemur, minorem putant, in hac impietate persisterent, neque Macedoniani Spiritum sanctum, quem neque genitum neque ingenitum credimus, quantum in ipsis est a divinitatis arce detruderent, si Scripturis sanctis magis quam suis ratiocinationibus accommodare fidem mallent.

Sed tu, vir, cui coelum, ut arbitror, ipsum subtilitate cogitationum intrare concessum est; verax etenim est qui ait, «Beati mundo corde, quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt» (Matth. V, 8); super omnia sidera ad ipsam contemplationem altitudinem mundi cordis attollis, ais non tanquam aliquod corpus debere cogitari Deum. Intra ergo in illam, quae nostros arcet intuitus, mysteriorum Dei obscurissimam nubem; quaestiunculas in quibus absolvendis me errare cognosco, qui auctoritatem Sanctitatis tuae fide magis sequi volo, quam rationis corde conceptae falsa imagine depravari, primum in memetipso, dehinc in libris corrige.

Ego siquidem in circumspecta admodum simplicitate audiens credensque Dominum Jesum Christum lumen esse de lumine, sicut scriptum est, «Bene nuntiate diem de die, salutare ejus» (Psal. XCV, 2); et in Sapientia Solomonis, «Candor est enim lucis aeternae» (Sap.

Already indeed I had suggested the kind of my petition in a brief discourse to your brother Alypius the bishop, holy and to be admired by me for all the virtues of his mind, hoping that he might deign to be a helper with you for my prayers. But because the cause which compelled you to go to the villa defrauded me of your presence, I preferred to insert my prayer in letters, rather than that the expectation of my mind should fluctuate; especially since that which I ask, if you perceive that it ought to be granted to me, the solitude of that very place in which you now stay, as I think, may be able to help your sense searching into the deepest mysteries. I therefore, when I have altogether defined within myself that the truth of divine matter ought to be perceived from faith rather than from reason; for if the faith of the holy Church were apprehended from the reason of disputation, and not from the piety of credulity, no one besides philosophers and orators would possess beatitude. But because it pleased God, who chose the weak things of this world to confound the strong, to save believers through the foolishness of preaching, not so much reason is to be required concerning God, as the authority of the saints is to be followed. For surely neither the Arians, who think the Son, whom we confess as begotten, to be less, would persist in this impiety, nor would the Macedoniani thrust down the Holy Spirit, whom we believe to be neither begotten nor unbegotten, as much as is in them from the citadel of divinity, if they preferred to accommodate their faith to the holy Scriptures rather than to their own reasonings.

Yet you, admirable man, if that Father of ours, the only one conscious of secrets, who has the key of David (Apoc. III, 7), has granted to the gaze of your most serene heart to penetrate the machine of the heavens, and with revealed face, as it is written, to behold the glory of the Lord (II Cor. III, 18), in as much as He who gave you such a thought shall have given you the faculty of bringing it forth, enunciate to us some portion of the ineffable substance, and strive to express the image of His likeness, He himself helping, as much as you can, in words; since unless you are present as a guide and teacher of so great a matter, our thought dreads to look forth into that of so great a light reflected with a glare as if with bleary eyes. Enter therefore into that most obscure cloud of the mysteries of God, which keeps off our gazes; first in myself, then in books, correct the little questions in which I know myself to err, I who wish rather to follow the authority of your Holiness by faith than to be depraved by the false image of a heart conceived by reason.

For I indeed in a quite circumspect simplicity hearing and believing the Lord Jesus Christ to be light from light, as it is written, "Show forth well day from day His salvation" (Psal. XCV, 2); and in the Wisdom of Solomon, "For He is the brightness of the eternal light" (Wisd.

VII, 26); credebam Deum, quod licet credere ut dignum est non valebam, tamen esse inaestimabilis cujusdam lucis infinitam magnitudinem, cujus nec qualitatem aestimare, nec quantitatem metiri, nec speciem fingere, quanquam sublime cogitans mens humana sufficeret; tamen esse illud quiddam, quidquid est, cui adsit incomparabilis forma, inaestimabilis pulchritudo, quam etiam carnalibus oculis saltem Christus aspiciat. Cum ergo circa finem primi libri, sicut procul dubio meminisse dignaris, cupiens comprobare Dominum Jesum Christum, id est hominem assumptum, ita divinam possidere potentiam, ut materia carnis humanae quam susceperat, permaneret, quam in illis visceribus nisi aliud quam infirmitatem perisse docuissem, illius mihi nodus quaestionis objectus est. Si, inquit, homo ille quem assumpsit Christus, in Deum versus est, ergo localis esse non debuit: cur ergo post resurrectionem dixit, «Noli me tangere, nondum enim ascendi ad Patrem meum» (Joan. XX, 17)?

Ego igitur elaborans approbare ubique esse Christum virtute, non opere; divinitate, non carne; de unitate Dei et personarum trinitate hujusmodi verba conscripsi: Deus, inquam, unus est, et personae tres sunt. Deus indiscretus est, personae discretae sunt. Deus intra omnia, trans omnia est, ultima includit, media implet, summa transcendit, ultra universa et per universa diffunditur: personae autem sibi constantes, proprietate secernuntur, non confusione miscentur. Deus ergo unus est, et ubique est; quia et alius praeter illum non est, et locus non est vacuus ubi esse alius possit. Plena sunt Deo omnia, et praeter Deum nihil est. Ipse est in Patre, ipse in Filio, ipse in Spiritu sancto: ac per hoc, Pater, et Filius, et Spiritus sanctus non plures dii, sed ipse unus est Deus; et non est ipse Pater qui est Filius, nec Filius qui est Spiritus sanctus. Pater in Filio est, Filius in Patre, in utroque Spiritus sanctus; quia in tribus numero, non ordine, id est personis, non virtute discretis, unus atque indivisibilis habitat Deus. Omnia quae Patris sunt, Filii sunt; et quae Filii sunt, Patris sunt; et quae utriusque sunt, Spiritus sancti sunt: quia non quasi aequalem, sed eamdem, id est unicam, non separatam possident substantiam Deitatis; et ideo vel majestate, vel aetate, alter alterum non praecedit, quia dividi quod plenum est non potest, nec est in plenitudine aliquid, quod possit plenitudinem separare, et majorem uni, minorem alteri facere portionem. In personis autem non ita est; quia Patris persona non est Filii, nec Filii persona eadem est Spiritus sancti.

VII, 26); I believed God—which although I was not able to believe as is worthy—nevertheless to be an infinite magnitude of a certain inestimable light, of which neither the human mind could suffice to estimate the quality, nor measure the quantity, nor feign the species, although thinking sublimely; yet that that was a certain thing, whatever it is, in which there is an incomparable form, an inestimable beauty, which at least Christ might behold even with carnal eyes. When therefore about the end of the first book, as you deign procul dubio to remember, desiring to prove the Lord Jesus Christ, that is the man assumed, so to possess divine power that the matter of the human flesh which He had received remained—as I had taught that in those viscera nothing else than infirmity had perished—that knot of a question was objected to me. If, he says, that man whom Christ assumed was turned into God, therefore He ought not to be local: why therefore after the resurrection did He say, "Do not touch me, for I have not yet ascended to my Father" (John XX, 17)?

I therefore laboring to prove that Christ is everywhere by power, not by work; by divinity, not by flesh; wrote words of this sort concerning the unity of God and the trinity of persons: God, I say, is one, and the persons are three. God is undistinguished, the persons are distinct. God is within all things, beyond all things, He includes the last, fills the middle, transcends the highest, is diffused beyond the universe and through the universe: but the persons, constant in themselves, are secreted by property, not mixed by confusion. God therefore is one, and is everywhere; because there is both no other besides Him, and there is no empty place where another could be. All things are full of God, and besides God there is nothing. He himself is in the Father, He himself in the Son, He himself in the Holy Spirit: and through this, Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit are not many gods, but He himself is one God; and it is not the Father himself who is the Son, nor the Son who is the Holy Spirit. The Father is in the Son, the Son in the Father, in both the Holy Spirit; because in three distinct in number, not in order—that is, in persons, not in power—one and indivisible God dwells. All things which are the Father's are the Son's; and those which are the Son's are the Father's; and those which are of both are the Holy Spirit's: because they possess not as it were an equal, but the same—that is, a unique—not a separate substance of the Deity; and therefore either in majesty or in age one does not precede the other, because that which is full cannot be divided, nor is there anything in fullness which can separate fullness, and make a greater portion for one, a smaller for the other. But in persons it is not so; because the person of the Father is not the Son's, nor is the same person of the Son the Holy Spirit's.

Una virtus est, quam trina possidet virtus; una substantia est, in qua tria sunt quae subsistunt. Pater ergo, et Filius, et Spiritus sanctus majestate ubique sunt, quia unum sunt; personis tantum apud se sunt, quia tres sunt. Et reliqua hujusmodi texens, rem eousque deduxi, ut praesentes quidem et ubique esse personas, sed illam, quae supra coelos, trans maria, ultra inferos, una atque eadem est majestate, firmarem. Ex quo intelligi debere monstrabam, hominem quem Christus assumpsit, in Deum quidem versum susceptam non amisisse naturam, non tamen quasi quartam credi posse personam.

Sed tu, vir, cui coelum, ut arbitror, ipsum subtilitate cogitationum intrare concessum est; verax etenim est qui ait, «Beati mundo corde, quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt» (Matth. V, 8); super omnia sidera ad ipsam contemplationem altitudinem mundi cordis attollis, ais non tanquam aliquod corpus debere cogitari Deum. Nam etiamsi quispiam animo lucem millies quam hujus solis clariorem intensioremque confingat, nullam illic Dei similitudinem comprehendi posse, quia corpus est omne quod cerni potest: sed sicut justitiam vel pietatem corpoream cogitare non possumus, nisi aliqua forte nobis feminea corpora gentili vanitate fingamus; ita et Deum sine aliqua phantasiae simulatione in quantum possumus cogitandum. Mihi autem, qui subtilitatem disputationis tepido percipere admodum corde vix possum, videbatur nihil vivum secundum substantiam inesse justitiae: ideoque non possum adhuc Deum, id est, viventem naturam, justitiae similem cogitare; quia justitia non in se, sed in nobis vivit; imo potius nos secundum justitiam vivimus, ipsa vero justitia per se nequaquam vivit, nisi forte non hujus humanae aequitatis, sed illa quae Deus est, sola asseratur esse justitia.

Unde confirmari me ex omnibus non solum praesentibus verbis, sed etiam pleniori epistola velim. Neque enim fas est ut nostri tantum pedes ab ista in qua multi ingredimur, erroris via, te monente revocentur. Cum enim multi in illis in quibus habitamus insulis, dum recto ad viam pergunt aggere, in tramitem tortuosi hujus erroris incurrerint, eritne aliquis illic Augustinus, cujus auctoritati cedant, cujus doctrinae credant, cujus ingenio superentur? An forte ex illo paternitatis affectu mavis me occulta commonitione dirigere, quam velut comitem pravi itineris increpare? Sed mihi pro utilitate animae, magis quam pro saeculi laude currere cupienti, non est inutilis, ac proinde etiam non amara coargutio tua; maxime cum et mihi et caeteris vitam simul laudemque paritura sit. Nemo siquidem tam injustus esse, ut arbitror, potest, qui me ex eo quod aliquando devia sum secutus, stultitiae denotare malit quam ex eo quod recta delegerim, prudenter judicare cunctetur.

There is one power, which a triple power possesses; there is one substance, in which there are three which subsist. The Father therefore, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit are everywhere in majesty, because they are one; they are among themselves only in persons, because they are three. And weaving other things of this sort, I led the matter to that point, that I might firm that the persons were indeed present and everywhere, but that that majesty which is above the heavens, beyond the seas, beyond the lower world, is one and the same. From which I showed it ought to be understood that the man whom Christ assumed, although turned into God, did not lose the nature received, yet could not be believed to be as it were a fourth person.

But you, man, to whom the heaven itself, as I think, has been granted to enter by the subtlety of your thoughts; for He is truthful who says, "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God" (Matth. V, 8); you raise the height of a pure heart above all stars to that contemplation itself, you say that God ought not to be thought of as some body. For even if someone should feign in his mind a light a thousand times clearer and more intense than this sun, no likeness of God can be comprehended there, because all that can be discerned is a body: but just as we cannot think of justice or piety as corporeal, unless perhaps we feign some feminine bodies for ourselves by gentile vanity; so also God is to be thought of as much as we can without any simulation of phantasy. But to me, who can hardly perceive the subtlety of disputation with a quite lukewarm heart, it seemed that nothing living according to substance was in justice: and therefore I cannot yet think of God, that is, a living nature, as similar to justice; because justice lives not in itself, but in us; or rather we live according to justice, but justice itself by itself in no way lives, unless perhaps not this human equity, but that which is God, is asserted alone to be justice.

Whence I would wish to be confirmed from all not only by the present words, but even by a fuller letter. For it is not right that only our feet should be recalled by your admonition from that way of error in which many of us walk. For when many in those islands in which we dwell, while they proceed on the right mound to the way, have run into the path of this tortuous error, will there be some Augustine there, to whose authority they may yield, to whose doctrine they may believe, by whose genius they may be overcome? Or perhaps from that affection of paternity you prefer to direct me by a secret commonition, rather than to rebuke me as a companion of a depraved journey? But to me, desiring to run for the utility of the soul rather than for the praise of the world, your co-argumentation is not useless, and therefore even not bitter; especially since it will bring forth both life and praise for me and the others at the same time. For no one, as I think, can be so unjust who would rather denote me for foolishness because I once followed devious ways, than hesitate to judge prudently because I have chosen right things.

Neque enim stulti aestimandi sunt, quos Paulus apostolus, ne in incertum currerent admonebat dicens, «Sic currite ut comprehendatis» (I Cor. IX, 24): quapropter via ista quam currimus, non solum relinquenda nobis, verum etiam intercludenda atque praecidenda est, ne forte etiam eos fallaci dilectionis simulatione frustretur. Tu enim non editorum jam a me librorum lector, sed probandorum emendator, ni fallor, electus es. Nam in illa epistola, quam in illis meis libellis velut praefatiunculam praetuli, hujusmodi verba conscripta sunt: «Placuit, inquam, fluctuantem fidei nostrae cymbam beati Augustini episcopi stabilire sententia.» Cur ergo, vir doctrinae hujus quae in Christo est, culmen, arguere palam corrigendum de caetero filium dubitas, cum sententiae tuae anchora nisi morsum altius presserit, nos certius stabilire non possit? Non enim levis aut culpata quaestio, in qua non solum nihil profecit, verum etiam post, ut a te fortissime dictum est, idololatriae crimen caecitas nostrae cogitationis incurrit. Hanc a te caute prudenterque discuti vellem, ut doctrinae tuae ingeniique serenitas ita nebulam nostrae mentis abstergat, ut quod nunc cogitare non possumus, intelligentiae a te lumine declaratum, oculis cordis videre valeamus. Incolumis ac beatus in aeternum, mei memor coelestia regna possideas, domine sancte ac beatissime papa.

Epistola CXX.

Consentio ad quaestiones de Trinitate sibi propositas.

Fratri dilectissimo et in Christi visceribus honorando CONSENTIO, AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

Ego propterea ut ad nos venires rogavi, quoniam in libris tuis valde sum tuo delectatus ingenio. Proinde volui ut quaedam nostra opuscula, quae arbitratus sum tibi esse necessaria, non procul a nobis positus, sed potius apud nos legeres, ut ea quae forte minus intellexisses, non difficulter praesens interrogares, atque ex nostra sermocinatione mutuoque colloquio, quantum Dominus et nobis promere, et tibi capere tribuisset, quid in libris tuis emendandum esset, ipse cognosceres, ipse emendares. Ejus quippe es facultatis, ut possis ea quae senseris explicare; ejus porro probitatis et humilitatis, ut merearis vera sentire. Et nunc in eadem sum, quae nec tibi debet displicere, sententia; unde te nuper admonui ut in his quae a nobis elaborata apud te legis, signa facias ad ea loca quae te movent, et cum his ad me venias, et de singulis quaeras. Nondum quae fecisti exhortor ut facias. Recte quippe verecundareris, ac te pigeret id agere, si vel semel voluisses, et me difficilem reperisses.

