SAINT AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO

LETTERS

Epistolas

VOLUME III · VI

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

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Epistola CXXIII.

Hieronymus Augustino quaedam per aenigma renuntians.

Multi utroque claudicant pede , et ne fractis quidem cervicibus inclinantur, habentes affectum erroris pristini, cum praedicandi eamdem non habeant libertatem. Sancti fratres qui cum nostra sunt parvitate, praecipue sanctae ac venerabiles filiae tuae suppliciter te salutant. Fratres tuos, dominum meum Alypium, et dominum meum Evodium, ut meo nomine salutes, precor coronam tuam. Capta Jerusalem tenetur a Nabuchodonosor , nec Jeremiae vult audire consilia; quin potius Aegyptum desiderat, ut moriatur in Taphnes, et ibi servitute pereat sempiterna.

CLASSIS TERTIA. Epistolae quas ab anno habitae collationis cum Donatistis Pelagianaeque haereseos in Africa deprehensae, scripsit Augustinus deinceps reliquo tempore vitae suae, id est ab anno 411 ad 430.

EPISTOLA CXXIV. Augustinus ad Albinam, Pinianum et Melaniam ipsius desiderio venientes in Africam et Thagastae commorantes excusat se, quod illuc ad eos visendos pergere, non tam per hiemis rigorem, quam per statum Hipponensis Ecclesiae titubantem haud sibi licuisset.

Dominis in Domino insignibus, et sanctitate charissimis ac desideratissimis fratribus, ALBINAE, PINIANO, et MELANIAE, AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

1. Cum habitu valetudinis vel natura frigus ferre non possim, nunquam tamen majores aestus, quam ista hieme tam horrenda, perpeti potui, quod ad vos, ad quos volatu maria transeunda fuerant, tam in proximo constitutos, tam de longinquo visendi nos gratia venientes, non dicam pergere, sed volare non potui. Et forte Sanctitas vestra eamdem hiemalem asperitatem poenae meae tantum cause putaverit; absit, charissimi. Quid enim grave ac molestum, vel etiam periculosum habent imbres isti, quod non mihi subeundum ac ferendum fuit, ut ad vos venirem, tanta in tantis malis nostris solatia, in hac generatione tortuosa ac perversa, tam ardenter accensa de summo lumine lumina, suscepta humilitate sublimia, et contempta claritate clariora? Simul etiam fruerer carnalis patriae meae tam spirituali felicitate, quae vos etiam praesentes habere meruit: de quibus absentibus, cum id quod nati estis, et quod gratia Christi facti estis, audiret, quamvis charitate crederet, tamen, ne non crederetur, narrare forsitan verebatur.

Epistola CXXIII.

Jerome to Augustine renouncing certain things through an enigma.

Many halt on both feet, and are not inclined even with broken necks, having an affection for their former error, since they do not have the same liberty of preaching it. The holy brothers who are with our littleness, especially your holy and venerable daughters, suppliantly salute you. That you may salute your brothers, my lord Alypius and my lord Evodius, in my name, I pray your crown. Jerusalem having been captured is held by Nebuchadnezzar, nor does it wish to hear the counsels of Jeremiah; but rather it desires Egypt, that it may die in Tahpanhes, and there perish in eternal servitude.

THIRD CLASS. Letters which Augustine wrote successively for the rest of his life, from the year 411 to 430, starting from the year of the conference held with the Donatists and the detection of the Pelagian heresy in Africa.

EPISTLE CXXIV. Augustine excuses himself to Albina, Pinianus, and Melania, who were coming to Africa at his desire and staying in Thagaste, for not having been permitted to go there to visit them, not so much on account of the rigor of winter as because of the unstable state of the Church of Hippo.

To the lords distinguished in the Lord, and most dear in holiness and most desired brothers, ALBINA, PINIANUS, and MELANIA, AUGUSTINE, greeting in the Lord.

1. Although by the state of my health or by nature I cannot bear the cold, yet never have I been able to endure greater heats than in this so horrendous winter, because I was unable, I will not say to proceed, but even to fly toward you, for whom the seas were to be crossed by flight, established so near, coming from so far for the sake of visiting us. And perhaps your Holiness may have thought that same winter harshness to be the only cause of my punishment; far be it, most dear ones. For what is grave and troublesome, or even dangerous, in these rains, which I ought not to have undergone and endured in order to come to you, such great comforts in the midst of our so great evils, in this crooked and perverse generation, lights so ardently kindled from the highest light, sublime by the humility assumed, and clearer by the clarity despised? At the same time also I would enjoy the so spiritual happiness of my carnal country, which deserved to have you even present: of whom when absent, when it heard that which you were born, and that which by the grace of Christ you have become, although it believed by charity, yet, lest it should not be believed, it was perhaps afraid to narrate.

2. Dicam igitur quare non venerim, et quibus malis a tanto bono impeditus sim; ut non solum a vobis veniam, sed etiam vestris orationibus, ab illo qui in vobis quod ei vivitis operatur, merear misericordiam. Populus Hipponensis, cui me Dominus servum dedit, cum ex magna et pene ex omni parte ita infirmus sit, ut pressura etiam levioris tribulationis possit graviter aegrotare, nunc tam magna tribulatione caeditur, ut etiamsi non sic esset infirmus, vix eam cum aliqua salute animi sustineret. Eum autem modo cum regressus sum, periculosissime scandalizatum comperi de absentia mea: vestris autem, de quorum spirituali robore gaudemus in Domino, sanis utique faucibus sapit quomodo dictum sit, Quis infirmatur, et ego non infirmor? quis scandalizatur, et ego non uror (II Cor. XI, 29)? Praesertim quoniam multi sunt hic, qui detrahendo nobis, caeterorum animos a quibus diligi videmur, adversus nos perturbare conantur, ut locum in eis diabolo faciant. Cum autem irascuntur nobis de quorum salute satagimus, magnum illis consilium vindicandi, est libido moriendi, non in corpore, sed in corde, ubi funus occulte prius suo putore sentitur, quam nostra cogitatione prospicitur. Huic meae sollicitudini procul dubio libenter ignoscitis; praesertim quoniam si succenseretis, et velletis ulcisci, nihil fortasse gravius inveniretis quam id quod patior, cum vos Thagastae non video. Spero autem vestris adjutus orationibus, quod mihi ad vos ubicumque in Africa fueritis, venire quantocius concedetur, cum hoc quo nunc detentus sum, praeterierit; si haec civitas in qua laboramus, digna non est, quia nec ego audeo dignam putare, quae nobiscum de vestra praesentia collaetetur.

EPISTOLA CXXV. Cum Hipponem ad invisendum Augustinum venisset Pinianus, ibique rei sacrae interesset, subito populi tumultu ad presbyterium postulatus fuit; nec evadere permissus donec jurasset non se Hippone discessurum, atque si quando illi ad suscipiendum clericatum consentire placuisset, nonnisi in ipsa Hipponensi Ecclesia suscepturum hoc munus. Conquesti sunt Albina filiique ipsius (puta Pinianus et Melania) Hipponenses pecuniae cupiditate virum praedivitem vindicare sibi sategisse, nulliusque vigoris esse volebant juramentum vi metuque extortum. Quam ob causam Augustinus ad Alypium scribit quomodo suspicionibus et querelis istis sit occurrendum, quave religione exsolvendum juramentum datum a Piniano.

Domino beatissimo et venerabiliter charissimo fratri et consacerdoti ALYPIO, et qui tecum sunt fratribus, AUGUSTINUS, et qui mecum sunt fratres, in Domino salutem.

2. I will say therefore why I did not come, and by what evils I have been hindered from so great a good; so that I may deserve not only pardon from you, but also, through your prayers, mercy from Him who works in you that for which you live unto Him. The people of Hippo, to whom the Lord gave me as a servant, since in great and almost in every part it is so weak that the pressure even of a lighter tribulation can make it gravely ill, is now struck by such a great tribulation that even if it were not so weak, it would scarcely sustain it with any health of the soul. But now when I returned, I found it most dangerously scandalized by my absence; and certainly to your healthy palates, in whose spiritual strength we rejoice in the Lord, it tastes how it has been said: Who is weak, and I am not weak? who is scandalized, and I burn not? (2 Cor. 11:29). Especially since there are many here who, by detracting from us, try to perturb against us the minds of others, by whom we seem to be loved, that they may make a place in them for the devil. But when they are angry with us, for whose salvation we are busy, their great plan of revenge is the lust of dying, not in the body, but in the heart, where the funeral is secretly felt by its own stench before it is foreseen by our thought. Without doubt you will willingly forgive this my solicitude; especially since if you were to be angry and wished to be revenged, you would perhaps find nothing more grave than that which I suffer when I do not see you in Thagaste. But I hope, aided by your prayers, that it will be granted to me to come to you as soon as possible wherever you may be in Africa, when this by which I am now detained shall have passed; if this city in which we labor is not unworthy, for neither do I dare to think it worthy, to rejoice together with us in your presence.

EPISTLE CXXV. When Pinianus had come to Hippo to visit Augustine, and was present there at the sacred rites, by a sudden tumult of the people he was demanded for the presbyterate; nor was he permitted to escape until he had sworn that he would not depart from Hippo, and that if ever it should please him to consent to undertaking the clerical office, he would undertake this duty only in the Church of Hippo itself. Albina and her children (namely Pinianus and Melania) complained that the people of Hippo, from greed for money, had busied themselves to claim for themselves a very wealthy man, and they wished that an oath extorted by force and fear should be of no vigor. For which reason Augustine writes to Alypius how these suspicions and complaints should be met, and with what religious care the oath given by Pinianus should be fulfilled.

To the most blessed lord and venerably most dear brother and fellow-priest ALYPIUS, and to the brothers who are with you, AUGUSTINE, and the brothers who are with me, greeting in the Lord.

1. Dolemus quidem graviter, nec fieri potest ut parvipendamus quod in injurias Sanctitatis tuae populus Hipponensis tanta clamavit; sed multo gravius dolendum est, frater bone, talia de nobis existimari, quam illa clamari. Quando enim nos credimur cupiditate pecuniae, non dilectione justitiae servos Dei velle retinere, nonne optandum est ut qui hoc credunt, occultum cordis sui voce testentur, ac sic aliqua, si fieri potest, tanto majora remedia requirantur, quam ut taciti pereant perniciosis suspicionibus venenati? Quapropter magis satagendum est, unde etiam priusquam hoc fieret locuti sumus, quomodo persuadeatur hominibus, quibus nos ad exemplum bonorum operum praebere praecipimur, falsum esse quod suspicantur, quam quomodo arguendi sint, qui suspiciones suas vocibus verbisque declarant.

2. Proinde ego sanctae Albinae non succenseo, nec arguendam judico, sed a tali suspicione sanandam. Quae, quia non in meam personam eadem verba direxit, sed tanquam de Hipponensibus questa est, quod aperuerint cupiditatem suam, se non clericatus, sed pecuniae causa hominem divitem, atque hujusmodi pecuniae contemptorem et largitorem apud se tenere voluisse; tamen quod de nobis senserit, pene clamavit: nec ipsa tantum, verum etiam sancti filii ejus, qui hoc etiam ipsa die in abside dixerunt. Hos ergo, ut dixi, magis sanandos ab hujusmodi suspicionibus, quam propter has arguendos existimo. Ubi enim nobis a spinis talibus securitas et requies praeparari vel praeberi potest, si adversus nos in tam sanctis nobisque charissimis cordibus nostris pullulare potuere? De te quippe imperitum vulgus hoc sensit; de nobis, lumina Ecclesiae: unde quid magis dolendum sit, vides. Utrumque autem non accusandum censeo, sed sanandum: homines enim sunt, et de hominibus talia, licet falsa, non tamen incredibilia suspicantur. Nam utique non usque adeo desipiunt tales homines, ut credant populum suam desiderare pecuniam; praesertim jam experti quod nihil ex ea populus Thagastensis accepit: sic ergo et Hipponensis. Verum omnis haec invidia non nisi in clericos aestuat, maximeque in episcopos, quorum videtur praeminere dominatus, qui uti fruique rebus Ecclesiae tanquam possessores et domini existimantur. Ad istam cupiditatem tam noxiam atque mortiferam, si fieri potest, mi Alypi, non aedificentur per nos infirmi. Recordare quid locuti fuerimus, antequam ista tentatio, quae plus ad hoc cogit, accideret. Ex hoc potius conferendo, adjuvante Domino, providere conemur; nec nobis sufficiat nostra conscientia, quia non talis causa est ubi debeat sola sufficere. Si enim servi Dei non reprobi sumus, si aliquid viget in nobis illius igniculi quo charitas non quaerit quae sua sunt; providere utique debemus bona, non solum coram Deo, sed etiam coram hominibus, ne tranquillam aquam bibentes in nostra conscientia, pedibus incautis agere convincamur, ut oves dominicae turbidam bibant.