For they are not to be estimated as fools, whom Paul the Apostle admonished lest they should run into uncertainty, saying, "So run that you may comprehend" (I Cor. IX, 24): wherefore that way which we run is not only to be relinquished by us, but even to be shut off and cut off, lest perhaps it frustrate them also by a fallacious simulation of affection. For you have been chosen, unless I am mistaken, not as a reader of books already published by me, but as an emendator of those to be approved. For in that letter, which I placed as it were a little preface in those little books of mine, words of this sort were written: "It pleased me," I say, "to stabilize the fluctuating boat of our faith by the sentence of the blessed bishop Augustine." Why therefore, man who are the peak of this doctrine which is in Christ, do you hesitate to argue openly a son to be corrected for the future, when the anchor of your sentence, unless it has pressed its bite deeper, cannot stabilize us more certainly? For the question is not light or blamed, in which not only has it profited nothing, but even afterwards, as has been most strongly said by you, the blindness of our thought has run into the crime of idolatry. I would wish this to be discussed by you cautiously and prudently, so that the serenity of your doctrine and genius may so wipe away the cloud of our mind, that what we cannot now think, declared to us by the light of intelligence from you, we may be able to see with the eyes of the heart. May you possess the celestial kingdoms, remembered of me, safe and blessed forever, holy and most blessed lord pope.

Epistle CXX.

Augustine to Consentius concerning the questions proposed to him about the Trinity.

To the most beloved brother and to be honored in the bowels of Christ CONSENTIUS, AUGUSTINE, health in the Lord.

I asked you to come to us for this reason, because I was greatly delighted by your genius in your books. Therefore I wished that you would read certain of our works, which I thought were necessary for you, not placed far from us, but rather among us, so that those things which perhaps you had understood less, you might question without difficulty being present, and from our sermonizing and mutual colloquy, as much as the Lord granted both to us to bring forth and to you to take, you yourself might know what was to be emended in your books, and you yourself might emend it. For you are of such faculty that you can explain those things which you perceive; and furthermore of such probity and humility that you deserve to perceive true things. And now I am in the same sentence, which ought not to displease you; whence I recently admonished you that in those things which, elaborated by us, you read with you, you should make signs at those places which move you, and come to me with these, and ask about each one. I do not yet exhort you to do what you have done. For you would rightly be ashamed, and it would irk you to do it, if you had wished it even once and had found me difficult.

Illud quoque dixeram, cum a te audissem quod mendosissimis fatigareris codicibus, ut in nostris legeres, quos emendatiores posses caeteris invenire.

Quod autem petis, ut quaestionem Trinitatis, hoc est de unitate divinitatis et discretione personarum, caute prudenterque discutiam, ut doctrinae meae, sicut dicis, ingeniique serenitas, ita nebulam vestrae mentis abstergat, ut quod nunc cogitare non potestis, intelligentiae a me lumine declaratum oculis quodammodo videre possitis: vide prius utrum ista petitio cum tua superiori definitione concordet. Superius quippe in eadem ipsa epistola, in qua hoc petis, apud temetipsum definisse te dicis, ex fide veritatem magis quam ex ratione percipi oportere. Si enim fides, inquis, sanctae Ecclesiae ex disputationis ratione, et non ex credulitatis pietate apprehenderetur, nemo praeter philosophos atque oratores beatitudinem possideret. Sed quia placuit, inquis, Deo, qui infirma hujus mundi elegit ut confunderet fortia, per stultitiam praedicationi ssalvos facere credentes (I Cor. I, 27), non tam ratio requirenda, quam auctoritas est sequenda sanctorum. Vide ergo secundum haec verba tua, ne potius debeas, maxime de hac re, in qua praecipue fides nostra consistit, solam sanctorum auctoritatem sequi, nec ejus intelligentiae a me quaerere rationem. Neque enim cum coepero te in tanti hujus secreti intelligentiam utcumque introducere (quod nisi Deus intus adjuverit, omnino non potero), aliud disserendo facturus sum, quam rationem ut potero redditurus: quam si a me, vel a quolibet doctore non irrationabiliter flagitas, ut quod credis intelligas, corrige definitionem tuam, non ut fidem respuas, sed ut ea quae fidei firmitate jam tenes, etiam rationis luce conspicias.

Absit namque ut hoc in nobis Deus oderit, in quo nos reliquis animantibus excellentiores creavit. Absit, inquam, ut ideo credamus, ne rationem accipiamus sive quaeramus; cum etiam credere non possemus, nisi rationales animas haberemus. Ut ergo in quibusdam rebus ad doctrinam salutarem pertinentibus, quas ratione nondum percipere valemus, sed aliquando valebimus, fides praecedat rationem, qua cor mundetur, ut magnae rationis capiat et perferat lucem, hoc utique rationis est. Et ideo rationabiliter dictum est per prophetam: Nisi credideritis, non intelligetis (Isai. VII, 9 sec. LXX). Ubi procul dubio discrevit haec duo, deditque consilium quo prius credamus, ut id quod credimus intelligere valeamus. Proinde ut fides praecedat rationem, rationabiliter visum est. Nam si hoc praeceptum rationabile non est, ergo irrationabile est: absit. Si igitur rationabile est ut ad magna quaedam, quae capi nondum possunt, fides praecedat rationem, procul dubio quantulacumque ratio quae hoc persuadet, etiam ipsa antecedit fidem.

I had also said that, when I had heard from you that you were fatigued by most faulty codices, you should read in ours, which you could find more emended than the others.

But concerning what you ask, that I discuss the question of the Trinity—that is, concerning the unity of the divinity and the distinction of persons—cautiously and prudently, so that the serenity of my doctrine, as you say, and of my genius, may so wipe away the cloud of your mind, that what you cannot now think, declared by the light of intelligence from me, you may be able in some way to see with your eyes: see first whether that petition agrees with your superior definition. For superiorly in that same letter in which you ask this, you say that you have defined within yourself that truth of divine matter ought to be perceived from faith rather than from reason. "For if," you say, "the faith of the holy Church were apprehended from the reason of disputation, and not from the piety of credulity, no one besides philosophers and orators would possess beatitude." But because it pleased God," you say, "who chose the weak things of this world to confound the strong, to save believers through the foolishness of preaching (I Cor. I, 27), not so much reason is to be required, as the authority of the saints is to be followed." See therefore according to these words of yours, lest you ought rather, especially concerning this matter in which our faith chiefly consists, to follow the authority of the saints alone, and not seek the reason of its intelligence from me. For neither when I begin to introduce you in some way into the intelligence of so great a secret (which unless God helps within, I shall not be able to do at all), shall I do anything else by discoursing than render a reason as I can: which if you not irrationally demand from me, or from any teacher, that you may understand what you believe, correct your definition, not so as to reject faith, but so that those things which you already hold by the firmness of faith, you may also behold by the light of reason.

For far be it that God should hate this in us, in which He created us more excellent than the rest of the animals. Far be it, I say, that we should believe for this reason, that we might not receive or seek reason; since we could not even believe unless we had rational souls. Therefore, that in certain things pertaining to healthful doctrine, which we are not yet able to perceive by reason, but someday shall be able, faith should precede reason, by which the heart may be cleansed, so that it may take and bear the light of great reason, this certainly belongs to reason. And therefore it was reasonably said by the prophet: "Unless you believe, you shall not understand" (Isai. VII, 9 sec. LXX). Where without doubt he distinguished these two, and gave counsel whereby we should first believe, so that we might be able to understand that which we believe. Therefore, that faith should precede reason, it seemed reasonable. For if this precept is not reasonable, therefore it is unreasonable: far be it. If therefore it is reasonable that to some great things, which cannot yet be taken, faith should precede reason, without doubt howsoever small the reason which persuades this, even it precedes faith.

Propterea monet apostolus Petrus, paratos nos esse debere ad responsionem omni poscenti nos rationem de fide et spe nostra (I Petr. III, 15): quoniam si a me infidelis rationem poscit fidei et spei meae, et video quod antequam credat capere non potest, hanc ipsam ei reddo rationem in qua, si fieri potest, videat quam praepostere ante fidem poscat rationem earum rerum quas capere non potest. Si autem jam fidelis rationem poscat, ut quod credit intelligat, capacitas ejus intuenda est, ut secundum eam ratione reddita, sumat fidei suae quantam potest intelligentiam; majorem, si plus capit; minorem, si minus: dum tamen quousque ad plenitudinem cognitionis perfectionemque perveniat, ab itinere fidei non recedat. Hinc est quod dicit Apostolus: Et tamen si quid aliter sapitis, id quoque vobis Deus revelabit; verumtamen in quod pervenimus, in eo ambulemus (Philipp. III, 15, 16). Jam ergo si fideles sumus, ad fidei viam pervenimus, quam si non dimiserimus, non solum ad tantam intelligentiam rerum incorporearum et incommutabilium, quanta in hac vita capi non ab omnibus potest, verum etiam ad summitatem contemplationis, quam dicit Apostolus, facie ad faciem (I Cor. XIII, 12), sine dubitatione perveniemus. Nam quidam etiam minimi, et tamen in via fidei perseverantissime gradientes, ad illam beatissimam contemplationem perveniunt: quidam vero quid sit natura invisibilis, incommutabilis, incorporea, utcumque jam scientes, et viam quae ducit ad tantae beatitudinis mansionem, quoniam stulta illis videtur, quod est Christus crucifixus, tenere recusantes, ad quietis ipsius penetrale, cujus jam luce mens eorum velut in longinqua radiante perstringitur, pervenire non possunt.

Sunt autem quaedam, quae cum audierimus, non eis accommodamus fidem, et ratione nobis reddita vera esse cognoscimus, quae credere non valemus. Et universa Dei miracula ideo ab infidelibus non creduntur, quia eorum ratio non videtur. Et revera sunt de quibus ratio reddi non potest, non tamen non est: quid enim est in rerum natura, quod irrationabiliter fecerit Deus? Sed quorumdam mirabilium operum ejus, etiam expedit tantisper occultam esse rationem, ne apud animos fastidio languidos, ejusdem rationis cognitione vilescant. Sunt enim, et multi sunt qui plus tenentur admiratione rerum quam cognitione causarum, ubi miracula mira esse desistunt, et opus est eos ad invisibilium fidem visibilibus miraculis excitari, ut charitate purgati, eo perveniant ubi familiaritate veritatis mirari desistant. Nam et in theaetris homines funambulum mirantur, musicis delectantur: in illo stupet difficultas; in his retinet pascitque jucunditas.

Therefore the Apostle Peter admonishes that we ought to be ready for a response to everyone asking us for a reason concerning our faith and hope (I Pet. III, 15): since if an infidel asks a reason of my faith and hope from me, and I see that before he believes he cannot take it, I render this very reason to him in which, if it can be done, he may see how preposterously before faith he asks a reason of those things which he cannot take. But if one already faithful asks a reason, so that he may understand what he believes, his capacity is to be looked into, so that according to it, with the reason being rendered, he may take as much intelligence of his faith as he can; more, if he takes more; less, if less: so long as, until he arrives at the fullness and perfection of knowledge, he does not depart from the journey of faith. Hence is what the Apostle says: "And yet if you perceive anything otherwise, God will reveal that also to you; nevertheless in that to which we have arrived, let us walk in it" (Philipp. III, 15, 16). Now therefore if we are faithful, we have arrived at the way of faith, which if we do not leave, we shall arrive without doubt not only to so great an intelligence of incorporeal and incommutable things as cannot be taken by all in this life, but even to the height of contemplation, which the Apostle says, "face to face" (I Cor. XIII, 12). For even some who are very little, and yet walk most perseveringly in the way of faith, arrive at that most blessed contemplation: but some, already knowing in some way what the invisible, incommutable, incorporeal nature is, and refusing to hold the way which leads to the mansion of so great beatitude, because it seems foolish to them—which is Christ crucified—cannot arrive at the inner sanctuary of rest itself, by whose light their mind is already grazed as if radiating in the distance.

But there are certain things which, when we have heard them, we do not accommodate faith to them, and with the reason being rendered to us we know them to be true, which we are not able to believe. And all the miracles of God are therefore not believed by infidels, because the reason for them is not seen. And in truth there are those of which a reason cannot be rendered, yet there is not none: for what is there in the nature of things which God has made irrationally? But of some of His wonderful works, it is even expedient that the reason be hidden for a time, lest among minds languid with fastidiousness, they become cheap by the knowledge of that same reason. For there are, and many there are, who are held more by admiration of things than by knowledge of causes, where miracles cease to be wonderful, and there is need for them to be excited to the faith of invisible things by visible miracles, so that being purged by charity, they may arrive there where by familiarity with truth they may cease to wonder. For even in the theaters men wonder at the rope-walker, they are delighted by musicians: in the former difficulty causes stupor; in the latter pleasantness retains and feeds.

Haec dixerim, ut fidem tuam ad amorem intelligentiae cohorter, ad quam ratio vera perducit, et cui fides animum praeparat. Nam illa quae persuasit, in ea Trinitate quae est Deus, Filium Patri non esse coaeternum, vel alterius esse substantiae, atque aliqua parte dissimilem, et eo modo inferiorem Spiritum sanctum; itemque illa quae persuasit, Patrem et Filium unius ejusdemque, Spiritum vero sanctum alterius esse substantiae, non ideo quia ratio est, sed quia falsa ratio est, cavenda et detestanda dicenda est. Nam si ratio vera esset, non utique errasset. Quapropter sicut non ideo debes omnem vitare sermonem, quia est et sermo falsus; ita non debes omnem vitare rationem, quia est et falsa ratio. Hoc et de sapientia dixerim. Neque enim propterea sapientia vitanda est, quia est et falsa sapientia, cui stultitia est Christus crucifixus, qui est Dei Virtus, et Dei Sapientia: et ideo per hanc stultitiam praedicationis placuit Deo salvos facere credentes, quoniam quod stultum est Dei, sapientius est hominibus. Hoc quibusdam philosophorum et oratorum, non veram viam, sed veri similem sectantibus, et in ea seipsos aliosque fallentibus, persuaderi non potuit; quibusdam vero eorum potuit. Et quibus potuit, neque scandalum est Christus crucifixus, neque stultitia; in iis enim sunt, quibus vocatis Judaeis et Graecis, Dei Virtus est et Dei Sapientia. In qua via, id est in cujus Christi crucifixi fide, qui ejus rectitudinem per Dei gratiam comprehendere potuerunt, etsi philosophi appellati sunt, sive oratores, profecto humili pietate confessi sunt, sibi longe excellentius in ea fuisse praevios piscatores, non solum credendi firmissimo robore, verum etiam intelligendi certissima veritate. Cum enim didicissent, ad hoc electa stulta esse mundi et infirma, ut fortia et sapientia confunderentur (I Cor. I, 21-29), seque cognovissent fallaciter sapere, et imbecilliter praevalere; confusi salubriter, facti sunt stulti et infirmi, ut per stultum et infirmum Dei, quod sapientius et fortius est hominibus, inter electa stulta et infirma fierent veraciter sapientes et efficaciter fortes.

Cui autem nisi verissimae rationi fidelis pietas erubescit, ut quamdam idololatriam, quam in corde nostro ex consuetudine visibilium constituere conatur humanae cogitationis infirmitas, non dubitemus evertere; nec audeamus credere ita esse Trinitatem, quam invisibilem et incorpoream atque incommutabilem colimus, quasi tres quasdam viventes moles, licet maximas et pulcherrimas, suorum tamen spatiis propriis terminatas, et sibimet in suis locis contigua propinquitate cohaerentes, sive una earum sit in medio constituta, ut duas dirimat sibi ex lateribus singulis junctas, sive in modum trigoni duas caeteras unaquaeque contingat, ut nulla ab aliqua separetur;

These things I have said, that I might exhort your faith to the love of intelligence, to which true reason leads, and for which faith prepares the mind. For that which has persuaded, in that Trinity which is God, that the Son is not co-eternal with the Father, or is of another substance, and in some part dissimilar, and in that way that the Holy Spirit is inferior; and likewise that which has persuaded that the Father and the Son are of one and the same, but the Holy Spirit of another substance, is to be said to be avoided and detested, not because it is reason, but because it is false reason. For if it were true reason, it would certainly not have erred. Wherefore just as you ought not for that reason to avoid all speech, because there is also false speech; so you ought not to avoid all reason, because there is also false reason. This also I would say concerning wisdom. For not for that reason is wisdom to be avoided, because there is also false wisdom, to which Christ crucified is foolishness, who is the Power of God and the Wisdom of God: and therefore through this foolishness of preaching it pleased God to save believers, since that which is foolish of God is wiser than men. This could not be persuaded to some of the philosophers and orators, following not the true way but a likeness of the true, and in it deceiving themselves and others; but to some of them it could. And to those to whom it could, Christ crucified is neither a scandal nor foolishness; for they are among those to whom, being called Jews and Greeks, He is the Power of God and the Wisdom of God. In which way, that is in the faith of which Christ crucified, those who were able to comprehend His rectitude through the grace of God, even if they were called philosophers or orators, surely confessed with humble piety that the fishermen had been their leaders far more excellently in it, not only by the most firm strength of believing, but even by the most certain truth of understanding. For when they had learned that for this the foolish things of the world and the weak were chosen, that the strong and the wise might be confounded (I Cor. I, 21-29), and had known themselves to be falsely wise and to prevail imbecilely; being healthily confounded, they were made foolish and weak, so that through the foolish and weak thing of God, which is wiser and stronger than men, among the chosen foolish and weak things they might become truly wise and effectively strong.

But before what else but the truest reason does faithful piety blush, so that we do not hesitate to overthrow a certain idolatry which the infirmity of human thought endeavors to establish in our heart from the habit of visible things? Nor should we dare to believe the Trinity, which we worship as invisible and incorporeal and immutable, to be as it were three living masses, however vast and beautiful, yet terminated by their own proper spaces, and cohering to one another in their places by contiguous proximity—whether one of them be placed in the middle so as to separate the two joined to it on each side, or whether each one touches the other two in the manner of a triangle, so that none is separated from any other;

earumque trium tantarum ac talium personarum, licet in grandi valde, molibus tamen a summo et imo et circumquaque terminatarum, unam esse divinitatem aliquam quartam, nec talem qualis est aliqua ex illis, sed communem omnibus tanquam numen omnium, et in omnibus et in singulis totum, per quam unam divinitatem dicatur eadem Trinitas unus Deus; ejusque tres personas nusquam esse nisi in coelis, illam vero divinitatem nusquam non esse, sed ubique praesentem: ac per hoc recte quidem dici, Deum et in coelo esse et in terra, propter illam divinitatem quae ubique sit tribusque communis; non autem recte dici, Patrem esse in terra vel Filium vel Spiritum sanctum, cum huic Trinitati sedes non nisi in coelo sit. Istam cogitationis carnalis compositionem vanumque figmentum ubi vera ratio labefactare incipit, continuo illo intus adjuvante atque illuminante, qui cum talibus idolis in corde nostro habitare non vult, ita ista confingere atque a fide nostra quodammodo excutere festinamus, ut ne pulverem quidem ullum talium phantasmatum illic remanere patiamur.

Quamobrem nisi rationem disputationis, qua forinsecus admoniti, ipsa intrinsecus veritate lucente, haec falsa esse perspicimus, fides in corde nostro antecessisset, quae nos indueret pietate, nonne incassum quae vera sunt audiremus? Ac per hoc quoniam id quod ad eam pertinebat fides egit, ideo subsequens ratio aliquid eorum quae inquirebat invenit. Falsae itaque rationi, non solum ratio vera, qua id quod credimus intelligimus, verum etiam fides ipsa rerum nondum intellectarum sine dubio praeferenda est. Melius est enim quamvis nondum visum, credere quod verum est, quam putare te verum videre quod falsum est. Habet namque fides oculos suos, quibus quodammodo videt verum esse quod nondum videt, et quibus certissime videt, nondum se videre quod credit. Porro autem qui vera ratione jam quod tantummodo credebat intelligit, profecto praeponendus est ei qui cupit adhuc intelligere quod credit; si autem nec cupit, et ea quae intelligenda sunt, credenda tantummodo existimat, cui rei fides prosit ignorat: nam pia fides sine spe et sine charitate esse non vult. Sic igitur homo fidelis debet credere quod nondum videt, ut visionem et speret et amet.

9. Et visibilium quidem rerum praeteritarum, quae temporaliter transierunt, sola fides est, quoniam non adhuc videnda sperantur, sed facta et transacta creduntur; sicut est illud, quod Christus semel pro peccatis nostris mortuus est et resurrexit, nec jam moritur, et mors ei ultra non dominabitur (Rom. VI, 9, 10). Ea vero quae nondum sunt, sed futura sunt, sicut nostrorum spiritualium corporum resurrectio, ita creduntur ut etiam videnda sperentur; sed ostendi modo nullo possunt modo.

and that of those three persons, so great and such as they are, though in a very grand scale, yet terminated by masses from above and below and all around, there is some fourth divinity, not such as any one of them is, but common to all as the numen of all, and whole in all and in each, through which one divinity the same Trinity is called one God; and that its three persons are nowhere except in the heavens, but that divinity is nowhere not present, but present everywhere: and that through this it is indeed rightly said that God is both in heaven and on earth, on account of that divinity which is everywhere and common to the three; but that it is not rightly said that the Father is on earth, or the Son, or the Holy Spirit, since for this Trinity there is no seat except in heaven. When true reason begins to undermine this composition of carnal thought and vain figment, immediately with the help and illumination of Him within, who does not wish to dwell in our heart with such idols, we hasten to shatter these things and as it were to shake them out of our faith, so that we do not suffer even any dust of such phantasies to remain there.

Wherefore, unless faith had preceded in our heart, clothing us with piety, through which, being admonished from without, we perceive these things to be false while the truth itself shines within, would we not hear in vain those things which are true? And through this, since faith has performed what pertained to it, therefore the subsequent reason has found something of those things which it sought. Therefore, not only true reason, by which we understand that which we believe, but even faith itself of things not yet understood, is without doubt to be preferred to false reason. For it is better to believe what is true, although not yet seen, than to think that you see as true what is false. For faith has its own eyes, by which it sees in a certain way that to be true which it does not yet see, and by which it sees most certainly that it does not yet see what it believes. Furthermore, he who by true reason already understands what he was only believing, is surely to be preferred to him who still desires to understand what he believes; but if he does not even desire it, and thinks that those things which are to be understood are only to be believed, he is ignorant of what use faith is: for pious faith does not wish to be without hope and without charity. Thus, therefore, the faithful man ought to believe what he does not yet see, so that he may both hope for and love the vision.

9. And indeed of visible past things, which have passed away temporally, there is only faith, since they are not hoped for as still to be seen, but are believed as having been done and transacted; as is that fact, that Christ died once for our sins and rose again, and now dies no more, and death shall no more have dominion over Him (Rom. VI, 9, 10). But those things which are not yet, but are to be, such as the resurrection of our spiritual bodies, are so believed that they are also hoped for as to be seen; but they can in no way be shown now.

Quae vero ita sunt ut neque praetereant, neque futura sint, sed aeterna permaneant, partim sunt invisibilia, sicut justitia, sicut sapientia; partim visibilia, sicut Christi immortale jam corpus: sed invisibilia intellecta conspiciuntur, ac per hoc et ipsa modo quodam sibi congruo videntur; et cum videntur, multo certiora sunt quam ea quae corporis sensus attingit, sed ideo dicuntur invisibilia, quia oculis istis mortalibus videri omnino non possunt. At illa quae visibilia sunt permanentia, possunt, si ostendantur, etiam his mortalibus oculis conspici; sicut se Discipulis post resurrectionem Dominus ostendit (Matth. XXVIII, Marc. XVI, Luc. XXIV, et Joan. XX, XXI), sicut etiam post ascensionem apostolo Paulo (Act. IX, 3, 4), et Stephano diacono (Act. VII, 55).

10. Proinde ista visibilia permanentia ita credimus, ut etiamsi non demonstrentur, speremus ea nos quandoque visuros; nec ea conemur ratione vel intellectu comprehendere, nisi ut ea, quia visibilia sunt, ab invisibilibus distinctius cogitemus: et cum cogitatione qualia sint imaginamur, satis utique novimus ea nobis nota non esse. Nam et Antiochiam cogito incognitam, sed non sicut Carthaginem cognitam. Illam quippe visionem cogitatio mea fingit, hanc recolit; nequaquam tamen dubito, sive quod de illa testibus multis, sive quod de ista meis aspectibus credidi. Justitiam vero et sapientiam et quidquid ejusmodi est, non aliter imaginamur, aliter contuemur; sed haec invisibilia simplici mentis atque rationis intentione intellecta conspicimus, sine ullis formis et molibus corporalibus, sine ullis lineamentis figurisque membrorum, sine ullis localibus sive finitis sive spatiis infinitis. Ipsumque lumen, quo cuncta ista discernimus, in quo nobis satis apparet quid credamus incognitum, quid cognitum teneamus, quam formam corporis recordemur, quam cogitatione fingamus, quid corporis sensus attingat, quid imaginetur animus simile corpori, quid certum et omnium corporum dissimillimum intelligentia contempletur: hoc ergo lumen ubi haec cuncta dijudicantur, non utique, sicut hujus solis et cujusque corporei luminis fulgor, per localia spatia circumquaque diffunditur, mentemque nostram quasi visibili candore illustrat, sed invisibiliter et ineffabiliter, et tamen intelligibiliter lucet, tamque nobis certum est, quam nobis efficit certa quae secundum ipsum cuncta conspicimus.

11. Cum igitur tria sint rerum genera quae videntur; unum corporalium, sicut hoc coelum et haec terra, et quidquid in eis corporeus sensus cernit et tangit; alterum simile corporalibus, sicut sunt ea quae spiritu cogitata imaginamur, sive recordata vel oblita quasi corpora contuemur, unde sunt etiam visiones quae vel in somnis, vel in aliquo mentis excessu, his quasi localibus quantitatibus ingeruntur;

Those things, however, which are so that they neither pass away nor are to be future, but remain eternal, are partly invisible, such as justice, such as wisdom; and partly visible, such as the now immortal body of Christ: but the invisible things are beheld when understood, and through this they themselves are seen in a certain way congruent to them; and when they are seen, they are much more certain than those things which the sense of the body reaches, but they are called invisible for this reason, because they cannot be seen at all by these mortal eyes. But those things which are visible and permanent can, if they be shown, be beheld even by these mortal eyes; as the Lord showed Himself to the Disciples after the resurrection (Matt. XXVIII, Mark XVI, Luke XXIV, and John XX, XXI), as also after the ascension to the apostle Paul (Acts IX, 3, 4), and to the deacon Stephen (Acts VII, 55).

10. Therefore we so believe those permanent visible things that, even if they be not demonstrated, we hope that we shall at some time see them; nor do we endeavor to comprehend them by reason or understanding, except so that we may think of them more distinctly from invisible things, because they are visible: and when we imagine in thought what kind they are, we know well enough that they are not known to us. For I also think of Antioch, unknown, but not as I think of Carthage, known. For my thought fashions that vision, but recalls this one; yet I in no way doubt, whether what I have believed concerning that one from many witnesses, or what I have believed concerning this one from my own sights. But justice and wisdom and whatever is of that kind, we do not imagine in one way and gaze upon in another; but we behold these invisible things when understood by a simple intention of the mind and reason, without any corporeal forms and masses, without any lineaments and figures of members, without any local spaces, whether finite or infinite. And the light itself by which we discern all these things, in which it sufficiently appears to us what we believe as unknown, what we hold as known, what form of body we remember, what we fashion by thought, what the sense of the body reaches, what the soul imagines similar to the body, what certain thing and most dissimilar to all bodies the intelligence contemplates: this light, therefore, where all these things are judged, is certainly not diffused through local spaces all around, like the brightness of this sun and of any corporeal light, nor does it illustrate our mind as if with a visible whiteness, but it shines invisibly and ineffably, and yet intelligibly, and it is as certain to us as it makes certain to us the things which we behold all together according to it.

11. Since, therefore, there are three kinds of things which are seen; one of corporeal things, such as this heaven and this earth, and whatever in them the corporeal sense discerns and touches; another similar to corporeal things, such as are those which we imagine as thought by the spirit, or which we behold as if bodies, whether remembered or forgotten, whence also are visions which are suggested in sleep or in some ecstasy of mind, in these as it were local quantities;

tertium ab utroque discretum, quod neque sit corpus, neque ullam habeat similitudinem corporis, sicut est sapientia, quae mente intellecta conspicitur, et in cujus luce de his omnibus veraciter judicatur: in quo istorum genere credendum est esse istam quam nosse volumus, Trinitatem? Profecto aut in aliquo, aut in nullo. Si in aliquo, eo utique quod est aliis duobus praestantius, sicut est sapientia; quod si donum ejus in nobis est, et minus est quam illa summa et incommutabilis, quae Dei Sapientia dicitur, puto quod non debemus dono suo inferius cogitare donantem: si autem aliquis splendor ejus in nobis est, quae nostra sapientia dicitur, quantumcumque ejus per speculum et in aenigmate capere possumus, oportet eam et ab omnibus corporibus, et ab omnibus corporum similitudinibus secernamus.

12. Si autem in nullo istorum genere putanda est ista Trinitas, et sic est invisibilis, ut nec mente videatur; multo minus de illa hujusmodi opinionem habere debemus, ut eam rebus corporalibus vel corporalium rerum imaginibus similem esse credamus. Non enim corpora pulchritudine molis aut magnitudine superat, sed dissimilitudine ac disparilitate naturae: Non enim corpora pulchritudine molis aut magnitudine superat, sed dissimilitudine ac disparilitate naturae: et si discreta est a comparatione bonorum animi nostri, qualia sunt sapientia, justitia, charitas, castitas, et caetera talia, quae profecto mole corporis non pendimus, nec eorum quasi corporeas formas cogitatione figuramus, sed ea quando recte intelligimus, sine aliqua corpulentia vel similitudine corpulentiae in luce mentis aspicimus; quanto est ab omnium qualitatum et quantitatum corporalium comparatione discretior? Non eam tamen a nostro intellectu omnino abhorrere Apostolus testis est, ubi ait: Invisibilia enim a constitutione mundi, per ea quae facta sunt intellecta conspiciuntur; sempiterna quoque ejus virtus ac divinitas (Rom. Ac per hoc cum eadem Trinitas fecerit et corpus et animam, sine dubitatione est utroque praestantior. Anima itaque considerata, maxime humana et rationalis atque intellectualis, quae ad ejus imaginem facta est, si cogitationes nostras et intelligentias non evicerit, sed ejus quod habet praecipuum, id est ipsam mentem atque intelligentiam mente atque intelligentia potuerimus apprehendere, non erit fortassis absurdum, ut eam ad suum quoque Creatorem intelligendum, ipso adjuvante meditemur attollere. Si autem in seipsa deficit, sibique succumbit, pia fide contenta sit quamdiu peregrinatur a Domino, donec fiat in homine quod promissum est, faciente illo qui potens est, sicut ait Apostolus, facere supra quam petimus aut intelligimus (Eph.

CAPUT III.

the third distinct from both, which is neither a body nor has any likeness of a body, such as is wisdom, which is beheld when understood by the mind, and in whose light a true judgment is formed concerning all these things: in which of these kinds is it to be believed that that Trinity exists which we wish to know? Surely either in some one of them, or in none. If in any, certainly in that which is more excellent than the other two, such as is wisdom; but if its gift is in us, and it is less than that supreme and immutable Wisdom which is called the Wisdom of God, I think that we ought not to think the Giver inferior to His gift: but if some splendor of it is in us, which is called our wisdom, however much of it we are able to receive through a glass and in a riddle, it behoves us to separate it both from all bodies and from all likenesses of bodies.