1. We grieve indeed heavily, nor can it be that we should value lightly what the people of Hippo cried out so much to the injury of your Holiness; but it is much more heavily to be grieved for, good brother, that such things are thought of us, than that those things are cried out. For when we are believed to wish to retain the servants of God from greed for money, and not from love of justice, is it not to be desired that those who believe this should testify by their voice to the secret of their heart, and thus some remedies, as much greater as possible, be sought, rather than that they should perish in silence, poisoned by pernicious suspicions? Wherefore we must be more busy about this, of which we spoke even before this happened, how men, to whom we are commanded to show ourselves as an example of good works, may be persuaded that what they suspect is false, rather than how they who declare their suspicions in voices and words are to be rebuked.

2. Accordingly, I am not angry with the holy Albina, nor do I judge that she should be rebuked, but healed from such a suspicion. She, because she did not direct those same words toward my person, but complained as if of the people of Hippo, that they had opened their greed, wishing to keep with them for the sake not of the clerical office, but of money, a rich man, and a despiser and giver of such money; yet she almost cried out what she felt about us: nor she alone, but even her holy children, who said this also on that very day in the apse. These, therefore, as I said, I think are more to be healed from suspicions of this kind, than to be rebuked on account of them. For where can security and rest from such thorns be prepared or offered for us, if they could sprout against us in hearts so holy and most dear to us? Certainly the unskilled common people felt this of you; of us, the lights of the Church: wherefore you see what is more to be grieved for. But I think that neither ought to be accused, but healed: for they are men, and they suspect of men such things as, although false, are yet not incredible. For certainly such men do not dote to such an extent as to believe that the people desire their money; especially having already experienced that the people of Thagaste received nothing from it: thus also therefore the people of Hippo. But all this envy seethes only against the clerics, and especially against the bishops, whose dominion seems to be prominent, and who are thought to use and enjoy the things of the Church as possessors and lords. In regard to that greed so noxious and deadly, if it is possible, my Alypius, let not the weak be built up through us. Remember what we spoke, before this temptation, which more compels to this, happened. By conferring on this rather, with the Lord helping, let us try to provide; nor let our conscience suffice for us, because it is not such a cause where it alone ought to suffice. For if we are not reprobate servants of God, if anything of that little flame flourishes in us by which charity seeks not its own; we ought certainly to provide good things, not only before God, but also before men, lest drinking tranquil water in our conscience, we be convicted of acting with incautious feet, so that the sheep of the Lord drink troubled water.

3. Nam quod scripsisti, de genere jurationis violenter extortae, ut inter nos requiramus, obsecro te ne res lucidissimas disputatio nostra faciat obscuras. Si enim certa mors intentaretur, ut aliquid illicitum ac nefarium servus Dei se juraret esse facturum, mori malle quam jurare debuerat, ne jurationem scelere impleret. Nunc vero cum tantummodo populi perseverantissimus clamor, ad nullum nefas hominem cogeret, sed ad id quod si fieret, licite fieret; cumque metueretur quidem ne aliqui perditi, qui multitudini etiam bonorum plerumque miscentur, occasione seditionis et quasi justae indignationis inventa, in aliquam vim sceleratam rapinarum cupiditate prorumperent, sed tamen illud quod metuebatur esset incertum; quis censeat propter incerta, non dico damna et quaslibet injurias corporales, sed propter ipsam mortem cavendam, certum perjurium debere committi? Nescio quis ille Regulus nihil in Scripturis sanctis de impietate falsae jurationis audierat, nihil de Zachariae falce didicerat, et nimirum Carthaginensibus non per sacramenta Christi, sed per daemonum inquinamenta juraverat; et tamen certissimos cruciatus et horrendi exempli mortem, non ut juraret necessitate pertimuit, sed libera voluntate quia juraverat, ne pejeraret excepit. Et Romana tunc illa censura noluit habere, non in numero sanctorum, sed in numero senatorum, nec in coelesti gloria, sed in terrestri curia, non solum eos qui metu mortis crudeliumque poenarum apertissime pejerare, quam ad immanes hostes remeare maluerant; sed etiam illum qui reatu perjurii se putaverat absolutum, quia post jurationem ficta nescio qua necessitate redierat. Ita non attenderunt, qui eum senatu pepulerunt, quid ipse jurando cogitasset, sed quid ab illo quibus juraverat exspectarent. Nec legerant quod nos usquequaque cantamus: Qui jurat proximo suo, et non decipit (Psal. XIV 4). Solemus haec, quamvis in hominibus a Christi gratia et nomine alienis, cum ingenti admiratione laudare; et adhuc in Libris divinis inquirendum putamus, utrum aliquando licite pejeremus, ubi nobis, ne jurandi facilitate in perjurium prolabamur, etiam praeceptum est ne juremus!

4. Illud sane rectissime dici non ambigo, non secundum verba jurantis, sed secundum exspectationem illius cui juratur, quam novit ille qui jurat, fidem jurationis impleri. Nam verba difficillime comprehendunt, maxime breviter, sententiam cujus a jurante fides exigitur. Unde perjuri sunt, qui servatis verbis, exspectationem eorum quibus juratum est deceperunt; et perjuri non sunt, qui etiam verbis non servatis, illud quod ab eis cum jurarent exspectatum est, impleverunt.

3. For as to what you wrote, concerning the kind of oath violently extorted, that we should inquire among ourselves, I beseech you let not our disputation make very clear things obscure. For if certain death were threatened, so that a servant of God should swear that he would do something illicit and nefarious, he ought to have preferred to die rather than to swear, lest he should fulfill the oath by a crime. But now when only the most persistent clamor of the people compelled the man to no wickedness, but to that which if it were done, would be done licitly; and when it was feared indeed lest some lost ones, who are often mixed with the multitude even of the good, having found an occasion of sedition and as it were of just indignation, should break out into some criminal violence from greed for plunder, but yet that which was feared was uncertain; who would judge that on account of uncertainties, I say not damages and any bodily injuries, but for the sake of avoiding death itself, a certain perjury ought to be committed? I know not who that Regulus was; he had heard nothing in the holy Scriptures concerning the impiety of false swearing, had learned nothing of the sickle of Zechariah, and undoubtedly had sworn to the Carthaginians not by the sacraments of Christ, but by the pollutions of demons; and yet he did not fear most certain tortures and a death of horrendous example through necessity so as not to swear, but by free will because he had sworn, he accepted it lest he should commit perjury. And that Roman censorship then refused to have, not in the number of the saints, but in the number of the senators, nor in celestial glory, but in the terrestrial court, not only those who from fear of death and of cruel punishments had preferred most openly to commit perjury rather than return to fierce enemies; but even him who had thought himself absolved from the guilt of perjury because after the oath he had returned under a feigned necessity of some sort. Thus they who expelled him from the senate did not attend to what he himself had thought in swearing, but to what those to whom he had sworn expected of him. Nor had they read what we sing everywhere: Who swears to his neighbor, and does not deceive (Psal. 14:4). We are wont to praise these things, although in men alien to the grace and name of Christ, with huge admiration; and still we think it must be inquired in the divine Books, whether we may sometimes licitly commit perjury, where it is even commanded to us not to swear, lest by the facility of swearing we should slip into perjury!

4. I do not doubt that it is most rightly said that the faith of an oath is fulfilled, not according to the words of the one swearing, but according to the expectation of the one to whom it is sworn, which the one who swears knows. For words with great difficulty comprehend, especially briefly, the sentiment of whose faith the oath is required from the swearer. Wherefore they are perjurers who, having kept the words, deceived the expectation of those to whom the oath was made; and they are not perjurers who, even with the words not kept, fulfilled that which was expected of them when they swore.

Proinde quia Hipponenses sanctum Pinianum non sicut damnatum, sed sicut charissimum inhabitatorem suae civitatis habere voluerunt, etsi verbis ejus non satis comprehendi potuit, usque adeo tamen in promptu est quid ab illo exspectaverint, ut quod nunc post jurationem absens est, neminem moveat eorum qui audire potuerunt, certa eum causa profecturum esse, cum voluntate redeundi. Ac per hoc perjurus nec erit, nec ab eis putabitur, nisi eorum exspectationem deceperit: non autem decipiet, nisi aut voluntatem mutaverit apud eos habitandi, aut aliquando discesserit sine dispositione redeundi; quod absit ab ejus moribus et fide, quam Christo et Ecclesiae debitam servat. Nam, ut omittam quod mecum nosti, quam sit tremendum de perjurio divinum judicium; illud certe scio, nulli nos deinceps succensere debere qui nobis jurantibus non crediderit, si talis viri perjurium non modo aequo animo ferendum, verum etiam defendendum putabimus. Quod et a nobis et ab illo avertat illius misericordia, qui eruit a tentatione sperantes in se. Sicut ergo in commonitorio rescripsisti, impleat promissum quo ita se promisit ab Hippone non recessurum, quemadmodum ego vel ipsi Hipponenses non recedimus, quibus tamen et abeundi et redeundi facultas est libera: nisi quod his qui juratione non detinentur, etiam omnino et migrandi et non redeundi sine perjurii reatu potestas est.

5. Clericos sane nostros vel fratres in monasterio constitutos, participes vel hortatores fuisse contumeliarum tuarum, utrum probari possit, ignoro. Nam cum hoc quaesissem, dictum est unum tantummodo Carthaginensium de monasterio clamasse cum populo, cum illum presbyterum peterent, non cum in te indigna jactarent. Adjunxi huic epistolae ipsius promissionis exemplum, ex chartula eadem translatum, quam ipse subscripsit, et me inspiciente emendatum.

EPISTOLA CXXVI. Ejusdem argumenti cum superiore: Albinae scilicet Augustinus exponit quomodo res apud Hipponem circa Pinianum gesta fuerit, expostulationibus ejus et male conceptis suspicionibus satisfaciens.

Dominae sanctae ac venerabili famulae Dei ALBINAE, AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

1. Dolorem animi tui, quem te scribis explicare non posse, consolari aequum est, non augere; ut si fieri potest, sanemus suspiciones tuas, non ut eis pro nostra causa succensendo, venerandum cor tuum et Deo dicatum amplius perturbemus. Sancto fratri nostro, filio tuo Piniano, nullus ab Hipponensibus metus mortis ingestus est, etiamsi forte ipse tale aliquid timuit. Nam et nos metuebamus ne ab aliquibus perditis, qui saepe multitudini occulta conspiratione miscentur, in violentam prorumperetur audaciam, occasione seditionis inventa quam velut justa indignatione concitarent.

Accordingly, since the people of Hippo wished to have the holy Pinianus not as one condemned, but as a most dear inhabitant of their city, even if it could not be sufficiently comprehended in his words, yet it is so manifest what they expected of him, that it moves no one of those who were able to hear, that he is now absent after the oath, knowing that he is to set out for a certain cause, with the will of returning. And by this he will neither be a perjurer, nor will he be thought so by them, unless he deceives their expectation: but he will not deceive it, unless he either changes his will of dwelling among them, or departs at some time without the disposition of returning; which may it be far from his character and faith, which he keeps as due to Christ and the Church. For, to omit what you know with me, how tremendous is the divine judgment concerning perjury; this certainly I know, that we ought henceforth to be angry with no one who does not believe us when we swear, if we think the perjury of such a man is not only to be borne with equanimity, but even to be defended. May the mercy of Him who delivers from temptation those who hope in Him, avert this both from us and from him. Therefore, as you wrote back in the commonitory, let him fulfill the promise by which he thus promised not to depart from Hippo, just as I or the people of Hippo themselves do not depart, to whom yet the faculty of going and returning is free: except that for those who are not detained by an oath, there is even the power of migrating altogether and not returning without the guilt of perjury.