12. But if that Trinity is to be thought to be in none of those kinds, and is so invisible that it is not even seen by the mind; much less ought we to have such an opinion of it as to believe it to be similar to corporeal things or to the images of corporeal things. For it does not surpass bodies in the beauty of mass or in magnitude, but in dissimilarity and disparity of nature: and if it is distinct from comparison with the goods of our soul, such as are wisdom, justice, charity, chastity, and other such things, which indeed we do not weigh by the mass of the body, nor do we fashion as it were their corporeal forms by thought, but when we understand them rightly, we behold them in the light of the mind without any corpulence or likeness of corpulence; how much more distinct is it from the comparison of all corporeal qualities and quantities? Yet that it does not altogether shrink from our understanding, the Apostle is witness, where he says: For the invisible things from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made; even His eternal power and Godhead (Rom. I, 20). And through this, since the same Trinity has made both body and soul, it is without doubt more excellent than both. Therefore, the soul being considered, especially the human and rational and intellectual soul which was made after His image, if it does not exceed our thoughts and intelligences, but we have been able to apprehend that which it has as its chief part, that is, the mind and intelligence itself, by the mind and intelligence, it will perhaps not be absurd that we should meditate, with His help, on raising it to understand its Creator also. but if it fails in itself and succumbs to itself, let it be content with pious faith as long as it is on pilgrimage from the Lord, until that which was promised be done in man, by His doing who is able, as the Apostle says, to do exceeding abundantly above all that we ask or think (Eph. III, 20).

CHAPTER III.

13. Quae cum ita sint, interim volo ut legas ea quae ad istam quaestionem pertinentia jam multa conscripsimus; illa etiam quae in manibus habemus, et propter magnitudinem tam difficilis quaestionis, nondum possumus explicare. Nunc vero tene inconcussa fide, Patrem et Filium et Spiritum sanctum esse Trinitatem, et tamen unum Deum; non quod sit eorum communis quasi quarta divinitas, sed quod sit ipsa ineffabiliter inseparabilis Trinitas, Patremque solum genuisse Filium, Filiumque solum a Patre genitum, Spiritum vero sanctum et Patris et Filii esse Spiritum. Et quidquid tibi, cum ista cogitas, corporeae similitudinis occurrerit, abige , abnue, nega, respue, abjice, fuge. Non enim parva est inchoatio cognitionis Dei, si antequam possimus nosse quid sit, incipiamus jam nosse quid non sit. Intellectum vero valde ama; quia et ipsae Scripturae sanctae, quae magnarum rerum ante intelligentiam suadent fidem, nisi eas recte intelligas, utiles tibi esse non possunt. Omnes enim haeretici, qui eas in auctoritate recipiunt, ipsas sibi videntur sectari, cum suos potius sectentur errores; ac per hoc non quod eas contemnant, sed quod eas non intelligant, haeretici sunt.

14. Tu autem, charissime, ora fortiter et fideliter ut det tibi Dominus intellectum, ac sic ea quae forinsecus adhibet diligentia praeceptoris sive doctoris, possint esse fructuosa; quoniam neque qui plantat est aliquid, neque qui rigat, sed qui incrementum dat Deus (I Cor. III, 7): cui dicimus, Pater noster qui es in coelis (Matth. VI, 9); non quia ibi est, et hic non est, qui praesentia incorporea ubique est totus, sed quia in eis habitare dicitur, quorum pietati adest, et hi maxime in coelis sunt, ubi etiam nostra conversatio est, si nos os nostrum veraciter sursum cor habere respondeat. Nam etsi carnaliter acceperimus quod scriptum est, Coelum mihi sedes est, terra autem scabellum pedum meorum (Isai. LXVI, 1); et ibi et hic cum esse credere debemus: quamvis non totum ibi, quia hic essent pedes; nec totum hic, quia ibi essent superiores corporis partes. Quam cogitationem carnalem, rursum illud nobis excutere, quod de illo scriptum est, potest: Qui coelum mensus est palmo, et terram pugillo (Id., XL, 12). Quis enim sedeat in spatio palmi sui, aut in tanto loco pedes ponat, quantum ejus pugnus apprehendit? Nisi forte in tantum caro vana progreditur, ut ei parum sit humana membra substantiae Dei tribuere, si ea non etiam monstruosa confingat, ubi palmus lumbis, et pugillus ambabus palmis conjunctis sit latior. Sed haec dicuntur, ut cum sibi non conveniunt quae carnaliter audimus, eis ipsis admoniti, ineffabiliter spiritualia cogitemus.

13. Since these things are so, in the meantime I want you to read the many things pertaining to this question that we have already written; those also which we have in hand, and which, because of the magnitude of so difficult a question, we are not yet able to explain. But now hold with unshaken faith that the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit are the Trinity, and yet one God; not that there is some fourth divinity common to them, as it were, but that the Trinity itself is ineffably inseparable, and that the Father alone begot the Son, and the Son alone was begotten of the Father, and the Holy Spirit is the Spirit both of the Father and of the Son. And whatever likeness to bodily things occurs to you when you think on these matters, drive it away, refuse it, deny it, reject it, cast it off, flee it. For it is no small beginning of the knowledge of God, if, before we can know what He is, we begin already to know what He is not. But love understanding greatly; for even the holy Scriptures themselves, which urge faith in great things before understanding, cannot be useful to you unless you understand them rightly. For all heretics who receive them in their authority seem to themselves to be following them, whereas they are rather following their own errors; and hence they are heretics not because they despise them, but because they do not understand them.

14. But you, dearest one, pray strongly and faithfully that the Lord may give you understanding, so that what the diligence of a teacher or master applies from without may be fruitful; since neither is he who plants anything, nor he who waters, but God who gives the increase (I Cor. III, 7): to whom we say, Our Father who art in heaven (Matth. VI, 9); not because He is there and not here — He who by incorporeal presence is wholly everywhere — but because He is said to dwell in those to whose devotion He is present, and these are especially in heaven, where also our conversation is, if our mouth truthfully answers that our heart is lifted up. For even if we take carnally what is written, Heaven is my seat, and earth the footstool of my feet (Isai. LXVI, 1), we ought to believe that He is both there and here, although not wholly there, since the feet would be here, nor wholly here, since the upper parts of the body would be there. This carnal thought, in turn, that which is written of Him can shake off from us: Who has measured the heavens with a span, and the earth with a closed hand (Id., XL, 12). For who would sit in the space of his own span, or place his feet in as much room as his fist grasps? Unless perhaps vain flesh proceeds so far that it is not enough for it to attribute human members to the substance of God, unless it also fashions them monstrously, where the span is wider than the loins, and the closed fist wider than both spans joined together. But these things are said so that, when the things we hear carnally do not agree with one another, we, admonished by them, may think spiritually of things ineffable.

15. Unde etiamsi corpus Domini, quod de sepulcro excitatum levavit in coelum, nonnisi specie humana membrisque cogitamus, non tamen ita putandum est sedere ad dexteram Patris, ut ei Pater ad sinistram sedere videatur. In illa quippe beatitudine, quae omnem superat humanum intellectum, sola dextera est, et eadem dextera, ejusdem beatitudinis nomen est. Proinde nec illud quod post resurrectionem suam dixit Mariae, Noli me tangere, nondum enim ascendi ad Patrem meum (Joan. XX, 17), tam absurde accipiendum est, ut existimemus eum, cum ascendisset, voluisse a feminis tangi, qui se tangendum viris antequam ascenderet praebuit. Sed Mariae profecto, in qua figurata Ecclesia est, quando illud dixit, intelligi voluit tunc ascendisse ad Patrem, cum illum Patri cognovit aequalem; et tali fide illum salubriter tetigit, ne si hoc solum eum esse crederet quod in carne apparuerat, non bene tangeret. Sic eum Photinus haereticus tetigit, qui hominem tantummodo credidit.

16. Et si forte aliud in his verbis Domini aptius meliusque intelligi potest, opinio tamen qua putatur substantia Patris esse in coelo, secundum quod Pater una in Trinitate persona est, divinitas vero non in coelo tantum, sed ubique est: quasi aliud sit Pater, aliud divinitas ejus quae illi communis est cum Filio et cum Spiritu sancto; ut ipsa Trinitas, tanquam locis corporalibus et tanquam corporea sit, divinitas vero una trium personarum ubique sit praesens, et ipsa sola tanquam incorporea ubique sit tota: sine dubitatione respuenda. Si enim qualitas eorum esset (quod absit, ut in Patre, aut Filio, aut Spiritu sancto aliud sit qualitas, aliud substantia), tamen si eorum qualitas esse posset, utique amplius alicubi quam in sua substantia esse non posset: si autem substantia est, et alia est quam sunt ipsi, alia substantia est; quod nihilominus falsissime creditur. 17. si autem substantia est, et alia est quam sunt ipsi, alia substantia est; quod nihilominus falsissime creditur.

17. Sed si forte minus intelligis inter substantiam et qualitatem quid intersit; hoc certe facilius advertis, quod et divinitas Trinitatis (quae putatur alia esse quam est ipsa Trinitas, et propter hanc dici non tres deos, sed unum Deum, quoniam ipsa est tribus una communis) aut substantia est, aut non est substantia. Si substantia est, et alia est quam Pater, aut Filius, aut Spiritus sanctus, aut eadem simul Trinitas: procul dubio alia substantia est: hoc autem veritas refellit et respuit.

15. Hence, even if we think of the body of the Lord, which He raised from the tomb and lifted up into heaven, only in human form and with human members, yet it must not be supposed that He so sits at the right hand of the Father that the Father should seem to sit at His left. For indeed in that beatitude which surpasses all human understanding, there is only a right hand, and that same right hand is the name of that same beatitude. Accordingly, neither is that which He said to Mary after His resurrection, Do not touch me, for I have not yet ascended to my Father (John XX, 17), to be taken so absurdly that we should suppose that, after He had ascended, He wished to be touched by women, He who offered Himself to be touched by men before He ascended. But when He said that to Mary, in whom the Church is figured, He surely wished it to be understood that He had then ascended to the Father when she recognized Him as equal to the Father; and with such faith she touched Him beneficially, lest, if she believed Him to be only that which had appeared in the flesh, she should not touch Him rightly. Thus did the heretic Photinus touch Him, who believed Him to be only a man.

16. And if perchance something else more apt and better can be understood in these words of the Lord, yet the opinion by which the substance of the Father is thought to be in heaven, according as the Father is one person in the Trinity, but the divinity is not in heaven only, but everywhere— as if the Father were one thing, and His divinity another, which is common to Him with the Son and with the Holy Spirit; so that the Trinity itself is as it were in corporeal places and as it were corporeal, but the one divinity of the three persons is everywhere present, and it alone, as being incorporeal, is everywhere whole—is without doubt to be rejected. For if it were their quality (which be far from us, that in the Father, or the Son, or the Holy Spirit quality should be one thing, substance another), yet if it could be their quality, it could certainly not be more widely anywhere than in its own substance: but if it is substance, and is another than they themselves are, it is another substance; which nonetheless is most falsely believed.

17. But if perchance you understand less what the difference is between substance and quality; this certainly you observe more easily, that both the divinity of the Trinity (which is thought to be another thing than the Trinity itself is, and on account of which it is called not three gods but one God, because it is one common to the three) is either substance, or it is not substance. If it is substance, and is another than the Father, or the Son, or the Holy Spirit, or the same Trinity together: it is without doubt another substance: but this the truth refutes and rejects.

Si autem non est substantia ista divinitas, et ipsa est Deus, quia ipsa est ubique tota, non illa Trinitas; ergo Deus non est substantia: quis hoc catholicus dixerit? Item si non est substantia ista divinitas, et secundum hanc est Trinitas unus Deus, quod haec una est in tribus; non debuit dici Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus unius substantiae, sed unius divinitatis quae non est substantia. Agnoscis autem in fide catholica quoniam hoc est verum, hoc est confirmatum quod Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus, ideo cum sit Trinitas, unus est Deus; quia inseparabiliter sunt unius ejusdemque substantiae, vel (si hoc melius dicitur), essentiae. Nam nonnulli nostri et maxime Graeci, Trinitatem quae Deus est, magis essentiam , quam unam substantiam esse dixerunt; aliquid inter haec duo nomina interesse arbitrantes, vel intelligentes: unde nunc disputare non est opus; quod etsi divinitatem istam, quae aliud existimatur esse quam ipsa Trinitas, non substantiam sed essentiam dixerimus, eadem falsitas consequetur. quod etsi divinitatem istam, quae aliud existimatur esse quam ipsa Trinitas, non substantiam sed essentiam dixerimus, eadem falsitas consequetur. Si enim alia est quam ipsa Trinitas, altera erit essentia: quod absit ut catholicus sentiat. Restat itaque ut ita credamus unius esse substantiae Trinitatem, ut ipsa essentia non aliud sit quam ipsa Trinitas. Ad quam videndam quantumlibet in hac vita proficiamus, per speculum erit et in aenigmate quod videbimus. Cum vero, quod in resurrectione promittitur, spirituale corpus habere coeperimus, sive illam mente, sive mirabili modo, quoniam ineffabilis est spiritualis corporis gratia, etiam corpore videamus; non tamen per locorum intervalla, nec in parte minorem, in parte majorem, quoniam non est corpus, et ubique tota est, pro nostra capacitate videbimus.

CAPUT IV. 18. Quod vero posuisti in epistola tua, videri tibi, vel potius quod videbatur tibi, nihil vivum secundum substantiam inesse justitiae, ideoque te non posse adhuc Deum, id est viventem naturam, justitiae similem cogitare: quia justitia, sicut dicis, non in se, sed in nobis vivit; imo nos potius secundum illam vivimus, ipsa vero per se justitia nequaquam vivit: ad hoc ut tibi ipse respondeas, illud intuere, utrum recte dici possit vitam ipsam non vivere, qua fit ut vivat quidquid non falso dicimus vivere. Puto enim absurdum tibi videri, ut per vitam vivatur, et vita non vivat. Porro si vita ipsa praecipue vivit, qua vivit omne quod vivit, recole, obsecro, quas dicat Scriptura divina animas mortuas; profecto invenies injustas, impias, infideles. Nam licet per illas vivant corpora impiorum, de quibus dictum est quod mortui sepeliant mortuos suos (Matth. VIII, 22), et ibi intelligantur etiam iniquae animae non esse sine aliqua vita; neque enim aliter ex eis possent corpora vivere, nisi qualicumque vita, qua omnino animae carere non possunt, unde immortales merito vocantur:

But if that divinity is not substance, and it is God, because it is everywhere whole, not that Trinity; therefore God is not a substance: who that is a Catholic would say this? Likewise, if that divinity is not substance, and according to it the Trinity is one God, because this is one in the three; it ought not to have been said that the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit are of one substance, but of one divinity which is not substance. But you recognize in the Catholic faith that this is true, this is confirmed, that the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, therefore, since it is a Trinity, is one God; because they are inseparably of one and the same substance, or (if this be better said), essence. For some of ours, and especially the Greeks, have said that the Trinity which is God is rather essence than one substance; thinking or understanding some difference between these two names: concerning which there is no need to dispute now; for even if we should call that divinity, which is thought to be other than the Trinity itself, not substance but essence, the same falsehood will follow. For if it is another than the Trinity itself, it will be another essence: which be far from a Catholic to feel. It remains, therefore, that we should so believe the Trinity to be of one substance, that the essence itself be no other thing than the Trinity itself. To the vision of which, however much we may profit in this life, it will be through a glass and in a riddle what we shall see. But when we shall have begun to have a spiritual body, which is promised in the resurrection, whether we see it by the mind, or in a wonderful way (since the grace of the spiritual body is ineffable) even with the body; yet not through intervals of places, nor less in part, greater in part, since it is not a body, and it is everywhere whole, we shall see according to our capacity.

CHAPTER IV. 18. But as to what you put in your letter, that it seems to you, or rather that it seemed to you, that nothing living according to substance is in justice, and that therefore you could not yet think of God, that is, a living nature, as similar to justice: because justice, as you say, lives not in itself, but in us; nay, we rather live according to it, but justice itself by itself in no way lives: so that you may answer yourself to this, look at this, whether it can be rightly said that life itself does not live, by which it comes to pass that whatever we do not falsely say lives, does live. For I think it seems absurd to you that one should live by life, and life itself should not live. Furthermore, if life itself chiefly lives, by which everything that lives does live, recall, I beseech you, what the divine Scripture calls dead souls; surely you will find the unjust, the impious, the unfaithful. For although the bodies of the impious live through them, of whom it is said that the dead bury their dead (Matt. VIII, 22), and there even iniquitous souls are understood not to be without some life; for otherwise bodies could not live from them, except by some kind of life, which souls can in no way lack, whence they are deservedly called immortal:

non tamen ob aliud amissa justitia dicuntur mortuae, nisi quia et animarum, licet immortaliter qualicumque vita viventium, verior et major vita justitia est, tanquam vita vitarum, quae cum sint in corporibus, etiam ipsa corpora viva sunt, quae per seipsa vivere nequeunt. Quapropter si animae non possunt, nisi etiam in seipsis utcumque vivere, quia ex eis vivunt et corpora, a quibus deserta moriuntur; quanto magis vera justitia etiam in seipsa vivere intelligenda est, ex qua sic vivunt animae, ut hac amissa mortuae nuncupentur, quamvis quantulacumque vita non desinant vivere!

19. Ea porro justitia quae vivit in seipsa, procul dubio Deus est, atque incommutabiliter vivit. Sicut autem haec cum sit in seipsa vita, etiam nobis fit vita, cum ejus efficimur utcumque participes: ita cum in seipsa sit justitia, etiam nobis fit justice, cum ei cohaerendo juste vivimus; et tanto magis minusve justi sumus, quanto magis illi minusve cohaeremus. Unde scriptum est de unigenito Filio Dei, cum sit utique Patris Sapientia atque Justitia, et semper in seipsa sit, quod factus sit nobis a Deo sapientia et justitia, et sanctificatio et redemptio; ut quemadmodum scriptum est: Qui gloriatur, in Domino glorietur (I Cor. I, 30, 31). Quod quidem et ipse vidisti, addendo atque dicendo: Nisi forte non haec humanae aequitatis, sed illa quae Deus est, sola esse asseratur justitia. Est plane ille summus Deus vera justitia, vel ille verus Deus summa justitia; quam profecto esurire et sitire, ea nostra est in hac peregrinatione justitia, et qua postea saturari, ea nostra est in aeternitate plena justitia. Non ergo Deum nostrae justitiae similem cogitemus, sed cogitemus nos potius tanto similiores Deo, quanto esse poterimus ejus participatione justiores.

20. Si ergo cavendum est ne justitiae nostrae similem putemus Deum, quoniam lumen quod illuminat, incomparabiliter excellentius est illo quod illuminatur; quanto magis caveri oportet, ne aliquid inferius et quodammodo decoloratius eum esse credamus, quam est nostra justitia! Quid est autem aliud justitia, cum in nobis est, vel quaelibet virtus qua recte sapienterque vivitur, quam interioris hominis pulchritudo? Et certe secundum hanc pulchritudinem magis quam secundum corpus, facti sumus ad imaginem Dei: unde nobis dicitur, Nolite conformari huic saeculo, sed reformamini in novitate mentis vestrae, ad probandum vos quae sit voluntas Dei, quod bonum et beneplacitum et perfectum (Rom. XII, 2). Si ergo non in mole neque in distantibus per loca sua partibus, sicut corpora sive cernuntur sive cogitantur, sed in virtute intelligibili, qualis est justitia, mentem dicimus, seu novimus, seu volumus pulchram, et secundum hanc pulchritudinem reformamur ad imaginem Dei: profecto ipsius Dei qui nos formavit et reformat ad imaginem suam, non in aliqua mole corporea suspicanda est pulchritudo; eoque justorum mentibus credendus est incomparabiliter pulchrior, quo est incomparabiliter justior .

yet they are called dead for no other reason than that justice being lost, justice is the truer and greater life even of souls, although they live immortally with some kind of life, as being the life of lives, which when they are in bodies, even the bodies themselves are living, which cannot live by themselves. Wherefore if souls cannot but live in themselves in some way, because from them even bodies live, which die when deserted by them; how much more is true justice to be understood to live even in itself, from which souls so live that when this is lost they are called dead, although they do not cease to live with whatever small amount of life!

19. That justice, furthermore, which lives in itself, is without doubt God, and lives immutably. But just as this, since it is in itself life, also becomes life to us when we are made in some way partakers of it: so when it is in itself justice, it also becomes justice to us when by cohering to it we live justly; and we are more or less just according as we more or less cohere to it. Whence it is written of the only-begotten Son of God, since He is indeed the Wisdom and Justice of the Father and is always in itself, that He was made unto us wisdom from God, and justice, and sanctification, and redemption; that, as it is written: He that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord (I Cor. I, 30, 31). Which indeed you yourself saw, adding and saying: Unless perchance not this justice of human equity, but that which is God, alone be asserted to be justice. That supreme God is plainly true justice, or that true God is supreme justice; to hunger and thirst after which is indeed our justice in this pilgrimage, and to be afterwards filled with which is our full justice in eternity. Let us not therefore think of God as similar to our justice, but let us rather think of ourselves as so much the more similar to God, as we shall be able to be the more just by participation in Him.

20. If, therefore, we must beware lest we think God similar to our justice, since the light that illuminates is incomparably more excellent than that which is illuminated; how much more must we beware lest we believe him to be something inferior and, in a certain way, more discolored, than our justice is! But what else is justice, when it is in us, or any virtue whatsoever by which one lives rightly and wisely, than the beauty of the inner man? And certainly it is according to this beauty rather than according to the body that we were made in the image of God: whence it is said to us, Do not be conformed to this age, but be reformed in the newness of your mind, so that you may prove what is the will of God, what is good and pleasing and perfect (Rom. XII, 2). If, therefore, we call, or know, or wish the mind to be beautiful not in bulk nor in parts distant from one another in their places, as bodies are either seen or thought, but in an intelligible power, such as justice is, and it is according to this beauty that we are reformed to the image of God: assuredly the beauty of God himself, who formed us and reforms us to his image, is not to be conjectured in any corporeal bulk; and he is to be believed incomparably more beautiful to the minds of the just, by as much as he is incomparably more just.

Haec Dilectionem tuam, quantum ad usitatum epistolarum modum attinet, prolixius forsitan quam exspectabas; quantum autem ad tam magnae rei quaestionem, breviter admonuisse suffecerit: non ut satis sit eruditioni tuae, sed ut aliis quoque lectis vel auditis diligenter instructus, ipse uberius tua secus dicta redarguas; quod est utique tanto melius, quanto fit humilius et fidelius.

EPISTOLA CXXI.

Paulinus Nolensis episcopus Augustino proponit quaestiones aliquot, primum de Psalmis, tum de Apostolo, et ad extremum de Evangelio.

CAP. PRIMUM.

1. De paucis quae nunc jam ad navem currente litterarum perlatore, et mihi in ipsius festinatione properanti in mentem venerunt, ne sine corollario mihi rescribas, aliqua proponam: quae si forte lucida sunt, etmihi videntur obscura, nemo prudentum filiorum, qui forte de nostris in hora lectiunculae hujus circa te steterint, de insipientia mea rideat, sed potius benevolentia fraternae charitatis faveat instruendo, ut efficiar videntium particeps et ex doctrina tua illuminatis mentibus considerantium mirabilia de lege Domini.

2. Dic ergo mihi, benedicte doctor Israel, quid sit quod dicitur in psalmo decimoquinto: «Sanctis qui in terra sunt ejus, mirificavit omnes voluntates suas inter illos. Multiplicatae sunt enim infirmitates eorum; postea acceleraverunt.» Quos ait sanctos, qui in terra sunt sancti? Num illos Judaeos, qui filii carnis Abrahae, et non filii repromissionis excluduntur a semine quod in Isaac vocatum est (Rom. IX, 8, 7), ideo sanctos in terra, quia sancti genere carnali, vita autem sensuque terreni sunt, qui terrena sapiunt, et carnali observantia in vetustate litterae consenescunt; non renascentes in novam creaturam, quia non receperunt eum, per quem vetera transierunt, et facta sunt nova? Sic enim forte eos in hoc psalmo sanctos appellat, quomodo et in Evangelio justos, ubi dicit, «Non veni vocare justos, sed peccatores» (Matth. IX, 13); id est illos justos, qui in sanctitate generis et littera Legis gloriantur: quibus dicitur, «Nolite gloriari in patre Abraham; quia potens est Deus de lapidibus istis excitare filios Abrahae» (Id. III, 9).

These things I have perhaps set before your Love at greater length than you expected, as far as the usual manner of letters is concerned; but as far as the question of so great a matter is concerned, it may have sufficed to have admonished you briefly: not that it should be enough for your erudition, but that you yourself, being also diligently instructed by other things read or heard, may more fully refute what has been said contrary to your own view; which is indeed so much the better, the more humbly and faithfully it is done.

LETTER CXXI.

Paulinus, bishop of Nola, proposes to Augustine several questions, first concerning the Psalms, then concerning the Apostle, and finally concerning the Gospel.

CHAPTER I.

1. Concerning a few things which have now come to my mind — as the bearer of this letter hastens to the ship, and I myself hurry along in his very haste — I shall put forward some points, so that you may not write back to me without an addition; which, if perhaps they are clear to others, yet seem obscure to me, let none of the prudent sons who may perhaps be standing about you from among our people at the hour of this little reading laugh at my foolishness, but rather let him favor me with the benevolence of fraternal charity by instructing me, that I may be made a partaker of those who see, and, with minds illumined by your teaching, of those who consider the wonders of the law of the Lord.

2. Tell me, then, blessed teacher of Israel, what is meant by what is said in the fifteenth psalm: "To his saints who are in the land, he has made wonderful all his wills among them. For their infirmities were multiplied; afterward they made haste." Whom does he call saints — those who are saints in the land? Is it perhaps those Jews who, being sons of the flesh of Abraham and not sons of the promise, are excluded from the seed that was called in Isaac (Rom. IX, 8, 7), and are therefore "saints in the land" because they are holy by carnal descent, but earthly in life and in sense — who savor earthly things, and grow old in the oldness of the letter through carnal observance; not being reborn into a new creature, because they did not receive him through whom old things passed away, and new things were made? For perhaps he calls them "saints" in this psalm in the same way that he also calls them "just" in the Gospel, where he says, "I have not come to call the just, but sinners" (Matth. IX, 13); that is, those just who glory in the sanctity of their lineage and the letter of the Law: to whom it is said, "Do not glory in the father Abraham; for God is able from these stones to raise up children to Abraham" (Id. III, 9).

Quorum forma in illo Pharisaeo proponitur, qui justitias suas tanquam nescienti Domino recolens, praedicabat in templo; non orans ut exaudiretur, sed exigens quasi debitum meriti pro operibus bonis quidem, sed ingratis Deo, quia quod justitia aedificaverat, superbia destruebat: nec idipsum silentio, sed voce clamabat, ut appareret eum non divinis auribus loqui, qui et ab hominibus vellet audiri; atque ideo non placuit Deo, quia placebat sibi: «Quoniam dissipavit Dominus ossa hominum sibi placentium. Confusi sunt,» inquit, «quia sprevit illos» (Psal. LII, 6), qui cor humile et contribulatum non spernit.

3. Denique et in ipsa Evangelii parabola, qua Pharisaei et Publicani persona confertur, evidenter ostendit ipse Dominus quid in homine suscipiat, quid repellat (Luc. XVIII, 10-14), sicut scriptum est quia «Deus superbis resistit, humilibus autem dat gratiam (Jac. IV, 6).» Ideo protestatur magis justificatum abiisse e templo Publicanum de confessione peccatorum suorum, quam Pharisaeum de imputatione justitiarum suarum. Merito autem ille laudator sui, repudiatus abscessit a facie Dei, qui cum ipso nomine peritiam Legis praeferret, oblitus fuerat in propheta dicentem Dominum: «Super quem habitabo, nisi super humilem, et quietum, et trementem sermones meos» (Isai. LXVI, 2)? Ille autem in corde contrito sui accusator accipitur, et obtinet veniam de confessis peccatis propter gratiam humilitatis, sancto illo Pharisaeo (quales Judaei sancti sunt), reportante sarcinam peccatorum de jactantia sanctitatis. Ipsius nimirum sunt forma Judaei illi, de quibus Apostolus ait quod suum justitiam statuere cupientes, quae ex Lege est, justitiae Dei non sunt subjecti (Rom. X, 3), quae est ex fide, quae reputata est patri nostro Abraham ad justitiam, non ex operibus (Id. IV, 2, 3), quia secundum omnipotentiam Dei credidit Deo: apud quem ille vere justus est qui ex fide vivit; nec sanctus in terra est, sed in coelo, quia non carne, sed spiritu ambulat; cujus conversatio in coelis est; non gloriantis in circumcisione carnis, sed in circumcisione cordis, quae non littera, sed spiritu agitur invisibiliter; unde laus ejus non ex hominibus est, sed ex Deo.

4. Deinde quod jungit in eodem versiculo, «Miras fecit voluntates suas inter illos,» credo ex eo dicit, quod ipsis primum lucernam Legis accendit, et praecepta vivendi dedit. «Notas,» enim, inquit, «fecit vias suas Moysi, et filiis Israel voluntates suas» (Psal. CII, 7). Deinde ipsum pietatis suae sacramentum in ipsis operatus est, natus in carne ex virgine Deus in gente ipsorum, et de carne ipsorum factus ex semine David homo: deinde virtutes sanitatum, quas in ipsis et coram ipsis perfecit.

Their type is set forth in that Pharisee, who, recounting his own righteous deeds as though before a Lord who did not know them, proclaimed them in the temple; not praying that he might be heard, but demanding, as it were, the debt of merit for works that were indeed good, but ungrateful to God, because what justice had built up, pride was tearing down: nor did he proclaim this in silence, but with his voice, so that it might appear that he was not speaking to divine ears, since he also wished to be heard by men; and therefore he did not please God, because he pleased himself: "For the Lord has scattered the bones of those who please themselves. They were confounded," he says, "because he despised them" (Psal. LII, 6) — he who does not despise a humble and contrite heart.

3. Finally, in the same parable of the Gospel, in which the persons of the Pharisee and the Publican are compared, the Lord Himself evidently shows what He accepts in man and what He rejects (Luke XVIII, 10-14), as it is written that God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble (James IV, 6). Therefore He protests that the Publican went away from the temple more justified for the confession of his sins than the Pharisee for the imputation of his justices. But deservedly that praiser of himself, being repudiated, departed from the face of God, who, while he brought forward expertise in the Law with his very name, had forgotten the Lord saying in the prophet: To whom shall I have respect, but to him that is humble and quiet, and that trembleth at my words (Isa. LXVI, 2)? But the other is received as his own accuser in a contrite heart, and obtains pardon for confessed sins on account of the grace of humility, while that holy Pharisee (such as the holy Jews are) carries back a burden of sins from the boast of sanctity. Of him indeed those Jews are the form, of whom the Apostle says that, desiring to establish their own justice, which is from the Law, they have not submitted to the justice of God (Rom. X, 3), which is from faith, which was reputed to our father Abraham for justice, not from works (Id. IV, 2, 3), because according to the omnipotence of God he believed God: with whom he is truly just who lives by faith; nor is he a saint on earth, but in heaven, because he walks not after the flesh but after the spirit; whose conversation is in heaven; not glorying in the circumcision of the flesh, but in the circumcision of the heart, which is performed not in the letter but in the spirit, invisibly; whence his praise is not of men, but of God.