5. Truly whether it can be proved that our clerics or the brothers established in the monastery were participants or encouragers of your injuries, I know not. For when I had inquired about this, it was said that only one of the Carthaginians from the monastery had cried out with the people when they were seeking him as a priest, not when they were casting unworthy things against you. I have added to this letter a copy of the promise itself, translated from the same document which he himself signed and which was amended under my inspection.

EPISTLE CXXVI. Of the same argument as the previous one: namely, Augustine explains to Albina how the matter was carried out at Hippo concerning Pinianus, satisfying her expostulations and ill-conceived suspicions.

To the holy lady and venerable handmaid of God ALBINA, AUGUSTINE, greeting in the Lord.

1. The grief of your mind, which you write you are unable to explain, it is right to console, not to increase; so that if it can be done, we may heal your suspicions, not so that by being angry with them for our own sake, we should further disturb your venerable heart dedicated to God. No fear of death was cast upon our holy brother, your son Pinianus, by the people of Hippo, even if perhaps he himself feared something of the sort. For we also feared lest by some lost ones, who are often mixed with the multitude by secret conspiracy, they should break out into violent audacity, an occasion of sedition having been found which they might excite as if by just indignation.

Sed, sicut post audire potuimus, nihil tale a quoquam dictum est vel molitum: sed vere in fratrem meum Alypium multa contumeliosa et indigna clamabant, a quo tam ingenti reatu utinam per illius orationes mereantur absolvi. Ego autem post primos eorum clamores, cum eis dixissem de illo invito non ordinando qua jam promissione detinerer, atque adjecissem quod si mea fide violata illum haberent presbyterum, me episcopum non haberent, ad nostra subsellia, relicta turba redieram. Tum illi aliquantulum inopinata mea responsione cunctati atque turbati, velut flamma vento paululum pressa, deinde coeperunt multo ardentius excitari, existimantes fieri posse ut vel mihi extorqueretur illud non servare promissum, vel me tenente promissi fidem, ab alio episcopo ordinaretur. Dicebam ego quibus poteram, qui ad nos in absidem honoratiores et graviores ascenderant, nec a promissi fide me posse dimoveri, nec ab alio episcopo in ecclesia mihi tradita, nisi me interrogato ac permittente, posse ordinari; quod si permitterem, a fide nihilominus deviarem. Addebam etiam, nihil eos velle, si ordinaretur invitus, nisi ut ordinatus abscederet. Illi hoc posse fieri non credebant. Multitudo vero pro gradibus constituta, horrendo et perseverantissimo clamorum fremitu in eadem voluntate persistens, incertos animi consiliique faciebat. Tunc illa in fratrem meum indigna clamabantur, tunc a nobis graviora timebantur.

3. Inter hos aestus meos gravemque moerorem, et nullius consilii respirationem, ecce repente atque inopinate sanctus filius noster Pinianus mittit ad me servum Dei, qui mihi diceret, eum se velle populo jurare, quod si esset ordinatus invitus, ex Africa omnino discederet; credo, existimans eos, quandoquidem pejerare non posset, non jam ulterius infructuosa perseverantia clamaturos, ad expellendum hinc hominem, quem saltem deberemus habere vicinum. Mihi autem, quia videbatur vehementiorem eorum dolorem post hanc jurationem fuisse metuendum, apud me tacitus habui; et quia simul petierat ut ad eum venirem, non distuli. Cum mihi dixisset hoc ipsum, continuo et illud adjunxit eidem jurationi, quod mihi, dum ad eum pergo, per alium Dei servum mandaverat, de praesentia scilicet sua, si ei clericatus sarcinam nolenti nullus imponeret. Hic ego in tantis angustiis quasi aura spirante recreatus, nihil ei respondi; sed ad fratrem Alypium gradu concitatiore perrexi, eique quid dixerit dixi.

But, as we were able to hear afterward, nothing of the sort was said or attempted by anyone: but truly they cried out many contumelious and unworthy things against my brother Alypius, from whose so huge guilt would that they might deserve to be absolved through his prayers. But I, after their first clamors, when I had said to them by what promise I was detained from ordaining him against his will, and had added that if, my faith having been violated, they should have him as a priest, they should not have me as a bishop, had returned to our seats, the crowd having been left behind. Then they, having hesitated a little and been disturbed by my unexpected response, like a flame a little pressed down by the wind, then began to be much more ardently excited, thinking that it could happen that either the not keeping of that promise should be extorted from me, or that, while I kept the faith of the promise, he should be ordained by another bishop. I was saying to those I could, the more honorable and grave who had ascended to us in the apse, that neither could I be moved from the faith of the promise, nor could he be ordained by another bishop in the church committed to me, unless I were questioned and permitted it; and if I should permit it, I would nonetheless deviate from the faith. I was adding also, that they wished for nothing if he were ordained against his will, except that once ordained he should depart. They did not believe that this could happen. But the multitude established before the steps, persisting in the same will with a horrendous and most persistent roar of clamors, made us uncertain of mind and of counsel. Then those unworthy things were cried out against my brother, then more grave things were feared by us.

3. In the midst of these my agitations and heavy sorrow, and without the respiration of any counsel, behold suddenly and unexpectedly our holy son Pinianus sends to me a servant of God, who should say to me that he wished to swear to the people, that if he were ordained against his will, he would depart altogether from Africa; believing, I suppose, that since he could not commit perjury, they would no longer cry out with fruitless perseverance, toward expelling from here a man whom at least we ought to have as a neighbor. But as for me, because it seemed to me that a more vehement grief from them after this oath was to be feared, I kept it silently within me; and since at the same time he had asked that I should come to him, I did not delay. When he had said this very thing to me, he continuously added to the same oath that which he had commanded to me by another servant of God while I was going to him, namely, concerning his presence, if no one imposed the burden of the clerical office on him against his will. Here I, recreated in such great straits as if by a blowing breeze, answered him nothing; but I proceeded with a more hurried step to brother Alypius, and told him what he had said.

At ille, ut existimo, devitans ne quid se auctore fieret, unde vos putabat offendi, Hinc me, inquit, nemo consulat. Quo audito, ad populum tumultuantem perrexi, factoque silentio, quid promissum esset cum promissione etiam jurationis aperui. Illi vero qui solum ejus presbyterium cogitabant atque cupiebant, non ita ut putabam quod oblatum fuerat acceperunt; sed inter se aliquantulum mussitantes, petiverunt ut adderetur eidem promissioni atque jurationi, ut si quando illi ad suscipiendum clericatum consentire placuisset, non nisi in ipsa Hipponensi ecclesia consentiret. Retuli ad eum; sine dubitatione annuit. Renuntiavi illis, laetati sunt; et mox jurationem pollicitam poposcerunt.

4. Reverti ad filium nostrum, eumque inveni fluctuantem quibusnam verbis comprehendi posset illa cum juratione promissio, propter necessitates irruentes, quae possent eum ut abscederet cogere. Simul etiam quid timeret ostendit, ne quis irruisset hostilis incursus, qui esset discessione vitandus. Volebat addi sancta Melania, et aeris morbidi causationem; sed illius responsione reprehensa est. Ego autem dixi, gravem ab illo et non contemnendam causam necessitatis ingestam, quae cives etiam emigrare compelleret: sed si haec populo dicerentur, timendum esse ne male nos ominari videremur; si autem sub generali necessitatis nomine fieret excusatio, non nisi fraudulentam necessitatem putari. Placuit tamen ut de hac re populi animum experiremur; et nihil aliud quam id quod putaveramus invenimus. Nam cum ejus verba a diacono dicta recitarentur, et omnia placuissent; ubi nomen interpositae necessitatis insonuit, continuo reclamatum est, promissioque displicuit, tumultu recrudescente, et nihil aliud quam fraude secum agi populo existimante. Quod cum sanctus filius noster vidisset, jussit inde auferri nomen necessitatis, rursumque ad laetitiam populus remeavit.

5. Et cum lassitudinem excusarem, sine me ad plebem accedere noluit; simul accessimus. Dixit ei quae a diacono audita erant se mandasse, se jurasse, eaque se esse facturum, continuoque omnia eo tenore quo dictaverat, prosecutus est. Responsum est, Deo gratias, et petitum ut totum scriptum subscriberetur. Dimisimus catechumenos, continuoque scriptum subscripsit. Deinde peti coepimus nos episcopi, non vocibus populi, sed tamen a populo per honestos fideles, ut nos quoque subscriberemus. At ubi coepi subscribere, sancta Melania contradixit. Miratus sum quare tam sero, quasi promissionem illam et jurationem nos, non subscribendo, facere possemus infectam: sed tamen obtemperavi; ac sic remansit mea non plena subscriptio, nec ultra nobis quisquam ut subscriberemus putavit instandum.

But he, as I think, avoiding lest anything should be done by his authority by which he thought you would be offended, said: 'On this, let no one consult me.' Which having been heard, I proceeded to the tumultuous people, and having made silence, I opened what had been promised along with the promise of the oath. But they, who were only thinking of and desiring his priesthood, did not receive what had been offered as I thought; but muttering a little among themselves, they asked that it be added to the same promise and oath, that if ever it should please him to consent to undertaking the clerical office, he would consent only in the church of Hippo itself. I reported it to him; he assented without hesitation. I announced it to them, they rejoiced; and soon they demanded the promised oath.

4. I returned to our son, and found him fluctuating in what words that promise with the oath could be comprehended, on account of irrupting necessities which might compel him to depart. At the same time also he showed what he feared, lest any hostile incursion should have broken in, which ought to be avoided by departure. The holy Melania wished the excuse of unwholesome air to be added; but she was rebuked by his response. But I said that a grave and not to be despised cause of necessity had been introduced by him, which would compel even citizens to emigrate: but if these things were said to the people, it was to be feared lest we should seem to presage evil; but if the excuse were made under the general name of necessity, it would be thought to be nothing but a fraudulent necessity. It pleased us yet to try the mind of the people about this matter; and we found nothing other than that which we had thought. For when his words spoken by the deacon were recited, and all things had pleased; when the name of interposed necessity sounded, continuously there was a protest, and the promise displeased, the tumult recrudescing, and the people thinking that it was being dealt with by nothing other than fraud. Which when our holy son had seen, he commanded the name of necessity to be taken away from there, and the people returned again to joy.

5. And when I excused my fatigue, he refused to approach the plebs without me; we approached together. He said to it that he had commanded what had been heard from the deacon, that he had sworn, and that he would do those things, and continuously he prosecuted all things in that tenor in which he had dictated them. The response was: 'Thanks be to God,' and it was asked that the whole writing be signed. We dismissed the catechumens, and continuously he signed the writing. Then we bishops began to be asked, not with voices of the people, but yet by the people through honest faithful ones, that we also should sign. But when I began to sign, the holy Melania spoke against it. I wondered why so late, as if by not signing we could make that promise and oath undone: but yet I obeyed; and thus my subscription remained not full, nor did anyone further think that it must be urged on us to sign.

6. Qui autem alio die posteaquam ipsum discessisse didicerunt, fuerint motus vel linguae hominum, quantum satis arbitratus sum, Sanctitati vestrae per commonitorium intimare curavi. Quisquis itaque vobis contraria his quae narravi, forte narravit, aut mentitur, aut fallitur. Quaedam enim quae mihi ad curam non pertinere visa sunt, praetermisisse me sentio; nulla tamen falsa dixisse. Proinde sanctus filius noster Pinianus, quod me praesente ac permittente juraverit, verum est: quod autem me praecipiente juraverit, falsum est. Scit ipse, sciunt servi Dei quos ad me misit, primo sanctus Barnabas, deinde Timasius, per quem etiam de promissione praesentiae suae mihi mandavit. Ipse quoque populus ad presbyterium, non ad jusjurandum clamando cogebat: sed oblatum sibi non respuit, ea spe quo posset in eodem apud nos habitante voluntas fieri, quo consentiret ad ordinationem, ne sicut juraverat, si invitus ordinaretur, abscederet. Ac per hoc et illi propter opus Dei clamaverunt (neque enim sanctificatio presbyterii non est opus Dei); et quod postea de promissa praesentia gratulati non sunt, nisi adderetur quod si quando ad suscipiendum clericatum consentire vellet, nonnisi in Hipponensi ecclesia consentiret, satis in promptu est quod etiam de ipsa ejus apud se habitatione speraverint, ideoque ab illo operis Dei desiderio non recesserunt.