4. Then as to what he joins in the same verse, He has made His wills wonderful among them, I believe he says it for this reason, because He first kindled for them the lamp of the Law, and gave them precepts for living. For he says, He made His ways known to Moses, His wills to the children of Israel (Ps. CII, 7). Then He worked the sacrament of His own piety among them, being born in the flesh of a virgin, God in their nation, and made man of their flesh from the seed of David: then the virtues of healings, which He performed in them and before them.

Qui per haec non modo creditus non est, sed et blasphematus est ab eis, cum dicerent, «Hic homo si a Deo esset, non curaret sabbatis» (Joan. IX, 16); et, «Non ejicit daemonia nisi in Beelzebub principe daemoniorum» (Matth. XII, 24). Propter hanc mentem obdurata impietate caecatam, multiplicatae sunt infirmitates et tenebrae eorum.

5. Sed quid est quod ait, «Postea acceleraverunt?» Utrum in poenitentiam, sicut illi in Actibus Apostolorum, qui beati Petri praedicatione compuncti, crediderunt in eum quem crucifixerant, et festinantes tanto expiari peccato, ad donum gratiae cucurrerunt (Act. II, 37-41)? an vero quia virtutes animae ex fide et charitate Dei roborantur, illis impiis utroque vacuis multiplicatae sunt infirmitates animae ex impietate scelerum mortiferis languoribus occupatae? Christus etenim lumen et vita credentium est, et sanitas sub pennis ejus: unde non mirum si et tenebrae et infirmitates eorum multiplicatae sunt in interitum, qui vitam et lucem non receperunt, neque sub pennis ejus manere voluerunt; quos, ut ipse flens in Evangelio suo protestatur, saepe voluit congregare sub alas suas, sicut gallina congregat pullos suos, et noluerunt (Matth. XXIII, 37). Multiplicatis ergo infirmitatibus quo acceleraverunt? Forte in crucem Domini conclamandam, et invito Pilato nefariis vocibus extorquendam, ut adimplerent mensuram patrum suorum, ut isti Dominum Prophetarum occiderent, quorum patres ipsos Prophetas interfecerunt, a quibus hic mundi Salvator esse venturus nuntiabatur. «Postea acceleraverunt: veloces enim pedes eorum ad effundendum sanguinem. Contritio et infelicitas in viis eorum, et viam pacis non cognoverunt» (Psal. XIII, 3), id est Christum qui dicit, «Ego sum via» (Joan. XIV, 6).

6. In consequenti psalmo illud mihi exponi desidero, quid dicat, «De absconditis tuis adimpletus est venter eorum. Saturati sunt porcina,» vel sicut in quibusdam psalteriis scriptum audio, «saturati sunt filiis , et reliquerunt quae superfuerunt parvulis suis.»

7. Rursus in alio psalmo admirari soleo, Filium ad Patrem loqui intelligens, in psalmo quinquagesimo octavo, ubi de Judaeis inimicis, de quibus supra dixerat, «Ecce ipsi loquentur in ore suo, et gladius in labiis eorum,» paulo infra dicit, «Ne occideris eos, nequando obliviscantur Legis tuae. Disperge illos in virtute tua, et destrue eos, Domine.» Quod in his usque in hodiernum diem videmus impleri: destructi sunt enim a veteri sua gloria, sine templo et sine sacrificiis, ac sine Prophetis in omnium gentium dispersione viventes.

Who through these things was not only not believed, but was even blasphemed by them, when they said, This man if he were of God would not heal on the sabbaths (John IX, 16); and, He casteth not out devils but by Beelzebub the prince of the devils (Matt. XII, 24). On account of this mind blinded by hardened impiety, their infirmities and darkness were multiplied.

5. But what is that which he says, Afterwards they accelerated? Whether into repentance, like those in the Acts of the Apostles who, being pricked by the preaching of blessed Peter, believed in Him whom they had crucified, and hastening to be expiated from so great a sin, ran to the gift of grace (Acts II, 37-41)? or rather because the virtues of the soul are strengthened by faith and the charity of God, for those impious ones void of both, the infirmities of the soul were multiplied from the impiety of crimes occupied by deadly languors? For Christ is the light and life of believers, and health under His wings: whence it is no wonder if both their darkness and infirmities were multiplied unto destruction, who received not life and light, nor wished to remain under His wings; whom, as He Himself crying protests in His Gospel, He often wished to gather under His wings, as a hen gathereth her chickens, and they would not (Matt. XXIII, 37). Their infirmities being multiplied, therefore, whither did they accelerate? Perhaps to cry out for the cross of the Lord, and to extort it from an unwilling Pilate with nefarious voices, that they might fill up the measure of their fathers, so that these should kill the Lord of the Prophets, whose fathers killed the Prophets themselves, by whom it was announced that this Savior of the world was to come. Afterwards they accelerated: for their feet are swift to shed blood. Destruction and unhappiness are in their ways, and the way of peace they have not known (Ps. XIII, 3), that is, Christ who says, I am the way (John XIV, 6).

6. In the following psalm I desire this to be explained to me, what it means when it says, "From thy hidden things their belly is filled. They are filled with swine's flesh," or, as I hear it written in certain psalters, "they are filled with sons, and have left what remained over to their little ones."

7. Again in another psalm I am accustomed to marvel, understanding the Son to be speaking to the Father, in the fifty-eighth psalm, where, concerning the hostile Jews, of whom he had said above, "Behold, they will speak with their own mouth, and a sword is in their lips," a little below he says, "Slay them not, lest they ever forget thy Law. Scatter them in thy power, and destroy them, O Lord." Which we see fulfilled in them even to this present day: for they have been cast down from their ancient glory, living without temple and without sacrifices, and without prophets, in a dispersion among all the nations.

Sed quid miramur quod jam per Prophetam pro eis non occidendis rogabat, pro quibus et sub ipso tempore passionis jam ad crucem eum ducentibus precabatur, dicens: «Pater, dimitte eis; non enim sciunt quid faciunt» (Luc. XXIII, 34)? Verum quod adjecit, «Ne unquam obliviscantur Legis tuae,» tanquam propter hoc necessaria esset etiam sine fide Evangelii vita eorum, obscurum mihi fateor. Quid enim his ad salutem, quae sola fide quaeritur, prodest in Legis memoria et meditatione versari; nisi forte propter honorem Legis ipsius, vel generis Abraham, ut etiam in parte terrena carnalis seminis ejus, quae videtur secundum arenam maris computari, Legis antiquae littera perseveret, ne forte aliqui legendo Legem illuminentur ad fidem Christi, qui et Legis et Prophetarum finis est, et in omnibus eorum libris praefiguratus ac prophetatus elucet? aut quia ex ipsis impiis eorum generatio ventura est electorum, qui de singulis tribubus electi, in duodenis millibus designantur (Apoc. VII, 5-8); quibus ipsa revelatio beati Joannis ex voce Angeli praenuntiantis hoc testimonium perhibet, quia comitatui regis aeterni familiarius adhaerebunt penitus immaculati, et humanae conjunctionis expertes? de quibus specialiter ait: «Sequuntur Agnum quocumque ierit, quia cum mulieribus se non coinquinaverunt; virgines enim sunt» (Id. XIV, 4).

8. In sexagesimo septimo praeter alia illud mihi obscurissimum est quod ait, «Verumtamen Deus conquussavit capita inimicorum suorum, verticem capilli perambulantium in delictis suis;» quid sit verticem capilli perambulare in delictis. Non enim dixit, Verticem capitis, sed, «verticem capilli,» qui sine sensu est. An repletum peccatis hominem vult ostendere? Scriptum est: «Omne cor in dolore, a pedibus usque ad caput» (Isai. I, 6). Et paulo infra quod ait, «Lingua canum tuorum ex inimicis ab ipso.» A quo ipso? et numquid canes Dei dici possunt Gentiles, quos ipse in Evangelio canes nominat (Matth. XV, 26)? aut ne forte ipsos canes Dei dicat, quales aestimari possunt, si qui in nomine christiano gentiliter vivant; quorum pars cum infidelibus ponitur, quia Deum quem verbis colunt, factis negant?

CAP. II.

But why do we marvel that already through the Prophet He was asking that they not be slain, for whom also, at the very time of the Passion, while they were already leading Him to the cross, He was praying, saying: "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do" (Luke XXIII, 34)? But what he added, "Lest they ever forget thy Law," as though for this reason their life were necessary even without faith in the Gospel, I confess is obscure to me. For what does it profit them, unto salvation, which is sought by faith alone, to be occupied in the memory and meditation of the Law; unless perhaps for the honor of the Law itself, or of the race of Abraham, so that even in the earthly part of his carnal seed, which seems to be reckoned according to the sand of the sea, the letter of the ancient Law may persist, lest perhaps some, by reading the Law, be illumined unto faith in Christ, who is the end both of the Law and of the Prophets, and shines forth prefigured and prophesied in all their books? Or is it because from these very impious ones the future generation of the elect will come, who, chosen from each of the tribes, are designated in the twelve thousands (Apoc. VII, 5-8); to whom that very revelation of blessed John, from the voice of the Angel foretelling it, bears this testimony, that being wholly unstained and free from human union, they will cleave more closely to the retinue of the eternal King? Of whom he says specifically: "They follow the Lamb wherever he goes, because they have not defiled themselves with women; for they are virgins" (Id. XIV, 4).

8. In the sixty-seventh, besides other things, this is most obscure to me, that he says, "Yet God has crushed the heads of his enemies, the crown of hair of those walking on in their sins"; what it means for "the crown of hair" to walk on in sins. For he did not say, "the crown of the head," but "the crown of the hair," which is without feeling. Or does he wish to show a man filled with sins? It is written: "Every heart in sorrow, from the feet even to the head" (Isai. I, 6). And what he says a little below, "The tongue of thy dogs, from the enemies, from him." From whom, "him"? And can the Gentiles be called God's dogs, whom He Himself names dogs in the Gospel (Matt. XV, 26)? Or does he perhaps call God's dogs those who could be so esteemed, if any live in pagan fashion under the Christian name; a portion of whom is reckoned with the unfaithful, because they deny in their deeds the God whom they worship in words?

CHAPTER II.

9. Haec interim de Psalmis, nunc et de Apostolo quodcumque proponam. Dicit ad Ephesios, quod in alia Epistola (I Cor. XII, 28) dixerat de gradibus vel ordinibus dispositionum Dei, operante Spiritu sancto divisiones gratiarum: «Et quosdam quidem dedit apostolos, quosdam autem prophetas, alios vero Evangelistas, alios autem pastores et doctores ad consummationem sanctorum» (Ephes. IV, 11, 12), et reliqua. Hoc opto distinguas mihi in hac diversitate nominum, quae sit cuique nomini officiorum vel gratiarum proprietas? quid proprium sit Apostolorum, quid Prophetarum, quid Evangelistarum, quid Pastorum, quidve Doctorum. In omnibus enim his diversis nominibus simile et prope unum doctrinae officium video fuisse tractatum. Hos autem Prophetas quos post Apostolos posuit, non puto illos esse qui ordine temporum ante Apostolos fuerunt, sed illos quibus jam sub Apostolis per gratiam donabatur, aut interpretatio Scripturarum et inspectio mentium, aut praedictio temporis secuturi; ut Agabus cernebat, qui et famem instantem praedixit (Act. XI, 28) et quae beatus Paulus in Jerosolymis passurus esset, et verbo denuntiavit, et signo zonae ejus ostendit (Id. XXI, 10, 11). Inter Pastores specialiter et Doctores quid intersit dignoscere volo, quia praepositis Ecclesiae utrumque nomen adscribi solet.

10. Item quod ait ad Timotheum, «Obsecro igitur primum omnium fieri obsecrationes, orationes, postulationes, gratiarum actiones pro omnibus hominibus» (I Tim. II, 1), quaeso exponas mihi, quod discrimen sit in hac diversitate verborum, cum omnia mihi quae gerenda dixit, orationis officio convenire videantur.

11. Item quod ad Romanos ait, interrogo et rogo ut edisseras mihi; multum enim caecutire me fateor in hac Apostoli sententia de Judaeis quod ait, «Secundum Evangelium quidem inimici propter vos; secundum electionem autem charissimi propter patres» (Rom. XI, 28): quomodo iidem et inimici propter nos, qui credidimus ex Gentibus, tanquam non potuerint Gentes credere, nisi Judaei non credidissent; aut ipse unus omnium creator Deus, qui omnes homines salvos fieri vult, et ad agnitionem veritatis venire (I Tim. II, 4), capax non fuerit acquisitionis utriusque, nisi alterum pro altero possideret: deinde «charissimi propter patres?» Si «charissimi,» quomodo aut unde non credant, et inimici Deo esse persistant? «Nonne,» inquit, «qui oderant te, Deus, oderam illos, et super inimicos tuos tabescebam; perfecto odio oderam illos?» Certe hoc puto paterna vox loquitur ad Filium per prophetam in eodem psalmo, ubi supra de parte credentium dixerat: «Mihi autem nimis honorificati sunt amici tui, Deus; nimis confortatus est principatus eorum» (Psal. CXXXVIII, 21, 22, 17).

9. So much for now concerning the Psalms; now let me also set forth whatever I have to propose concerning the Apostle. He says to the Ephesians what he had said in another Letter (I Cor. XII, 28) concerning the degrees or orders of God's dispositions, the Holy Spirit working the divisions of graces: "And some indeed he gave as apostles, and some as prophets, others as evangelists, and others as pastors and teachers, for the perfecting of the saints" (Ephes. IV, 11, 12), and so on. This I wish you would distinguish for me amid this diversity of names: what is the proper character of offices or graces belonging to each name — what is proper to Apostles, what to Prophets, what to Evangelists, what to Pastors, or what to Teachers. For in all these diverse names I see that a similar, and almost one and the same, office of teaching has been treated. But these Prophets whom he placed after the Apostles I do not think to be those who, in the order of time, existed before the Apostles, but those to whom, already under the Apostles, there was granted by grace either the interpretation of the Scriptures and the discernment of minds, or the prediction of a time to come; as Agabus perceived, who both foretold the coming famine (Act. XI, 28) and, concerning what blessed Paul was to suffer at Jerusalem, both announced it in word and showed it by the sign of his girdle (Id. XXI, 10, 11). I wish specifically to discern what difference there is between Pastors and Teachers, since both names are usually applied to those set over the Church.

10. Likewise, as to what he says to Timothy, "I exhort, therefore, that first of all supplications, prayers, petitions, and thanksgivings be made for all men" (I Tim. II, 1), I ask that you explain to me what distinction there is in this diversity of words, since all the things he says are to be done seem to me to belong to the office of prayer.

11. Likewise, as to what he says to the Romans, I ask and beg that you expound it to me; for I confess I am much in the dark concerning this saying of the Apostle about the Jews, where he says, "According to the Gospel indeed they are enemies for your sake; but according to election they are most dear for the sake of the fathers" (Rom. XI, 28): how are the same people both enemies for our sake, we who have believed from among the Gentiles, as though the Gentiles could not have believed unless the Jews had not believed; or how could God himself, the one creator of all, who wills all men to be saved and to come to the knowledge of the truth (I Tim. II, 4), not have been capable of the acquisition of both, without possessing the one in exchange for the other; and then, "most dear for the sake of the fathers"? If they are "most dear," how or from what cause do they not believe, and continue to be enemies of God? "Have I not," he says, "hated those who hated you, O God, and pined away because of your enemies? I hated them with a perfect hatred." Surely I think this is the Father's voice speaking to the Son through the prophet in the same psalm, where above he had said concerning the portion of believers: "But to me your friends, O God, are made exceedingly honorable; their dominion is exceedingly strengthened" (Psal. CXXXVIII, 21, 22, 17).