7. Quomodo ergo dicis hoc eos fecisse turpissimo appetitu pecuniae? Primo quia ad plebem quae clamabat, omnino non pertinet: sicut enim plebs Thagastensis de his quae contulistis Ecclesiae Thagastensi, non habet nisi gaudium boni operis vestri; sic et Hipponensis et cujuslibet alterius loci, ubi de mammona iniquitatis Domini praecepta fecistis, vel estis ubicumque facturi. Non ergo populus ut de tanto viro Ecclesiae consuleret suae ardentissime flagitans, suum pecuniarium quaesivit commodum a vobis; sed vestrum pecuniae contemptum dilexit in vobis. Nam si in me dilexerunt, quod audierant paucis agellulis paternis contemptis, ad Dei liberam servitutem me fuisse conversum, neque in hoc inviderunt Ecclesiae Thagastensi, quae carnalis patria mea est; sed cum illa clericatum mihi non imposuisset, quando potuerunt, habendum invaserunt: quanto flagrantius in nostro Piniano amare potuerunt tantam mundi hujus cupiditatem, tantas opes, tantam spem, tanta conversione superatam atque calcatam! Ego quippe secundum multorum sensum comparantium semetipsos sibimetipsis, non divitias dimisisse, sed ad divitias videor venisse.

6. But as to what the movements or the tongues of men were on the day after they learned that he had departed, I have taken care to intimate to your Holiness through the commonitory, as much as I thought sufficient. Whoever, therefore, has perhaps told you things contrary to these which I have narrated, either lies or is mistaken. For I feel that I have omitted certain things which seemed to me not to belong to my concern; yet that I have said no false things. Accordingly, that our holy son Pinianus swore in my presence and with my permission, is true: but that he swore by my command, is false. He himself knows, and the servants of God whom he sent to me know, first the holy Barnabas, then Timasius, through whom also he sent word to me about the promise of his presence. The people also were compelling him by crying out for the priesthood, not for the oath: but they did not reject what was offered to them, in the hope that, while he was dwelling among us, a will might arise in him to consent to ordination, lest, as he had sworn, he should depart if he were ordained against his will. And through this both they cried out on account of the work of God (for neither is the sanctification of the priesthood not the work of God); and that afterward they did not congratulate him on his promised presence unless it were added that if ever he should wish to consent to undertaking the clerical office, he would consent only in the church of Hippo, it is manifest enough that they hoped also regarding his very dwelling among them, and therefore they did not depart from that desire for the work of God.

7. How then do you say that they did this from a most base appetite for money? First, because it does not at all belong to the common people who were crying out: for as the common people of Thagaste have nothing but the joy of your good work from those things which you conferred upon the Church of Thagaste; so also the people of Hippo and of any other place, where you have performed or are about to perform the Lord's precepts concerning the mammon of iniquity. The people, therefore, most ardently demanding that it should consult for its own Church regarding such a man, did not seek their own pecuniary advantage from you; but they loved in you your contempt for money. For if they loved in me that they had heard that, having despised a few paternal little fields, I had been converted to the free service of God, and in this they did not envy the Church of Thagaste, which is my carnal country; but when that church had not imposed the clerical office on me, they seized me to be held when they could: how much more ardently were they able to love in our Pinianus such great greed of this world, such great riches, such great hope, overcome and trampled by such a great conversion! For I, according to the sense of many who compare themselves to themselves, seem not to have left riches, but to have come to riches.

Vix enim vigesima particula res mea paterna existimari potest, in comparatione praediorum Ecclesiae, quae nunc ut dominus existimor possidere. In qualibet autem, maxime Africanarum Ecclesiarum, hic noster, non dico presbyter, sed episcopus sit, comparatus pristinis opibus suis, etiamsi animo dominantis egerit, pauperrimus erit. Multo ergo liquidius et securius in hoc amatur christiana paupertas, in quo nulla rerum ampliorum potest putari cupiditas. Hoc accendit animos populi, hoc in illam violentiam perseverantissimi clamoris erexit. Non eos turpis cupiditatis insuper accusemus, sed magis bonum quod ipsi non habent, saltem in aliis diligere sine crimine permittamus. Nam etsi fuerint illi multitudini permixti inopes vel mendici, qui simul clamabant, et de vestra venerabili redundantia indigentiae suae supplementum sperabant; nec ista, ut arbitror, cupiditas turpis est.

8. Restat ergo ut iste pecuniae turpissimus appetitus ex obliquo in clericos, et maxime in episcopum dirigatur. Nos enim rebus Ecclesiae dominari existimamur, nos opibus frui. Postremo quidquid de istis nos accepimus, nos vel adhuc possidemus, vel ut placuit erogavimus; nihil inde populo extra clericatum vel extra monasterium constituto, nisi paucissimis indigentibus largiti sumus. Non ergo dico quia vel in nos maxime a vobis dici ista debuerunt, verumtamen in nos solos credibiliter dici potuerunt. Quid ergo faciemus? qua nos, si apud inimicos non possumus, saltem apud vos ratione purgamus? Res haec animi est, intus est, procul ab oculis secreta mortalium, Deo tantummodo nota est. Quid ergo restat, nisi Deum testari cui nota est? Cum ergo de nobis ista sentitis, non praecipitis (quod multo melius est, et quod mihi in epistola tua tanquam culpabile objiciendum putasti), sed omnino cogitis ut juremus; non intentato metu mortis carnis nostrae, quod populus Hipponensis fecisse putatus est, sed intentato metu mortis existimationis nostrae, quae propter infirmos quibus nos praebere ad exemplum bonorum operum qualicumque conversatione conamur, etiam vitae carnis hujus utique praeponenda est.

9. Verumtamen vobis nos ita cogentibus ut juremus, non succensemus, sicut vos Hipponensibus succensetis. Creditis enim tanquam homines de hominibus, etsi ea quae in nobis non sunt, non tamen ea quae in nobis esse non possunt. Sananda ista in vobis, non accusanda sunt; et nostra purganda vobis est fama, si est Domino purgata conscientia. Qui fortasse praestabit, sicut antequam accidisset ista tentatio, ego et frater meus Alypius collocuti sumus, non ut solum vobis charissimis commembris nostris, verum etiam ipsis inimicissimis notissimum fiat, nulla nos cupiditate pecuniae in rebus ecclesiasticis sordidari. Quod donec fiat, si Dominus donabit ut fiat, ecce nunc interim quod cogimur facimus, ne vestri cordis medicinam in quantamlibet moram temporis differamus.

For scarcely can my paternal property be estimated as a twentieth part, in comparison with the estates of the Church, which I am now thought to possess as a lord. In any church, however, especially of the African Churches, if this man of ours were not only a priest but a bishop, compared to his former riches, even if he acted with the mind of a lord, he would be most poor. Much more clearly and securely, therefore, is Christian poverty loved in this, in which no greed for larger things can be thought. This kindled the minds of the people, this raised them to that violence of most persistent clamor. Let us not besides accuse them of base greed, but rather let us permit them to love without crime in others the good which they themselves do not have. For even if there were mixed in that multitude needy or beggars, who were crying out at the same time and were hoping for a supplement to their indigence from your venerable redundancy; neither is that, as I judge, a base greed.

8. It remains, therefore, that this most base appetite for money be directed indirectly against the clerics, and especially against the bishop. For we are thought to lord it over the affairs of the Church, and to enjoy its riches. Finally, whatever we have received from these things, we either still possess or have distributed as it seemed best; we have bestowed nothing therefrom upon the people situated outside the clerical state or outside the monastery, except to a very few who were in need. I do not say, therefore, that these things ought to have been said by you especially against us, yet they could credibly be said against us alone. What then shall we do? By what reason shall we purge ourselves, if we cannot before our enemies, at least before you? This matter is of the soul, it is within, far from the eyes of mortals, secret and known only to God. What then remains, except to call God to witness, to whom it is known? When, therefore, you feel these things about us, you do not command (which is much better, and which you thought should be objected to me in your letter as something blameworthy), but you altogether compel us to swear; not by threatening the fear of the death of our flesh, which the people of Hippo were thought to have done, but by threatening the fear of the death of our reputation, which, on account of the weak to whom we endeavor to present ourselves as an example of good works by whatever conduct we can, must certainly be preferred even to the life of this flesh.

9. Nevertheless, though you thus compel us to swear, we are not angry with you, as you are angry with the people of Hippo. For as human beings you believe about human beings, if not those things which are in us, at least those things which can be in us. These things are to be healed in you, not accused; and our reputation must be purged before you, if our conscience is purged before the Lord. Who perhaps will grant that, just as my brother Alypius and I spoke together before this temptation had occurred, it may become very well known not only to you, our most dear fellow-members, but even to those most hostile enemies, that we are defiled by no greed for money in ecclesiastical affairs. Until this happens, if the Lord grants that it happens, behold now in the meantime we do what we are compelled to do, lest we delay the medicine of your heart for any length of time.

Deus testis est, istam omnem rerum ecclesiasticarum procurationem, quarum credimur amare dominatum, propter servitutem quam debeo charitati fratrum et timori Dei, tolerare me, non amare; ita ut ea, si salvo officio possim, carere desiderem. Nec aliud me de fratre meo Alypio sentire, ipse Deus testis est. Tamen et de illo aliter sentiendo populus, et, quod est gravius, Hipponensis, in tantas est illius praecipitatus injurias: et de nobis vos sancti Dei et pleni visceribus misericordiae talia credendo, nomine ejusdem populi, qui ad causam hujuscemodi cupiditatis omnino non pertinet, nos tangere atque admonere voluistis; utique ad nos corrigendos, neque enim odio, quod absit a vobis: unde non irasci, sed gratias agere debeo, quod nec verecundius nec liberius agere potuistis, ut episcopo non quasi conviciose objiceretis, quod sentiebatis, sed ex obliquo intelligendum relinqueretis.

10. Nec molestum sit vobis, ut vos velut gravatos arbitremini, quia jurandum putavi. Neque enim gravabat Apostolus, aut eos parum diligebat quibus dicebat: Non in sermone adulationis fuimus apud vos, sicut scitis; nec in occasione cupiditatis, Deus testis est (I Thess. II, 5). Rei quippe apertae ipsos testes adhibuit; rei autem occultae quem, nisi Deum? Si ergo ille merito est veritus ne humana ignorantia de illo aliquid tale sentiret, cujus labor omnibus in promptu erat, quod nisi summa necessitate a populis quibus gratiam Christi dispensabat, in usus suos aliquid non sumebat, caetera vero suo victui necessaria suis manibus transigebat: quanto magis nobis laborandum est ut credatur, qui et merito sanctitatis et virtute animi longe impares sumus, nec aliquid ad sustentacula hujus vitae operari nostris manibus possumus; et si possemus, tantis occupationibus, quas tunc illos non credo fuisse perpessos, nequaquam sineremur? Non ergo ulterius in hac causa populo christiano, quae Ecclesia est Dei, objiciatur pecuniae turpissimus appetitus. Tolerabilius enim nobis objicitur, in quos hujus mali quamvis falsa, tamen verisimilis suspicio cadere potuit, quam illis, quos ab hoc appetitu et suspicione constat esse alienos.

God is witness that I tolerate, rather than love, this entire management of ecclesiastical affairs, of which we are believed to love the lordship, on account of the service which I owe to the charity of the brothers and to the fear of God; so that I would desire to be without it, if I could do so without failing in my duty. And God Himself is witness that I feel no otherwise concerning my brother Alypius. Yet by thinking otherwise of him the people, and what is more serious, the people of Hippo, were precipitated into such great injuries against him: and you, saints of God and full of the bowels of mercy, by believing such things about us in the name of the same people, who do not at all belong to the cause of greed of this kind, wished to touch and admonish us; certainly for our correction, for it was not out of hatred, which be far from you: wherefore I ought not to be angry, but to give thanks, because you could not have acted either more modestly or more freely, so that you did not object to the bishop as if reproachfully what you felt, but left it to be understood indirectly.

10. Nor let it be troublesome to you, that you should think yourselves as if burdened, because I thought an oath should be taken. For neither did the Apostle burden, or love them too little to whom he said: "We were not with you in the speech of flattery, as you know; nor in an occasion of greed, God is witness" (I Thess. II, 5). Indeed, he called themselves as witnesses for an open matter; but for a hidden matter whom, except God? If therefore he rightly feared lest human ignorance should think something of the kind about him, whose labor was manifest to all, because except for the greatest necessity he did not take anything for his own uses from the peoples to whom he dispensed the grace of Christ, but rather managed other things necessary for his livelihood with his own hands: how much more must we labor that we may be believed, who are far unequal both in the merit of sanctity and in the virtue of mind, nor can we work anything with our own hands for the supports of this life; and if we could, we would by no means be permitted by such great occupations, which I do not believe those men suffered at that time? Therefore, let not a most base appetite for money be further objected in this cause to the Christian people, which is the Church of God. For it is more tolerable that it be objected to us, upon whom a suspicion of this evil, although false, yet plausible, could fall, than to those whom it is certain are far from this appetite and suspicion.

11. Denegare autem jurationem qualibet fide praeditas mentes, quanto magis fide christiana, non dico aliquid contrarium confirmare, sed omnino dubitare fas non est. De qua re quid sentiam, satis, ut arbitror, in epistola quam ad fratrem meum scripsi, plenissime aperui. Scripsit mihi Sanctitas tua: Si aut ego aut Hipponenses hoc censent, ut jurejurando violenter extorto satisfiat. Tu enim ipsa quid censes? placetne tibi, ut etiam certa morte imminente, quod tunc inaniter metuebatur, nomen Domini Dei suo in fallaciam christianus assumat, Deum suum testem falsitati christianus adhibeat? Qui profecto si praeter jurationem ad falsum testimonium morte imminente cogeretur, maculare vitam suam magis timere debuit quam finire. Hostiles inter se acies et armatae, certe apertissima mortis intentatione confligunt; et tamen cum invicem jurant, laudamus fidem servantes, fallentes autem merito detestamur. Ut autem jurarent, quid utraeque ab alterutris, nisi occidi vel capi timuerunt? Ac per hoc vel mortis vel captivitatis metu extortae jurationi nisi pareatur, nisi fides quae ibi data est custodiatur, sacrilegii, perjurii crimine detinentur, etiam tales homines qui magis metuunt pejerare, quam hominem occidere: et nos utrum implenda sit extorta juratio servorum Dei, munere sanctitatis praeeminentium, monachorum ad perfectionem mandatorum Christi rerum etiam suarum distributione currentium, quasi disceptaturi ponimus quaestionem!

12. Nam quid exsilii, vel deportationis, aut relegationis nomine, promissa illa praesentia praegravatur, obsecro te? Puto quod presbyterium non est exsilium. Hoc ergo noster eligeret, quam illud exsilium? Absit a nobis, ut sic sanctus Dei et nobis charissimus defendatur: absit, inquam, ut dicatur maluisse exsilium quam presbyterium, aut maluisse perjurium quam exsilium. Haec dicerem, si vere a nobis, aut a populo juratio ei fuisset extorta promittendae praesentiae; nunc vero non extorta est dum negaretur, sed dum offerretur accepta. Et hoc ea spe, sicut supra diximus, quia per illam praesentiam creditum est, eum etiam ad clericatum suscipiendum posse desiderantibus consentire. Postremo quodlibet de nobis vel de Hipponensibus sentiatur, longe alia est eorum causa qui coegerint jurare, quam eorum qui, non dico coegerint, sed suaserint pejerare. Ipse etiam de quo agitur, considerare non renuat, utrum sit pejus, sub quolibet timore jusjurandum, an remoto ipso timore perjurium.

11. But to deny an oath to minds endowed with any faith, how much more to the Christian faith, I do not say to confirm something contrary, but even to doubt at all is not lawful. Concerning which matter, I have, as I judge, most fully opened what I feel in the letter which I wrote to my brother. Your Holiness wrote to me: "If either I or the people of Hippo think this, that satisfaction should be made for an oath violently extorted." For what do you yourself think? Does it please you that, even with certain death threatening, which was then feared in vain, a Christian should assume the name of the Lord his God for a fallacy, and a Christian should adduce his God as a witness to a falsehood? Who certainly, if besides an oath he were compelled to a false testimony with death threatening, ought rather to have feared to defile his life than to end it. Hostile and armed lines of battle certainly conflict with a most open threat of death; and yet when they swear to one another, we praise those who keep faith, but we rightly detest those who deceive. But that they should swear, what did both sides fear from one another, except to be killed or captured? And through this, unless a person obeys an oath extorted by fear either of death or of captivity, unless the faith which was given there be kept, they are held by the crime of sacrilege and of perjury, even such men who fear more to forswear themselves than to kill a man: and do we, as if about to discuss it, pose the question whether an extorted oath of the servants of God should be fulfilled, who are pre-eminent by the gift of sanctity, monks running to the perfection of the commands of Christ even by the distribution of their own things!

12. For what is that promised presence burdened by the name of exile, or of deportation, or of relegation, I beseech you? I think that the priesthood is not exile. Would our friend, therefore, choose that, rather than that exile? Be it far from us that a saint of God and one most dear to us should be defended in such a way: far be it, I say, that he should be said to have preferred exile to the priesthood, or to have preferred perjury to exile. These things I would say, if truly an oath of promising presence had been extorted from him by us, or by the people; but now it was not extorted while it was being denied, but accepted while it was being offered. And this in that hope, as we said above, because through that presence it was believed that he could also consent to the desires of those wishing him to undertake the clerical office. Finally, whatever may be thought of us or of the people of Hippo, far otherwise is the cause of those who have compelled one to swear, than of those who, I do not say have compelled, but have persuaded one to forswear himself. Let also the one himself concerning whom the matter is treated not refuse to consider which is worse, an oath under whatever fear, or perjury with that fear removed.

13. Deo gratias, quia non aliter Hipponenses promissum circa se impleri sentiunt, quam ut adsit voluntate habitandi, et eat quo necesse fuerit cum dispositione redeundi. Nam si verba jurationis attenderent et exigerent, tam nullo modo servus Dei recedere, quam ullo modo debuit pejerare. Sed quia crimen eorum esset, non dico talem virum, sed quemlibet hominem sic tenere; nec ipsi aliam exspectationem se habuisse probaverunt, qui audientes quod rediturus abscesserit gratulati sunt, nec aliud illis verax juratio debet, quam id quod ab illa exspectaverunt. Quid est autem quod dicitur, eum juratione ore suo expressa, exceptionem fecisse necessitatis? Quasi non ore suo hoc rursum jusserit auferri. Certe ad populum quando ipse locutus est, tunc etiam interponeret: quod si fecisset, non utique responderetur, Deo gratias; sed ad illam rediretur reclamationem quae facta fuerat, quando sic a diacono recitatum est. Et numquid ad rem pertinet, sive interposita sit ad recedendum necessitatis excusatio, sive non sit? Nihil ab illo aliud exspectatum est, quam id quod supra diximus. Exspectationem autem eorum quibus juratur, quisquis deceperit, non potest esse non perjurus.

14. Fiat ergo quod promissum est, et infirmorum corda sanentur, ne tanto exemplo quibus hoc placuerit, ad imitandum perjurium aedificentur; quibus autem displicet, justissime dicant, nulli nostrum credendum esse, non solum promittenti aliquid, sed etiam juranti. Hinc enim potius cavendae sunt linguae inimicorum, de quibus tanquam jaculis ad interficiendos infirmos major utitur ille inimicus. Sed absit ut de tali anima speremus aliud quam quod Dei timor inspirat, et tanta, quae in illa est, excellentia sanctitatis hortatur. Ego autem, quem dicis etiam prohibere debuisse, fateor non potui sic sapere, ut tanto vel tumultu vel offensione magis everti vellem ecclesiam cui servio, quam id quod a tali viro nobis offerebatur, accipere.

EPISTOLA CXXVII . Augustinus Armentarium et hujus uxorem Paulinam hortatur ut mundum contemnant, et continentiae votum quo se pariter obligarunt exsolvant. Dominis eximiis meritoque honorabilibus ac desiderabilibus filiis, ARMENTARIO et PAULINAE, AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

13. Thanks be to God, because the people of Hippo do not feel that the promise concerning them is fulfilled otherwise than that he should be present with the will of dwelling there, and should go where it is necessary with the intention of returning. For if they were to attend to and exact the words of the oath, the servant of God should no more have departed in any way than he should have forsworn himself in any way. But because it would be their crime to hold not only such a man, but any man at all, in such a way; neither did they prove that they themselves had any other expectation, for when they heard that he had departed about to return, they congratulated him, nor does a true oath owe them anything else than that which they expected from it. What is it, then, that is said, that he, with the oath expressed by his own mouth, made an exception for necessity? As if he did not again command that this should be taken away by his own mouth. Certainly when he himself spoke to the people, he would then also have interposed it: and if he had done so, it would certainly not have been answered, "Thanks be to God"; but they would have returned to that outcry which had been made when it was thus read by the deacon. And does it at all pertain to the matter whether an excuse of necessity for departing was interposed or was not? Nothing else was expected from him than that which we said above. But whoever deceives the expectation of those to whom he swears, cannot but be perjured.

14. Let that, therefore, which was promised be done, and let the hearts of the weak be healed, lest by such an example those to whom this is pleasing be built up to the imitation of perjury; while to those to whom it is displeasing, they most justly say that none of us should be believed, not only when promising something, but even when swearing. For from this rather the tongues of enemies are to be guarded against, from which as if from javelins for the killing of the weak that great enemy makes use. But be it far from us that we should hope anything else from such a soul than what the fear of God inspires, and such great excellence of sanctity as is in it exhorts. I, however, whom you say ought also to have prohibited it, confess I could not so judge that I would rather wish the church to which I serve to be overturned by such great tumult or offense, than to accept what was offered to us by such a man.

EPISTLE CXXVII. Augustine exhorts Armentarius and his wife Paulina to despise the world, and to fulfill the vow of continence by which they have equally bound themselves. To the excellent and worthily honorable and desirable lords, my children, ARMENTARIUS and PAULINA, AUGUSTINE sends greeting in the Lord.

1. Vir egregius, filius meus Ruferius, affinis vester, retulit mihi quid Domino voveritis: qua ejus narratione exhilaratus, et ibidem metuens ne aliud suadeat ille tentator qui bonis talibus antiquitus invidet, exhortandam paucis credidi Charitatem tuam, domine eximie meritoque honorabilis et desiderabilis fili, ut cogites quod in divinis eloquiis legitur, Ne tardes converti ad Dominum, neque differas de die in diem (Eccli. V, 8); atque arripias curesque reddendum quod ei te vovisse nosti, qui et debita exigit et promissa persolvit. Nam et hoc scriptum est, Vovete, et reddite Domino Deo vestro (Psal. LXXV, 12): quanquam etsi non vovisses, quid aliud tibi suadendum fuit, aut quid melius ab homine fieri potest, quam ut ei se restituat a quo institutus est; praesertim quia charitatis erga nos Dei tantum apparuit atque eluxit indicium, ut Filium suum unigenitum mitteret, qui pro nobis moreretur? Restat ergo ut fiat quod Apostolus ait, propterea mortuum esse Christum, ut qui vivunt non sibi jam vivant, sed ei qui pro ipsis mortuus est et resurrexit (II Cor. V, 15). Nisi forte adhuc mundus amandus est, tanta rerum labe contritus, ut etiam speciem seductionis amiserit. Nam quantum illi laudandi atque praedicandi, qui dignati non sunt etiam cum mundo florente florere; tantum increpandi et accusandi sunt, quos perire cum pereunte delectat.