Quid autem illis prodest ad salutem, quae nonnisi per fidem et gratiam Christi capitur, si propter fidem patrum charissimi Deo sint? cui bono diliguntur quos necesse est propter hoc damnari, quod propter suam infidelitatem a Prophetarum et patriarcharum parentum fide discrepantes, inimici sunt Evangelio Christi? Si ergo charissimi Deo, quomodo peribunt? et si non credunt, quomodo non peribunt? Si propter patres sine suo merito diliguntur, quomodo et propter patres non salvabuntur; sed etsi fuerint Noe, Daniel, et Job in medio eorum, filios impios non salvabunt, soli salvi erunt (Ezech. XIV, 14, 16)?

12. Adhuc aliud obscurius mihi erue de profundo, et in vadum profer. In Epistola Colossensium omnino intelligere non possum quod ait, «Nemo vos seducat, volens in humilitate et religione angelorum, quae non vidit ambulans, frustra inflatus sensu carnis suae, et non tenens caput» (Coloss. II, 18, 19); de quibus angelis dicit: si de inimicis et malis, quae illorum religio, aut quae humilitas, et quis sit magister seductionis hujus, qui per obtentum nescio cujus angelicae religionis, quasi visa et comperta doceat quae non vidit? Sine dubio haeretici, qui doctrinas daemoniorum et sequuntur et promunt, conceptis ab eorum spiritu adinventionibus, quae non viderunt phantasmata, quasi visa fingentes, et pestiferis disputationibus in corda male credula seminantes (I Tim. IV, 1, 2), hi sunt qui non tenent caput, id est Christum fontem veritatis, cujus doctrinae quidquid adversatur, insanum est. Et hi caeci duces caecorum (Matth. XV, 14), de quibus «dici puto: Me dereliquerunt fontem aquae vivae, et foderunt sibi lacus contritos, qui non tenent aquam» (Jer. II, 13).

13. Deinde in subsequenti capite adjecit: «Ne tetigeritis, neque gustaveritis, neque contrectaveritis, quae sunt omnia in interitum ipso usu secundum praecepta et doctrinas hominum, rationem quidem habentia sapientiae in superstitione et hnmilitate, ad non parcendum corpori, non in honore aliquo ad saturitatem carnis» (Coloss. II, 21-23). Quae sunt ista, quibus et rationem sapientiae inesse testatur magister veritatis, et tamen ipsam veritatem religionis inesse abnegat? Anne forte de talibus loquitur, de quibus ad Timotheum dicit: «Habentes autem speciem pietatis, virtutem ejus abnegantes» (II Tim. III, 5)? Rogo ergo specialiter haec capitula duo de Colossensium Epistola per singula mihi verba dissolvas, quia laudabilibus exsecranda permiscuit. Quid est enim tam laudabile, quam ratio sapientiae, et quid tam exsecrabile. quam superstitio erroris?

But what does it profit them toward salvation, which is attained only through faith and the grace of Christ, if they are most dear to God on account of the faith of the fathers? To what good are they loved, who must necessarily be condemned for this reason, that, differing through their own unbelief from the faith of the Prophets and of the patriarchal fathers, they are enemies to the Gospel of Christ? If, then, they are most dear to God, how will they perish? And if they do not believe, how will they not perish? If they are loved for the sake of the fathers, without merit of their own, how are they not also saved for the sake of the fathers? But even if Noah, Daniel, and Job were in their midst, they would not save impious sons; they alone would be saved (Ezech. XIV, 14, 16)?

12. Extract for me another even more obscure thing from the deep, and bring it into the shallows. In the Epistle to the Colossians, I cannot at all understand what he says: "Let no man seduce you, willing in humility and religion of angels, walking in things which he has not seen, in vain puffed up by the sense of his flesh, and not holding the head" (Coloss. II, 18, 19); concerning which angels does he speak: if of enemies and evil ones, what is their religion, or what humility, and who is the master of this seduction, who, under the pretext of I know not what angelic religion, teaches as if seen and discovered things which he has not seen? Without doubt these are heretics, who both follow and bring forth the doctrines of demons, with inventions conceived from their spirit, feigning as if seen the phantasms which they have not seen, and sowing them into ill-believing hearts with pestiferous disputations (I Tim. IV, 1, 2); these are they who do not hold the head, that is, Christ the fountain of truth, to whose doctrine whatever is opposed is insane. And these are blind leaders of the blind (Matth. XV, 14), concerning whom I think it is said: "They have forsaken me, the fountain of living water, and have dug for themselves broken cisterns, which do not hold water" (Jer. II, 13).

13. Then in the following chapter he added: "Touch not, nor taste, nor handle, which are all unto destruction in the very use according to the precepts and doctrines of men, which indeed have a show of wisdom in superstition and humility, and in not sparing the body, not in any honor to the satisfying of the flesh" (Coloss. II, 21-23). What are these things, in which the master of truth testifies that a show of wisdom is present, and yet denies that the truth of religion itself is present? Or perhaps does he speak of such as those of whom he says to Timothy: "Having indeed a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof" (II Tim. III, 5)? I ask you, therefore, specifically to dissolve these two chapters from the Epistle to the Colossians for me word by word, because he has mixed execrable things with laudable ones. For what is so laudable as a show of wisdom, and what so execrable as the superstition of error?

Humilitas quoque et Deo placita, et maxime in vera religione laudabilis, cum ratione sapientiae ipsis datur, de quorum doctrinis et actibus dicitur nobis, «Ne tetigeritis, neque gustaveritis, quae sunt in interitum» (Col. II, 21, 22), quia non sunt ex Deo: et omne quod non est ex fide, peccatum est (Rom. XIV, 23). Deus autem dissipavit consilia sapientium (Ps. XXVII, 10), qui Deo stulti sunt per prudentiam carnis, quae non potest legi Dei esse subjecta (Rom. VIII, 7): scit enim cogitationes hominum, quoniam vanae sunt (Psal. XCIII, 11). Qualem humilitatem, qualemque rationem sapientiae superstitioni ex hominum doctrinis venienti inesse dicat, requiro. Et quod ait, «Ad non parcendum corpori, non in honore alique ad saturitatem carnis» (Id. 23); prorsus haec parum intelligo, quia in eadem sententia magna mihi videtur esse discretio: arbitror enim eum de abstinentia qualibet ficta vel inutili, qualis solet ab haereticis affectari, hoc dicere, «ad non parcendum corpori;» quod autem adjecit, «non in honore aliquo,» quia sancti operis speciem, non in fide veritatis exercentes, nullius gloriae honore vel fructu agunt, quod in magna erroris perversi reprehensione conficiunt, transfigurantes se in ministros justitiae. Sed quod adjecit, «ad saturitatem carnis,» contrarium mihi videtur illi quod dicit, «ad non parcendum corpori:» videtur enim mihi ille non parcere corpori, qui carnem jejuniis domat, sicut Apostolus dicit, «Lividum facio corpus meum, et in servitutem redigo» (I Cor. IX, 27); a quo opere saturitas carnis aliena est: nisi forte et ipsam saturandae carnis curam, quae maxime observantiam religionis praetendentibus probrosa est, non parcere corpori dixit, secundum illud honestatis praeceptum, quod alibi dicit, ut unusquisque suum vas honorifice possidere noverit (I Thess. IV, 4), ut hostiam vivam, placentem Deo suum corpus exhibeat (Rom. XII, 1), non in saturitatem carnis, quia distensio corporis animae sobrietatem necat, et inimica est castitati.

CAP. III.

14. Restat ut aliquid et de evangelicis locis suggeram Beatitudini tuae: non quidem quanta legenti per otium occurrere solent (nec enim nunc vacabit dispersa per libros quaerere, aut in reminiscendis memoriam ventilare), sed vel pauca, quae ad horam dictationis hujus in mentem veniunt, sciscitabor. De resurrectionis forma non grandem, sed plenam fidei instructione epistolam, qua secundae consultationi meae, dum Carthagini hiemares rescripseras, si habes relatam in schedis, rogo ut mittas, aut certe retexas eam mihi; quod tibi facile est.

Humility also is both pleasing to God, and especially laudable in true religion, yet it is given with a show of wisdom to those very ones concerning whose doctrines and acts it is said to us, "Touch not, nor taste, which are unto destruction" (Col. II, 21, 22), because they are not from God: and all that is not from faith is sin (Rom. XIV, 23). But God has dissipated the counsels of the wise (Ps. XXVII, 10), who are foolish before God through the prudence of the flesh, which cannot be subject to the law of God (Rom. VIII, 7): for He knows the thoughts of men, that they are vain (Psal. XCIII, 11). What kind of humility, and what kind of show of wisdom he says is present in superstition coming from the doctrines of men, I require to know. And as for what he says, "In not sparing the body, not in any honor to the satisfying of the flesh" (Id. 23); I understand these things very little, because in the same sentence there seems to me to be a great distinction: for I think he says this concerning any feigned or useless abstinence, such as is wont to be affected by heretics, "in not sparing the body;" but as for what he added, "not in any honor," it is because they perform a show of holy work, not exercising it in the faith of truth, and they act with the honor or fruit of no glory, which they accomplish in great reproach of perverse error, transfiguring themselves into ministers of justice. But what he added, "to the satisfying of the flesh," seems to me contrary to that which he says, "in not sparing the body:" for he seems to me not to spare the body who subdues the flesh with fasts, as the Apostle says, "I buffet my body, and lead it into servitude" (I Cor. IX, 27); from which work the satisfying of the flesh is alien: unless perhaps he called even that care for satisfying the flesh, which is especially shameful to those pretending the observance of religion, a not sparing of the body, according to that precept of honesty which he says elsewhere, that everyone should know how to possess his vessel honorably (I Thess. IV, 4), that he may exhibit his body as a living victim, pleasing to God (Rom. XII, 1), not in the satisfying of the flesh, because the distension of the body kills the sobriety of the soul, and is an enemy to chastity.

CHAPTER III.

14. It remains that I should also suggest something to your Blessedness concerning Gospel passages: not indeed as many as are wont to occur to one reading at leisure (for there is no time now to seek for things dispersed through books, or to fan the memory in recollecting), but I will inquire about even a few which come to mind at the hour of this dictation. Concerning the form of the resurrection, I ask that you send to me, if you have it recorded in your papers, or certainly weave it again for me—which is easy for you—the letter, not long but full of instruction of faith, by which you had replied to my second consultation while you were wintering at Carthage.

Nam etsi scripta non exstat, quia forte brevis epistola, ut tumultuaria tibi inter libros tuos haberi spreta sit, renova eam mihi eodem sensu promptam de thesauro cordis tui, et mitte ad me inter alia responsa quae reddes mihi, ut spero, praestante mihi ac tibi commeatum dierum Christo, ut ea, quo labor tuus in me fructificet, accipiam, secundum haec capitula Scripturarum, de quibus te, qui vides quasi per Deum, interrogavi, ut audiam quid in te vel ex te mihi loquatur Deus.

15. Hoc autem rogo lucere mihi facias, quo modo vel qua ratione Dominus post resurrectionem vel mulieribus, quae primae ad sepulcrum venerunt, vel postea illis duobus in via, deinde Discipulis suis, et non agnitus sit, et agnitus (Luc. XXIV, 16). In eodem enim corpore resurrexit, in quo et passus est. Et quomodo non eadem erat ejusdem corporis forma quae fuerat? aut si eadem erat, quomodo non agnoscebatur ab his qui eam noverant? Illud vero sacramenti esse credo, quod qui in via ambulantibus non fuerat agnitus, in fractione panis revelatus est. Idipsum tamen tuo sensu volo tenere, non meo.

16. Et quod ad Mariam ait, «Noli me tangere, nondum enim ascendi ad Patrem» (Joan. XX, 17): si cominus stantem non sinebatur attingere, quomodo eum tangeret cum ascendisset ad Patrem, nisi forte fidei profectu et mentis ascensu, qua Deus homini fit longinquus aut proximus, et illa dubitaverit de Christo, quem hortulanum putaverat? Ideo fortassis audire meruit, «Noli me tangere.» Indigna enim judicabatur ut tangeret manu Christum, quem necdum fide apprehenderat, nec intellexerat Deum, cum hortulanum putasset, de quo paulo ante ab Angelis audierat: «Quid quaeritis viventem cum mortuis» (Luc. XXIV, 6)? Noli» ergo «me tangere, quia» tibi «nondum ascendi ad Patrem,» qui adhuc tantum homo videor; postea me tanges, cum ad agnoscendum me credendo conscenderis.

17. De illis etiam beatissimi Simeonis verbis quid sentias, edissere mihi, ut sequar sensum tuum: quibus cum ad videndum ex oraculo Dei Christum agente Spiritu venisset in templum, et acceptum sinu benedixisset infantem Dominum, ait ad Mariam: «Ecce hic positus est in ruinam et resurrectionem multorum in Israel, et in signum cui contradicetur; et tuam ipsius animam pertransibit gladius, ut revelentur multorum cordium cogitationes» (Id. II, 34, 35). Numquid de passione Mariae, quae nusquam scripta est, hoc prophetasse credendus est?

For even if it does not exist in writing, because perhaps as a short letter it was despised by you and not kept among your books in the tumult, renew it for me from the treasure of your heart, ready in the same sense, and send it to me among other responses which you will return to me, as I hope, Christ granting a passage of days to me and to you, so that I may receive those things whereby your labor may bear fruit in me, according to these chapters of the Scriptures concerning which I have questioned you, who see as if through God, that I may hear what God speaks in you or from you to me.

15. Moreover, I ask that you make clear to me in what manner or for what reason the Lord, after the resurrection, both to the women who first came to the tomb, or afterwards to those two on the way, and then to His Disciples, was both not recognized and recognized (Luke XXIV, 16). For He rose in the same body in which He also suffered. And how was the form of the same body not the same as it had been? Or if it was the same, how was it not recognized by those who had known it? That indeed I believe to be a mystery (sacramenti), that He who had not been recognized by those walking on the way was revealed in the breaking of bread. Yet I wish to hold that very thing according to your sense, not my own.

16. And as to what He says to Mary, "Touch me not, for I have not yet ascended to the Father" (John XX, 17): if she was not allowed to touch Him standing nearby, how would she touch Him when He had ascended to the Father, unless perhaps by the progress of faith and the ascent of the mind, by which God becomes distant or near to man, and she had doubted concerning Christ, whom she had thought to be a gardener? Therefore perhaps she deserved to hear, "Touch me not." For she was judged unworthy to touch Christ with her hand, whom she had not yet apprehended by faith, nor had understood as God, since she had thought Him a gardener, concerning whom she had heard a little before from the Angels: "Why seek you the living with the dead" (Luke XXIV, 6)? "Touch me not" therefore, "for" to you "I have not yet ascended to the Father," who still seem to be only a man; afterwards you shall touch me, when you have ascended by believing to the point of recognizing me.