2. Labores et pericula et exitia hujus transitoriae vitae, si pro eadem vita quandoque finienda subeuntur, ut mors ejus non omnino auferatur, sed paululum differatur; quanto magis pro aeterna subeunda sunt, ubi mortem nec natura sollicite cavet, nec ignavia turpiter timet, nec sapientia fortiter sustinet! nulli quippe erit quae non erit. Habeat igitur te vita aeterna in dilectoribus suis. Nonne cernis, haec vita miserabilis et egena quam vehementes habeat, quantumque sibi obliget amatores suos? qui tamen periculo ejus saepe turbati, citius eam finiunt, eo ipso quo finire formidant, et mortem dum declinant, accelerant, veluti si quisquam fluvio rapiendus irruat, latronem bestiamve fugiendo. Jactant in mare tempestate saeviente aliquando et alimenta; et ut vivant, projiciunt unde vivunt, ne cito finiatur quod vel in labore vivitur. Quantis laboribus agitur, ut longiore tempore laboretur! et mors cum impendere coeperit, ideo cavetur, ut diutius timeatur. Nam inter tot casus fragilitatis humanae, quam multae mortes timentur, quarum certe una cum venerit, restat caeteras non timeri! et tamen fugitur una ut omnes timean-tur. Quibus excruciantur doloribus, qui curantur a medicis et secantur! numquid ut non moriantur? Sed ut aliquanto serius moriantur.

1. That eminent man, my son Ruferius, your kinsman, related to me what you have vowed to the Lord: at whose narration I was gladdened, and at the same time fearing lest that tempter who of old envies such good things should persuade you otherwise, I believed that your Charity should be exhorted in a few words, my excellent and worthily honorable and desirable son, that you should think of what is read in the divine elocutions: "Delay not to be converted to the Lord, and defer it not from day to day" (Eccli. V, 8); and that you should seize and take care to return what you know you have vowed to Him, who both exacts debts and pays promises. For this also is written: "Vow, and pay to the Lord your God" (Psal. LXXV, 12): although even if you had not vowed, what else was to be persuaded to you, or what better can be done by a man, than that he should restore himself to Him by whom he was instituted; especially since such great evidence and light of God's charity toward us has appeared, that He should send His only-begotten Son to die for us? It remains, therefore, that what the Apostle says should be done, that Christ died for this reason, "that those who live should no longer live for themselves, but for Him who died for them and rose again" (II Cor. V, 15). Unless perhaps the world is still to be loved, crushed by so great a collapse of things that it has even lost the appearance of seduction. For as much as those are to be praised and proclaimed who did not deign to flourish even with a flourishing world; so much are those to be rebuked and accused whom it delights to perish with a perishing world.

2. The labors and dangers and destructions of this transitory life, if they are undergone for the sake of the same life which is some time to be ended, so that its death may not be altogether taken away, but deferred for a little while; how much more are they to be undergone for the sake of the eternal life, where nature does not anxiously avoid death, nor cowardice basely fear it, nor wisdom bravely sustain it! for there will be none for any one, which will not be. Let eternal life, therefore, have you among its lovers. Do you not perceive how vehement lovers this miserable and needy life has, and how much it binds its lovers to itself? who yet, often disturbed by its danger, end it more quickly by that very thing by which they dread to end it, and while they avoid death, they accelerate it, as if anyone about to be carried away by a river should rush into it while fleeing a robber or a beast. They sometimes even cast provisions into the sea when a tempest is raging; and that they may live, they throw away that from which they live, lest that which is lived even in labor should quickly be ended. With what great labors is it acted, that it may be labored for a longer time! and when death has begun to impend, it is avoided for this reason, that it may be feared for a longer time. For among so many cases of human fragility, how many deaths are feared, of which certainly when one has come, it remains that the others are not feared! and yet one is fled that all may be feared. By what great pains are they tortured who are cured by physicians and are cut! is it so that they may not die? But that they may die somewhat later.

Multi cruciatus suscipiuntur certi, ut pauci dies adjiciantur incerti: et nonnunquam ipsis doloribus victi continuo moriuntur, quos mortis timore suscipiunt; et cum omnino non eligant vitam finire ne doleant, sed dolere ne finiant, accidit eis ut doleant et finiant: non solum quia et sanati utique vitam finiunt post dolores, quae tantis poenis comparata nec sempiterna esse potest, quia mortalis est, nec diuturna, quia tota brevis est, nec de ipso brevi spatio sui secura, quia semper incerta est; verum etiam quod aliquando eam dolore finierunt, quam ne finirent, dolere voluerunt.

3. Habet etiam hoc magnum malum, ac vehementer exsecrandum et horrendum nimius amor vitae istius, quod multi dum volunt paulo diutius vivere, graviter offendunt Deum, apud quem est fons vitae: atque ita, dum ab eis frustra qui necessario futurus est vitae finis metuitur, illinc prohibentur ubi sine fine vivitur. Huc accedit quia vita misera etiamsi posset esse perpetua, nullo modo beatae vitae etiam brevissimae comparanda est: et tamen isti amando miserrimam atque brevissimam, perdunt beatissimam ac sempiternam, cum in hac ipsa, quam male diligunt, hoc velint quod in altera perdunt; quia utique in ista nec miseriam diligunt, nam beati esse volunt, nec brevitatem, nam eam finiri nolunt; tantum quia vita est, sic amatur, ut saepe propter eam, licet miseram et brevem, beata et sempiterna amittatur.

4. His consideratis, quid magnum vita aeterna jubet amatoribus suis, cum se jubet sic amari quemadmodum haec amatur a suis? an vero dignum est vel ferendum, cum contemnuntur omnia quae amantur in mundo, ut vita post paululum finienda, saltem ipsum paululum teneatur in mundo; et non contemnitur mundus, ut obtineatur vita quae sine fine apud illum est, per quem factus est mundus? Modo cum ipsa Roma, domicilium clarissimi imperii, barbarico vastaretur incursu, quam multi hujus vitae temporalis amatores, ut eam vel infeliciter producendam nudamque redimerent, dederunt omnia quae illi non solum oblectandae et ornandae, verum etiam sustentandae tuendaeque servabant! Solent certe amatores illis quas amant, ut eas habeant, multa conferre: isti amatam suam non haberent, nisi amando inopem reddidissent; nec ei multa conferrent, sed cuncta potius auferrent, ne sibi eam hostis auferret.

Many certain tortures are undertaken that a few uncertain days may be added: and sometimes, overcome by the pains themselves, they die immediately, which they undertake from fear of death; and since they by no means choose to end life lest they should suffer pain, but to suffer pain lest they should end it, it happens to them that they both suffer pain and end it: not only because even when healed they certainly end life after pains, which, compared to such great punishments, can neither be everlasting, because it is mortal, nor long-lasting, because it is all brief, nor secure from that same brief space of its own, because it is always uncertain; but also because sometimes they ended it by pain, which, lest they should end it, they wished to suffer pain.

3. This excessive love of this life has also this great evil, and one vehemently to be execrated and abhorred, that many while they wish to live a little longer, gravely offend God, with whom is the fountain of life: and thus, while the end of life which is necessarily to be is feared in vain by them, they are prohibited from there where it is lived without end. To this is added that a miserable life, even if it could be perpetual, is by no means to be compared to a blessed life, even the shortest: and yet these by loving a most miserable and shortest life, lose a most blessed and everlasting one, since in this very one, which they love badly, they wish for that which they lose in the other; because certainly in this they do not love misery, for they wish to be blessed, nor brevity, for they do not wish it to be ended; only because it is life, it is so loved, that often on account of it, although miserable and brief, the blessed and everlasting one is lost.

4. These things being considered, what great thing does eternal life command its lovers, when it commands itself to be loved in the same way as this life is loved by its own? Or indeed is it worthy or to be borne, when all things which are loved in the world are despised, so that life which is to be ended after a little while may at least be held for that little while in the world; and the world is not despised, so that life which is without end may be obtained with Him through whom the world was made? Just now when Rome itself, the domicile of a most famous empire, was being devastated by a barbarian incursion, how many lovers of this temporal life, that they might redeem it to be prolonged even unhappily and naked, gave all things which they were keeping not only for delighting and adorning, but even for sustaining and protecting it! Certainly lovers are accustomed to confer many things upon those whom they love, so that they may have them: these would not have had their beloved, unless by loving they had rendered her needy; nor would they confer many things upon her, but rather would take away all things, lest an enemy should take her away from them.

Nec eorum reprehendo consilium: quis enim nesciat perituram fuisse ipsam, si non ea periissent quae recondita fuerant propter ipsam? quamvis et quidam perdiderint prius illa, mox ipsam; quidam vero licet parati cuncta perdere propter ipsam, prius perdiderint ipsam. Sed hinc admonendi sumus quales aeternae vitae dilectores esse debeamus, ut propter eam contemnamus cuncta superflua, cum pro hac transitoria vita contempta sint quae illi fuerant necessaria.

5. Neque enim amatam nostram, sicut illi suam, ut teneamus, exspoliamus; sed illi aeternae adipiscendae istam temporalem velut famulam expeditiorem servire facimus, si eam nec ornamentorum vanorum vinculis alligemus, nec curarum noxiarum sarcinis oneremus, audiamusque Dominum, qui nobis illam vitam summo ardore desiderandam fidelissime pollicetur, velut in totius mundi concione clamantem: Venite ad me omnes qui laboratis et onerati estis, et ego vos reficiam. Tollite jugum meum super vos, et discite a me quia mitis sum et humilis corde; et invenietis requiem animabus vestris. Jugum enim meum lene, et onus meum leve est (Matth. XI, 28-30). Haec disciplina piae humilitatis, ventosam et turbidam cupiditatem, avidam rerum extra nostram potestatem constitutarum, pellit ex animo, et quodammodo exspirat. Ibi enim labor, ubi multa quaeruntur et diliguntur, quibus adipiscendis atque retinendis voluntas non satis est, quia consequentem non habet facultatem. Justa vero vita, cum volumus, adest, quia eam ipsam plene velle, justitia est; nec plus aliquid perficienda justitia, quam perfectam voluntatem requirit. Vide si labor est, ubi velle satis est. Unde divinitus dictum est: Pax in terra hominibus bonae voluntatis (Luc. II, 14). Ubi pax, ibi requies; ubi requies, ibi finis appetendi, et nulla causa laborandi. Sed haec voluntas ut plena sit, oportet ut sana sit: erit autem sana, si medicum non refugiat, cujus solius gratia sanari potest a morbo desideriorum noxiorum. Ipse est ergo medicus qui clamat, Venite ad me omnes qui laboratis, jugum suum lene, et onus leve dicens; quia diffusa per Spiritum sanctum charitate in cordibus nostris, profecto amabitur quod jubetur , et non erit asperum nec onerosum, si sub hoc uno jugo, quanto minus tumida, tanto magis libera cervice serviatur. Et haec est una sarcina, qua ejus bajulus non premitur, sed levatur. Divitiae si diliguntur, ibi serventur ubi perire non possunt. Honor si diligitur, illic habeatur ubi nemo indignus honoratur. Salus si diligitur, ibi adipiscenda desideretur ubi adeptae nihil timetur. Vita si diligitur, ibi acquiratur ubi nulla morte finitur.

Nor do I rebuke their counsel: for who does not know that she would have perished, if those things had not perished which had been stored up on account of her? although some also lost those things first, and soon her; but some, although prepared to lose all things on account of her, lost her first. But from this we must be admonished what kind of lovers of eternal life we ought to be, so that on account of it we may despise all superfluous things, when for this transitory life things have been despised which were necessary for it.

5. For neither do we, that we may hold our beloved, despoil her as they did theirs; but to obtain that eternal life we make this temporal one, like a handmaid, serve more readily, if we neither bind her with the bonds of vain ornaments, nor load her with the burdens of noxious cares, and if we hear the Lord, who most faithfully promises to us that life which is to be desired with the greatest ardor, as if crying out in the assembly of the whole world: "Come to me, all you who labor and are burdened, and I will refresh you. Take my yoke upon you, and learn from me that I am meek and humble of heart; and you will find rest for your souls. For my yoke is easy, and my burden is light" (Matth. XI, 28-30). This discipline of pious humility drives out from the soul and, in a way, exhales windy and turbulent greed, avid for things placed outside our power. For there is labor where many things are sought and loved, for the obtaining and retaining of which the will is not sufficient, because it does not have a consequent faculty. But a just life is present when we wish it, because to wish for it fully is itself justice; nor does justice to be perfected require anything more than a perfect will. See if there is labor where to wish is sufficient. Whence it was divinely said: "Peace on earth to men of good will" (Luke II, 14). Where there is peace, there is rest; where there is rest, there is an end of desiring, and no cause for laboring. But that this will may be full, it must be sound: and it will be sound if it does not flee from the physician, by whose grace alone it can be healed from the disease of noxious desires. He is therefore the physician who cries out, "Come to me all you who labor," calling his yoke easy and his burden light; because with charity diffused in our hearts through the Holy Spirit, that which is commanded will certainly be loved, and it will not be harsh nor burdensome, if under this one yoke it is served with a neck so much the more free as it is less swollen. And this is a single burden, by which its bearer is not pressed down, but lifted up. If riches are loved, let them be kept there where they cannot perish. If honor is loved, let them be held there where no unworthy person is honored. If health is loved, let it be desired to be obtained there where, once obtained, nothing is feared. If life is loved, let it be acquired there where it is ended by no death.

6. Reddite igitur quod vovistis, quia vos ipsi estis, et ei vos redditis a quo estis; reddite, obsecro. Neque enim quod redditis, reddendo minuetur, sed potius servabitur et augebitur: benignus enim exactor est, non egenus; et qui non crescat ex redditis, sed in se crescere faciat redditores. Huic ergo quod non redditur, perditur: quod autem redditur, reddenti additur; imo vero in eo cui redditur, ipse reddens servatur. Idipsum quippe erit redditum et redditor, quia idipsum erat debitum et debitor. Deo namque seipsum debet homo, eique reddendus est ut beatus sit, a quo accepit ut sit. Hoc significat quod in Evangelio Dominus ait: Reddite Caesari quae Caesaris sunt, et Deo quae Dei sunt (Matth. XXII, 21). Hoc enim dixit, cum sibi demonstrato nummo, et quaesito cujus haberet imaginem, responsum esset, Caesaris; ut hinc intelligerent, quod Deus exigeret ab homine imaginem suam in homine ipso, sicut Caesar suam exigebat in nummo. Quanto magis ergo reddenda est cum promittitur, cui etiam non promissa debetur!

7. Quapropter, charissime, possem quidem pro mea quantulacumque facultatula, sancti propositi quod Deo vovisse vos comperi, uberius laudare fructum, ac demonstrare quid distet inter christianos dilectores mundi hujus, et contemptores, quamvis fideles utrique dicantur. Eodem utrique lavacro sacri fontis abluti sunt, eisdem imbuti consecratique mysteriis, utrique ejusdem Evangelii non auditores tantum, verum etiam praedicatores; nec utrique tamen regni Dei lucisque participes, et vitae aeternae, quae sola est beata, cohaeredes. Dominus enim Jesus non ab eis qui non audiunt, sed eos inter se auditores verborum suorum, latissimo limite, non tenui distinctione discrevit: Qui audit, inquit, verba mea haec, et facit ea, similabo eum viro prudenti qui aedificavit domum suam supra petram: descendit pluvia, venerunt flumina, flaverunt venti, et impegerunt in domum illam, et non cecidit; fundata enim erat supra petram. Qui autem audit verba mea haec, et non facit ea, similabo eum viro stulto qui aedificavit domum suam super arenam: descendit pluvia, venerunt flumina, flaverunt venti, et impegerunt in domum illam, et cecidit, et facta est ruina ejus magna (Id. VII, 24-27, et Luc. VI, 47-49). Audire ergo illa verba, aedificare est; in hoc utrique pares sunt: in faciendo autem, et non faciendo quod audiunt, tantum dispares, quantum aedificium petrae soliditate fundatum dispar est ei quod sine ullo fundamento facili arenae mobilitate subvertitur. Nec ideo quisquis omnino non audit, tutius sibi aliquid comparat: nihil enim aedificans, sine ullo tecto multo facilius obruendus, rapiendus, et dispergendus imbribus, fluviis ventisque donatur.

6. Return, therefore, what you have vowed, because you are yourselves, and you return yourselves to Him from whom you are; return it, I beseech you. For that which you return will not be diminished by being returned, but rather will be preserved and increased: for He is a benign exactor, not a needy one; and one who does not grow from the things returned, but makes the returners grow in Himself. To Him, therefore, that which is not returned is lost: but that which is returned is added to the returner; or rather, in Him to whom it is returned, the returner himself is preserved. For the same thing will be both the gift and the giver, because the same thing was both the debt and the debtor. For man owes himself to God, and to Him he must be returned that he may be blessed, from whom he received that he might be. This is what the Lord says in the Gospel: "Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's" (Matth. XXII, 21). For He said this when a coin had been shown to Him, and it was asked whose image it had, and the answer was, Caesar's; so that from this they might understand that God exacted from man His own image in man himself, just as Caesar exacted his own in the coin. How much more, therefore, is it to be returned when it is promised, to whom it is owed even when not promised!

7. Wherefore, most dear one, I could indeed, according to my little faculty, more abundantly praise the fruit of the holy purpose which I found you had vowed to God, and demonstrate what is the difference between the Christian lovers of this world and the despisers, although both are called faithful. Both have been washed in the same bath of the sacred fountain, imbued and consecrated by the same mysteries, both are not only hearers of the same Gospel, but even preachers; yet both are not partakers of the kingdom of God and of light, and co-heirs of eternal life, which alone is blessed. For the Lord Jesus distinguished them, not from those who do not hear, but those same hearers of His words among themselves, by a very wide limit, not a slight distinction: "Whoever hears," He said, "these words of mine, and does them, I will liken him to a wise man who built his house upon a rock: the rain descended, the floods came, the winds blew, and they beat upon that house, and it did not fall; for it was founded upon a rock. But whoever hears these words of mine, and does them not, I will liken him to a foolish man who built his house upon the sand: the rain descended, the floods came, the winds blew, and they beat upon that house, and it fell, and great was the ruin thereof" (Id. VII, 24-27, and Luke VI, 47-49). To hear those words, therefore, is to build; in this both are equal: but in doing and not doing what they hear, they are as unequal as a building founded on the solidity of a rock is unequal to that which is overturned without any foundation by the easy mobility of sand. Nor does whoever does not hear at all therefore acquire anything more secure for himself: for building nothing, he is given over to be much more easily overwhelmed, carried away, and dispersed without any roof by rains, floods, and winds.

8. Possem etiam pro modulo meo eosdem ipsos pertinentes ad dexteram regnumque coelorum in suis gradibus meritisque distinguere, atque ostendere quo differat vita conjugalis filios procreantium patrum matrumque familias, verumtamen religiosorum ac piorum, ab ea vita quam vos Deo vovistis, si nunc ad eam vovendam exhortandus esses; sed quia jam vovisti, jam te obstrinxisti, aliud tibi facere non licet. Priusquam esses voti reus, liberum fuit quo esses inferior; quamvis non sit gratulanda libertas qua fit ut non debeatur quod cum luero redditur. Nunc vero quia tenetur apud Deum sponsio tua, non te ad magnam justitiam invito, sed a magna iniquitate deterreo. Non enim talis eris, si non feceris quod vovisti, qualis mansisses, si nihil tale vovisses. Minor enim tunc esses, non pejor: modo autem tanto, quod absit, miserior, si fidem Deo fregeris, quanto beatior, si persolveris. Nec ideo te vovisse poeniteat, imo gaude jam tibi non licere quod cum tuo detrimento licuisset. Aggredere itaque intrepidus, et dicta imple factis; ipse adjuvabit, qui vota tua expetit. Felix est necessitas quae in meliora compellit.

9. Una sola esse causa posset, qua te id quod vovisti, non solum non hortaremur, verum etiam prohiberemus implere, si forte tua conjux hoc tecum suscipere animi seu carnis infirmitate recusaret. Nam et vovenda talia non sunt a conjugatis, nisi ex consensu et voluntate communi: et si praepropere factum fuerit, magis est corrigenda temeritas quam persolvenda promissio. Neque enim Deus exigit, si quis ex alieno aliquid voverit, sed potius usurpare vetat alienum. Divina quippe de hac re per Apostolum est prolata sententia: Uxor non habet potestatem corporis sui, sed vir; similiter et vir non habet potestatem corporis sui, sed mulier: sexum nomine corporis nuncupavit. Sed cum illam tam paratam esse audiam Deo dicare continentiam, ut eo solo impediatur, si tibi debitum reddere conjugali jure compellitur; ambo Deo reddite quod ambo vovistis, ut illi persolvatur quod ab alterutro non exigitis. Si continentia virtus est, sicuti est, cur ad eam sit promptior sexus infirmior, cum virtus a viro potius cognominata videatur, sicut similitudo vocabuli resonat? Noli ergo vir abhorrere a virtute quam mulier est parata suscipere. Sit vester consensus oblatio ad supernum altare Creatoris, et victa concupiscentia, tanto fortius quanto sanctius vinculum charitatis. Gaudeamus de vobis in abundanti gratia Christi, domini eximii meritoque honorabiles et desiderabiles filii.

8. I could also, according to my measure, distinguish those same persons pertaining to the right hand and the kingdom of heaven in their grades and merits, and show how the conjugal life of fathers and mothers of families procreating children, yet religious and pious ones, differs from that life which you have vowed to God, if you were now to be exhorted to vow it; but because you have already vowed, you have already bound yourself, it is not lawful for you to do otherwise. Before you were guilty of a vow, it was free for you to be in a lower state; although that liberty is not to be congratulated by which it happens that what is returned with reward is not owed. But now because your promise is held with God, I do not invite you to a great justice, but I deter you from a great iniquity. For you will not be such, if you do not do what you have vowed, as you would have remained if you had vowed no such thing. For you would then have been lesser, not worse: but now you would be so much the more miserable, which be far from you, if you break faith with God, as you would be more blessed if you fulfill it. Nor therefore let it repent you to have vowed, rather rejoice that it is no longer lawful for you what would have been lawful to your detriment. Attack therefore intrepidly, and fulfill words with deeds; He Himself will help, who seeks your vows. Happy is the necessity which compels to better things.

9. There could be only one cause by which we would not only not exhort you to fulfill what you have vowed, but even prohibit you, if perhaps your wife should refuse to undertake this with you through infirmity of mind or flesh. For such things are not to be vowed by married persons except by common consent and will: and if it should have been done too hastily, the temerity is rather to be corrected than the promise fulfilled. For neither does God exact if anyone has vowed anything from what belongs to another, but rather forbids to usurp what belongs to another. For a divine sentence has been uttered concerning this matter through the Apostle: "The wife has not power of her own body, but the husband; likewise also the husband has not power of his own body, but the wife" (I Cor. VII, 4): he called the sex by the name of body. But since I hear that she is so prepared to dedicate continence to God, that she is hindered by this alone, if she is compelled to return the debt to you by conjugal right; do you both return to God what you both have vowed, so that what you do not exact from one another may be paid to Him. If continence is a virtue, as it is, why should the weaker sex be more prompt to it, when virtue seems rather to be named from "vir" (man), as the similarity of the word resounds? Do not therefore, O man, abhor the virtue which the woman is prepared to undertake. Let your consensus be an oblation to the supernal altar of the Creator, and concupiscence being conquered, let the bond of charity be as much stronger as it is holier. Let us rejoice concerning you in the abundant grace of Christ, excellent and worthily honorable and desirable sons.

EPISTOLA CXXVIII . Marcellini edicto collationis apud Carthaginem habendae conditiones praescribenti consentire se profitentur episcopi catholici; id etiam ultro pollicentes, non postulaturos ut sibi servetur episcopatus si victi fuerint, cum tamen velint dignitatem donatistis episcopis etiam victis suam cuique integram manere. Honorabili ac dilectissimo filio, viro clarissimo et spectabili tribuno et notario, MARCELLINO, AURELIUS, SILVANUS, et universi episcopi catholici.

1. Edicto Spectabilitatis tuae, quo nostrae collationis tranquillitati quietique servandae, et veritati manifestandae muniendaeque consultum est, in omnibus nos consentire, sicut admonere dignatus es, per has litteras intimamus; hoc est, de loco et tempore ipsius collationis, et de numero eorum quos praesentes esse oportebit. Consentimus etiam ut hi quibus conferendi delegamus officium, subscribant prosecutionibus suis: inque illo scripto, quo eis hoc munus imponimus, ratumque nos habituros quod egerint pollicemur, subscriptiones omnium nostrum non solum habeas factas, verum etiam cum fiunt ipse perspicias; admonituri quoque, Domino adjuvante, populum christianum, ut a collationis loco, quietis et tranquillitatis gratia, suum abstineat omnino conventum, et ea quae aguntur, non cum aguntur, audire festinet, sed conscripta ut cognoscat, exspectet, sicut ea te prolaturum omnibus promisisti.