17. Also, explain to me what you feel concerning those words of the most blessed Simeon, so that I may follow your sense: who, when he had come into the temple by the Spirit's action to see Christ according to the oracle of God, and having received the infant Lord into his bosom, had blessed Him, said to Mary: "Behold this child is set for the fall and resurrection of many in Israel, and for a sign which shall be contradicted; and a sword shall pierce your own soul also, that the thoughts of many hearts may be revealed" (Id. II, 34, 35). Is it to be believed that he prophesied this concerning the passion of Mary, which is nowhere written?

an vero de materno ejus affectu, quo postea in tempore passionis assistens cruci, qua hoc erat fixum quod ipsa pepererat, maternorum viscerum dolore confixa est; et animam illius, illa quae ejus secundum carnem filium ipsa spectante confoderat, crucis rhomphaea penetrabat? Video enim et in Psalmis de Joseph ita dictum esse, «Humiliaverunt in compedibus pedes ejus; ferrum pertransiit animam ejus «(Psal. CIV, 18), sicut in Evangelio dixit Simeon, «Et tuam ipsius animam pertransibit gladius (Luc. II, 33).» Non ait, Carnem, sed «animam», in qua pietatis affectio continetur, et doloris aculeus quasi gladius operatur; cum aut aliqua carnis suae injuria afficitur; ut Joseph, qui non mortis, sed injuriarium pertulit passiones, in servum venditus, et in reum vinculatus, et carceri datus: aut cum affectionis internae tristitia vel dolore cruciatur; ut in Maria, quam utique ad crucem Domini, in quo tunc sui tantum corporis filium cogitabat, materna mens duxerat, ut cum eum vidisset mortuum, humana infirmitate lugeret, sepeliendumque colligeret, nihil sibi de ipsius resurrectione praesumens, quia subsecuturae admirationis fidem in oculis posita passionis poena caecabat. Quamvis eamdem adstantem cruci suae Dominus non morientis infirmitate trepidans consolatus sit, sed ipsam, qua obibat volens, in potestate habens mortem, plena virtute viventis, et constantia resurrecturi de cruce admonet, dicens de beato apostolo Joanne. «Mulier, ecce filius tuus;» itemque illi ibidem consistenti. «Ecce mater tua» (Joan. XIX, 26, 27). Jam scilicet ab humana fragilitate qua erat natus ex femina, per crucis mortem demigrans in aeternitatem Dei, ut esset in gloria Dei Patris, delegat homini jura pietatis humanae, et ex discipulis suis adolescentiorem eligit, ut convenienter assignet virgini apostolo virginem matrem, duo pariter in eadem sententia docens: formam pietatis relinquens nobis, cum est de matre sollicitus, ut quam relinquebat corpore, non relinqueret cura, sed nec corpore relicturus, quia quem videbat morientem, mox erat visura redivivum; et illud quod ad fidem omnium pertineret, salutiferum pietatis suae sacramentum arcana di vini ratione consilii sub hac voce consignans , ut alii matrem delegaret pro matre habendam, et vice sua consolandam, atque illi vicissim novum filium vice corporis sui traderet, imo, ut ita dixerim, gigneret: quo ostenderet eam praeter se, qui ex ea virgine natus esset, nec habuisse filium, nec habere; quia nec Salvator tantopere curam de solatio habuisset ejus, si illi unicus non fuisset.

Or rather concerning her maternal affection, by which later, standing by the cross at the time of the passion, where that which she herself had brought forth was fixed, she was pierced by the pain of her maternal bowels; and the sword of the cross penetrated her soul, those things which had pierced her son according to the flesh while she was looking on? For I see that in the Psalms it was said thus of Joseph, "They humbled his feet in fetters; the iron passed through his soul" (Psal. CIV, 18), just as Simeon said in the Gospel, "And a sword shall pierce your own soul" (Luke II, 33). He did not say "Flesh," but "soul," in which the affection of piety is contained, and the sting of pain works as a sword; either when it is affected by some injury to its flesh, as Joseph, who endured not the passions of death, but of injuries, sold as a slave, and bound as a criminal, and given to prison: or when it is tortured by the sadness or pain of internal affection; as in Mary, whom surely her maternal mind had led to the cross of the Lord, in whom she then thought only of the son of her own body, that when she had seen Him dead, she might mourn with human infirmity, and gather Him for burial, presuming nothing for herself concerning His resurrection, because the penalty of the passion placed before her eyes blinded the faith of the wonder that was to follow. Although the Lord, standing by her cross, did not comfort her as one trembling with the infirmity of a dying person, but having death itself in His power, through which He was dying willingly, with the full virtue of one living and the constancy of one about to rise, He admonishes her from the cross, saying of the blessed apostle John. "Woman, behold your son;" and likewise to him standing there. "Behold your mother" (John XIX, 26, 27). Now, indeed, departing from human fragility by which He had been born of a woman, through the death of the cross into the eternity of God, that He might be in the glory of God the Father, He delegates to man the rights of human piety, and chooses the younger from among His disciples, that He might appropriately assign the virgin mother to the virgin apostle, teaching two things equally in the same sentence: leaving to us a form of piety, when He is solicitous for His mother, that he whom He was leaving in body He should not leave in care—but neither was He about to leave her in body, because Him whom she saw dying she was soon to see restored to life— and that which should pertain to the faith of all, sealing the health-bringing mystery (sacramentum) of His piety by the secret reason of the divine counsel under this voice, so that He might delegate another mother to be held in place of a mother, and to be comforted in His stead, and in turn deliver to him a new son in place of His body, or rather, as I might say, give birth to one: by which He might show that she, besides Him who had been born of her as a virgin, had neither had a son nor had one; because the Savior would not have had such great care for her comfort if he had not been her only son.

18. Sed redeamus ad verba Simeonis, in quorum clausula intellectum meum caligare fateor: «Et tuam,» inquit, «animam pertransibit framea» vel «gladius, ut revelentur multorum cordium cogitationes.» Secundum litteram hoc mihi penitus obscurum est; quia nec Mariam beatissimam usquam legimus occisam, ut de corporali gladio sanctus ille ei futuram passionem prophetasse videatur. Sed et quod subjecit, «Ut revelentur multorum cordium cogitationes. Scrutans» enim, inquit, «corda et renes Deus» (Psal. VII, 10). Et de futuro judicio Apostolus ait, quia tunc «manifestabit Deus operta cordium et occulta tenebrarum» (I Cor. IV, 5). Itidem Apostolus, spiritualiter exprimens arma coelestia, quibus in interiori nostro debeamus armari, gladium spiritus dicit verbum Dei (Ephes. VI, 17); de quo ad Hebraeos ait, «Vivus est sermo Dei, et efficax, et penetrabilior omni gladio ancipiti; pertingens,» inquit, «usque ad divisionem animae et spiritus» (Hebr. IV, 12), et reliqua quae nosti. Quid ergo mirum, si istius verbi ignita vis, et ancipitis gladii penetrabilior acies, ei sancti Joseph olim, et postea beatae Mariae animam pertransivit? Nam neque in illius neque in hujus corpore ferrum transisse cognovimus. Atque ut magis pateat ibi Prophetam ferrum pro verbi gladio posuisse, statim subsequente versiculo ait: «Sermo Domini ignivit illum.» Sermo enim Dei et ignis et gladius est, Verbo ipso Deo utrumque dicente de se: «Ignem» enim, inquit, «veni mittere in terram; et quid volo nisi ut jam accendatur» (Luc. XII, 49)? Item alibi dicit: «Non veni pacem mittere, sed gladium» (Matth. X, 34). Vides eum unam vim doctrinae suae diverso ignis et gladii nomine designasse. Aut quomodo Mariae illata per gladium passio vel tribulatio perstaret? Itaque hoc scire cupio, quid ad Mariam pertineret, ut revelarentur multorum cordium cogitationes; aut ubi apparuit quia ex eo quod animam ejus, sive carnalis in ferro, sive spiritualis gladius in verbo Dei pertransivit, exinde multorum cordium cogitationes revelatae sunt. Expone ergo hanc maxime de verbis Simeonis clausulam mihi, quia lucere non dubito sanctae animae tuae, quae de interioris oculi puritate meruit illuminationem Spiritus sancti, per quem scrutari et inspicere possit etiam alta Dei. Deus misereatur mei per orationes tuas, et illuminet vultum suum super me per lucernam verbi tui, sancte domine, beatissime frater in Domino Christo unanime, magister meus in fide veritatis, et susceptor meus in visceribus charitatis .

EPISTOLA CXXII . Augustinus clero et populo Hipponensi excusat absentiam suam, adhortans ut in sublevandis pauperibus solito sint alacriores, ob afflictiones temporarias. Dilectissimis fratribus conclericis et universae plebi, AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

18. But let us return to the words of Simeon, in the conclusion of which I confess my understanding is darkened: "And a sword," he says, "or a blade, shall pierce your soul, that the thoughts of many hearts may be revealed." According to the letter this is altogether obscure to me; for we nowhere read that the most blessed Mary was slain, so that that holy man might seem to have prophesied a future passion to her by a corporal sword. But also what he added, "That the thoughts of many hearts may be revealed." For He says, "God searching the hearts and reins" (Psal. VII, 10). And concerning the future judgment the Apostle says, that then "God will make manifest the hidden things of the hearts and the secrets of darkness" (I Cor. IV, 5). Likewise the Apostle, expressing spiritually the celestial arms with which we ought to be armed in our inner man, calls the sword of the spirit the word of God (Ephes. VI, 17); concerning which he says to the Hebrews, "The word of God is living, and effectual, and more piercing than any two-edged sword; reaching," he says, "even to the division of the soul and the spirit" (Hebr. IV, 12), and the rest which you know. What wonder then, if the ignited force of this word, and the more piercing edge of the two-edged sword, pierced the soul of that holy Joseph once, and afterwards of the blessed Mary? For we do not know that iron passed through the body of either the former or the latter. And that it may more clearly appear that the Prophet there placed iron for the sword of the word, he says in the immediately following verse: "The word of the Lord ignited him." For the word of God is both fire and sword, the Word who is God Himself saying both of Himself: "For I have come," He says, "to cast fire upon the earth; and what will I but that it be already kindled" (Luc. XII, 49)? Likewise elsewhere He says: "I have not come to send peace, but a sword" (Matth. X, 34). You see that he designated the one force of his doctrine by the different names of fire and sword. Or how would the passion or tribulation brought upon Mary through a sword endure? Therefore I desire to know this, what it pertained to Mary that the thoughts of many hearts should be revealed; or where it appeared that from the fact that a sword, whether of corporal iron or the spiritual sword in the word of God, pierced her soul, from thence the thoughts of many hearts were revealed. Explain therefore this conclusion of Simeon's words especially to me, because I do not doubt it is clear to your holy soul, which from the purity of the inner eye has merited the illumination of the Holy Spirit, through whom it can search and inspect even the deep things of God. May God have mercy on me through your prayers, and illuminate His face upon me through the lamp of your word, holy lord, most blessed brother of one mind in the Lord Christ, my master in the faith of truth, and my protector in the bowels of charity.

EPISTOLA CXXII. Augustine to the clergy and people of Hippo excuses his absence, exhorting them that in relieving the poor they should be more eager than usual, on account of temporary afflictions. To the most beloved brothers fellow-clergy and the whole people, AUGUSTINE, sends greeting in the Lord.

1. In primis peto charitatem vestram, et per Christum obsecro, ne vos mea contristet absentia corporalis. Nam spiritu et cordis affectu puto vos non dubitare nullo modo me a vobis posse discedere; quamvis me amplius contristet, quam forte vos ipsos, quod infirmitas mea sufficere non potest omnibus curis, quas de me exigunt membra Christi, quibus me et timor ejus et charitas servire compellit. Illud enim noverit Dilectio vestra, nunquam me absentem fuisse licentiosa libertate, sed necessaria servitute, quae saepe sanctos fratres et collegas meos, etiam labores marinos et transmarinos compulit sustinere; a quibus me semper non indevotio mentis, sed minus idonea valetudo corporis excusavit. Proinde, dilectissimi fratres, sic agite, ut, quod ait Apostolus, sive adveniens et videns vos, sive absens, audiam de vobis, quia statis in uno spiritu, uno animo collaborantes fidei evangelicae (Phil. I, 27). Si vos aliqua molestia temporalis exagitat, ipsa vos magis admonere debet quemadmodum de illa vita cogitare debeatis, ubi sine aliquo labore vivatis, evadentes non molestas angustias temporis parvi, sed horrendas poenas ignis aeterni. Nam si modo tanta cura, tanta intentione, tanto labore agitis, ne in aliquos cruciatus transitorios incidatis; quantum vos oportet esse sollicitos, ut sempiternas miserias fugiatis! Et si mors sic timetur, quae finit temporalem laborem; quomodo timenda est quae mittit in aeternum dolorem! Et si deliciae seculi hujus, breves et sordidae, sic amantur; quanto vehementius futuri seculi gaudia pura et infinita quaerenda sunt! Ista cogitantes nolite esse pigri in operibus bonis, ut ad vestri seminis messem suo tempore veniatis.

2. Nuntiatum enim est mihi quod morem vestrum de vestiendis pauperibus fueritis obliti; ad quam misericordiam cum praesens essem vos exhortatus sum, et nunc exhortor, ne vos vincat et pigros faciat contritio hujus mundi, cui talia videtis accidere qualia Dominus et Redemptor noster, qui mentiri non potest, ventura praedixit. Non solum ergo non debetis minus facere opera misericordiae, sed etiam debetis amplius quam soletis. Sicut enim ad loca munitiora festinantius migrant, qui ruinam domus vident contritis parietibus imminere; sic corda christiana quanto magis sentiunt mundi hujus ruinam crebrescentibus tribulationibus propinquare, tanto magis debent bona quae in terra recondere disponebant, in thesaurum coelestem impigra celeritate transferre, ut si aliquis humanus casus acciderit, gaudeat qui de loco ruinoso emigravit: si autem nihil tale fuerit subsecutum, non contristetur qui quandoque morituros, immortali Domino, ad quem venturus est, bona propria commendavit.

1. In the first place, I ask your charity, and through Christ I beseech you, let not my bodily absence sadden you. For in spirit and in heart's affection I think you do not doubt that in no way can I depart from you; although it saddens me more than perhaps yourselves, that my infirmity cannot suffice for all the cares which the members of Christ demand of me, whom both His fear and charity compel me to serve. For your Love should know that I have never been absent with licentious liberty, but by necessary servitude, which has often compelled my holy brothers and colleagues to endure even labors of the sea and across the sea; from which not a lack of devotion of mind, but a less suitable health of body has always excused me. Accordingly, most beloved brothers, so act that, as the Apostle says, whether coming and seeing you, or absent, I may hear of you, that you stand fast in one spirit, with one mind striving together for the faith of the gospel (Phil. I, 27). If any temporary trouble agitates you, it ought the more to admonish you how you should think of that life where you may live without any labor, escaping not the troublesome straits of a short time, but the horrendous punishments of eternal fire. For if now with such care, with such intention, with such labor you act, lest you fall into some transitory torments; how much it behooves you to be solicitous, that you may flee eternal miseries! And if death is so feared, which finishes temporal labor; how is it to be feared which sends into eternal pain! And if the delights of this world, short and sordid, are so loved; how much more vehemently the pure and infinite joys of the future world are to be sought! Thinking on these things, be not sluggish in good works, that you may come to the harvest of your seed in its time.

2. For it has been announced to me that you have forgotten your custom of clothing the poor; to which mercy I exhorted you when I was present, and now I exhort you, let not the contrition of this world overcome you and make you sluggish, to which world you see such things happen as our Lord and Redeemer, who cannot lie, foretold would come. Not only, therefore, ought you not to do less works of mercy, but you ought even to do more than you are wont. For as they migrate more hastily to more fortified places who see the ruin of a house imminent with shattered walls; so Christian hearts, the more they feel the ruin of this world approach with frequent tribulations, the more they ought to transfer with unwearied celerity the goods which they were disposing to store in the earth into the celestial treasure, so that if any human accident happens, he may rejoice who has emigrated from a ruinous place: but if no such thing follows, he should not be saddened who, when he is at some time to die, has commended his own goods to the immortal Lord, to whom he is to come.

Itaque, fratres mei dilectissimi, ex eo quod quisque habet, secundum suas vires quas ipse novit, facite quod soletis, alacriore animo quam soletis, et inter omnes seculi hujus molestias apostolicam exhortationem corde retinete, ubi ait: Dominus in proximo est; nihil solliciti fueritis (Philipp. IV, 5, 6). Talia mihi de vobis nuntientur, quibus noverim, non propter meam praesentiam, sed propter Dei praeceptum, qui nunquam est absens, vos solere facere quod multis annis me praesente, et aliquando etiam me absente fecistis. Dominus vos in pace conservet; et, dilectissimi fratres, orate pro nobis.

Therefore, my most beloved brothers, from that which each one has, according to his own strength which he himself knows, do what you are wont, with a more cheerful mind than you are wont, and among all the troubles of this world retain the apostolic exhortation in your heart, where he says: The Lord is at hand; be solicitous for nothing (Philipp. IV, 5, 6). Let such things be reported to me of you, by which I may know, not on account of my presence, but on account of the precept of God, who is never absent, that you are wont to do what for many years you did while I was present, and sometimes also while I was absent. May the Lord keep you in peace; and, most beloved brothers, pray for us.