2. Illo etiam, veritate confisi, nos vinculo conditionis obstringimus, ut si nobis ii cum quibus agimus demonstrare potuerint, cum secundum Dei promissa populi christiani usquequaque crescendo jam magnam partem orbis implerent, et in caeteram dilatarentur implendam, subito Ecclesiam Christi, nescio quorum, quos isti accusant, peccatorum periisse contagio, et in sola remansisse parte Donati; si hoc, ut dictum est, demonstrare potuerint, nullos apud eos honores episcopalis muneris requiremus, sed eorum sequemur, pro sola aeterna salute, consilium, quibus tanti gratiam beneficii pro cognita veritate debebimus. Si autem nos potius valuerimus ostendere Ecclesiam Christi, omnium non solum Africanarum, verum etiam transmarinarum provinciarum, multarumque gentium spatia feracissima populorum copia jam tenentem, et, sicut scriptum est, toto mundo fructificantem atque crescentem, nullorum hominum sibi commixtorum peccatis perire potuisse:

EPISTLE CXXVIII. The Catholic bishops profess that they consent to the conditions prescribed by the edict of Marcellinus for the conference to be held at Carthage; also promising of their own accord that they will not demand that the bishopric be preserved for themselves if they are defeated, while yet they wish the dignity to remain entire for each of the Donatist bishops even if defeated. To the honorable and most beloved son, the most illustrious and spectable tribune and notary, MARCELLINUS, AURELIUS, SILVANUS, and all the Catholic bishops.

1. By the edict of your Spectability, by which provision has been made for the preservation of tranquility and quiet of our conference, and for the manifestation and fortification of the truth, we intimate through these letters that we consent in all things, as you have deigned to admonish; that is, concerning the place and time of the conference itself, and concerning the number of those whom it will behoove to be present. We also consent that those to whom we delegate the office of conferring should subscribe to their prosecutions: and in that writing by which we impose this task upon them, and promise that we will hold as ratified what they shall have done, you may not only have the subscriptions of all of us made, but also you yourself may see them when they are being made; about also to admonish, the Lord helping, the Christian people, that for the sake of quiet and tranquility they should altogether abstain their assembly from the place of the conference, and should not hasten to hear those things which are being done while they are being done, but should wait that they may know them when written down, as you have promised to all that you would bring them forth.

2. Relying also upon the truth, we bind ourselves by that bond of condition, that if those with whom we treat shall be able to demonstrate to us that, when according to the promises of God the Christian people by growing everywhere were already filling a great part of the world, and were being dilated into the rest to be filled, suddenly the Church of Christ, by the contagion of I know not whose sins, which these men accuse, perished and remained only in the part of Donatus; if they can demonstrate this, as has been said, we will require no honors of the episcopal office among them, but we will follow their counsel for the sake of eternal salvation alone, to whom we shall owe the grace of so great a benefit for the truth known. If, however, we should rather be able to show that the Church of Christ, already holding the most fertile spaces of all the provinces, not only African but even transmarine, and the abundance of many nations, and, as it is written, bringing forth fruit and growing in the whole world, could not perish by the sins of any men mixed with her:

si denique ipsorum, quos tunc accusare voluerunt, potius quam convincere valuerunt, quaestionem demonstraverimus esse finitam, quamvis non in eis Ecclesiae causa consistat; et Caecilianum innocentem, illos autem violentos et calumniosos esse judicatos ab eo imperatore, ad cujus examen criminationes suas ultro accusando miserunt: postremo si quidquid de peccatis quorumlibet hominum dixerint, vel humanis documentis, vel divinis probaverimus, aut eorum innocentiam falsis criminibus appetitam, aut Christi Ecclesiam, cujus communioni cohaeremus, nullis eorum delictis esse destructam; sic ejus nobiscum teneant unitatem, ut non solum viam salutis inveniant, sed nec honorem episcopatus amittant. Neque enim in eis divinae Sacramenta veritatis, sed commenta humani detestamur erroris: quibus sublatis fraternum pectus amplectimur, Christiana nobis charitate conjunctum, quod nunc dolemus dissensione diabolica separatum.

3. Poterit quippe unusquisque nostrum, honoris sibi socio copulato, vicissim sedere eminentius, sicut peregrino episcopo juxta considente collega. Hoc cum alternis basilicis utrinque conceditur, uterque ab alterutro honore mutuo praevenitur; quia ubi praeceptio charitatis dilataverit corda, possessio pacis non fit angusta, ut uno eorum defuncto, deinceps jam singulis singuli pristino more succedant: nec novum aliquid fiet; nam hoc ab ipsius separationis exordio, in eis qui damnato nefariae discissionis errore unitatis dulcedinem vel sero sapuerunt, catholica dilectio custodivit. Aut si forte christiani populi singulis delectantur episcopis, et duorum consortium, inusitata rerum facie tolerare non possunt, utrique de medio secedamus, et Ecclesiis in singulis damnata schismatis causa, in unitate pacifica constitutis, ab his qui singuli in Ecclesiis singulis invenientur, unitate facta per loca necessaria singuli constituantur episcopi. Quid enim dubitemus Redemptori nostro sacrificium istius humilitatis offerre? an vero ille de coelis in membra humana descendit, ut membra ejus essemus; et nos, ne ipsa ejus membra crudeli divisione lanientur, de cathedris descendere formidamus? Propter nos nihil sufficientius, quam christiani fideles et obedientes sumus: hoc ergo semper simus. Episcopi autem propter christianos populos ordinamur: quod ergo christianis populis ad christianam pacem prodest, hoc de nostro episcopatu faciamus. Si servi utiles sumus, cur Domini aeternis lucris pro nostris temporalibus sublimitatibus invidemus? Episcopalis dignitas fructuosior nobis erit, si gregem Christi magis deposita collegerit, quam retenta disperserit. Nam qua fronte in futuro saeculo promissum a Christo sperabimus honorem, si christianam in hoc saeculo noster honor impedit unitatem ?

if finally we shall have demonstrated that the question of those very persons whom they then wished to accuse, rather than were able to convict, has been finished, although the cause of the Church does not consist in them; and that Caecilianus was judged innocent, but they were judged violent and calumnious by that emperor to whose examination they of their own accord sent their criminations by accusing: finally, if whatever they shall have said concerning the sins of any men, we shall have proved either by human documents or by divine, either that their innocence was attacked by false crimes, or that the Church of Christ, to whose communion we cohere, was destroyed by no delicts of theirs; let them thus hold unity with us, so that they may not only find the way of salvation, but also may not lose the honor of the episcopate. For we do not detest in them the Sacraments of divine truth, but the fictions of human error: which being removed, we embrace a brotherly heart, joined to us by Christian charity, which we now grieve is separated by diabolical dissension.

3. Indeed, each one of us, having a partner of honor joined to himself, will be able to sit more eminently by turns, just as a colleague sits near a pilgrim bishop. When this is granted on both sides with alternate basilicas, each is anticipated by the other with mutual honor; because where the command of charity shall have dilated hearts, the possession of peace does not become narrow, so that one of them being deceased, thereafter single individuals may succeed single individuals in the pristine manner: nor will anything new be done; for from the beginning of the separation itself, in those who, the error of the nefarious division being condemned, have tasted the sweetness of unity even late, Catholic love has guarded this. Or if perhaps the Christian peoples are delighted by single bishops, and cannot tolerate the consortium of two by the unusual appearance of things, let us both withdraw from the midst, and the Churches in each case having the cause of schism condemned, being established in peaceful unity, by those who shall be found single in single Churches, unity having been made throughout the necessary places, let single bishops be constituted. For why should we doubt to offer the sacrifice of this humility to our Redeemer? Or did He descend from heaven into human members, that we might be His members; and do we fear to descend from our chairs, lest His very members be torn by a cruel division? For ourselves, nothing is more sufficient than that we are Christian faithful and obedient: let us therefore always be this. But we are ordained as bishops on account of Christian peoples: what therefore profits Christian peoples for Christian peace, let us do this concerning our episcopate. If we are useful servants, why do we envy the Lord's eternal gains for the sake of our temporal heights? The episcopal dignity will be more fruitful to us if, being laid down, it shall have collected the flock of Christ more than, being retained, it shall have dispersed it. For with what face shall we hope for the honor promised by Christ in the future age, if our honor hinders Christian unity in this age?

4. Haec propterea Praestantiae tuae scribenda curavimus, ut et per te innotescant omnibus. Postulamus ut in adjutorio Domini Dei nostri, quo admonente ista promittimus, et quo adjuvante nos implere posse confidimus, etiam ante collationem, si fieri potest, corda hominum vel infirma, vel dura, pia charitas aut sanet, aut edomet; ac sic jam pacificis mentibus non resistamus manifestissimae veritati, et disputationem nostram vel praecedamus concordia, vel sequamur. Neque enim desperare debemus, si recolunt beatos esse pacificos, quoniam ipsi filii Dei vocabuntur (Matth. V, 9), multo dignius et facilius eos velle ut pars Donati universo orbi christiano reconcilietur, quam universus orbis christianus a parte Donati rebaptizetur: cum praesertim de Maximiani sacrilego et damnato schismate venientes, quos etiam terrenarum potestatum jussionibus insectando emendare curarunt, tanta dilectione quaesierint ut nec baptismum ab eis datum rescindere auderent, et quosdam eorum damnatos, sine ulla honoris eorum diminutione susciperent, quosdam vero in illius discissionis societate impollutos fuisse censerent. Quorum inter se concordiae non invidemus; sed eos certe oportet advertere quam pie tanto studio ramum a se fractum radix catholica inquirit, si ramus ipse similiter a se parvum fragmen incisum sic colligere laboravit. (Et alia manu): Optamus te, fili, in Domino bene valere. Aurelius episcopus Ecclesiae catholicae Carthaginensis, huic epistolae subscripsi. (Item alia manu): Silvanus senex Ecclesiae Summensis subscripsi.

EPISTOLA CXXIX . Catholici episcopi Notoriae Donatistarum respondent, significantes Marcellino se illis concedere quod petierant, ut universi qui venerant eorum episcopi praesentes essent in eo loco ubi celebranda erat collatio: tum etiam catholicae Ecclesiae causam adversus eorum schisma validis argumentis vindicant. Honorabili ac dilectissimo filio V. C. et spectabili tribuno et notario MARCELLINO, AURELIUS, SILVANUS, et universi episcopi catholici.

1. Multum nos sollicitos reddidit Notoria, vel litterae fratrum nostrorum, quos cupimus ad catholicam pacem a perniciosa dissensione converti, quod edicto Nobilitatis tuae, quo ipsius disputationis nostrae tranquillitati quietique providisti, consentire noluerunt; ne forte etiamsi non omnes, aliqui tamen eorum per multitudinis tumultum seu strepitum, collationem, quae pacifica et pacata esse debet, impediant. Atque utinam ipsos non pertentet ista cogitation, et nos potius fallat ista suspicio!

4. We have taken care to write these things to your Excellence for this reason, that through you they may become known to all. We ask that in the help of the Lord our God, by whose admonition we promise these things, and by whose help we trust we can fulfill them, even before the conference, if it can be done, pious charity may either heal or tame the hearts of men, whether weak or hard; and so with peaceful minds let us not resist the most manifest truth, and either let our discussion be preceded by concord, or followed by it. For nor ought we to despair, if they recall that the peaceful are blessed, since they shall be called the children of God (Matth. V, 9), that they should much more worthily and easily wish that the part of Donatus be reconciled to the whole Christian world, than that the whole Christian world be rebaptized by the part of Donatus: especially since coming from the sacrilegious and condemned schism of Maximianus, whom they also took care to correct by pursuing them even by the commands of earthly powers, they sought them with such great love that they neither dared to rescind the baptism given by them, and they received some of them condemned without any diminution of their honor, while others they judged to have been unpolluted in the society of that division. We do not envy their concord among themselves; but it certainly behooves them to perceive with what piety and such great zeal the Catholic root seeks the branch broken from itself, if that branch itself likewise labored to collect a small fragment cut from itself. (And by another hand): We wish you, son, to be well in the Lord. I, Aurelius, bishop of the Catholic Church of Carthage, have subscribed to this letter. (Likewise by another hand): I, Silvanus, the old man of the Church of Summa, have subscribed.

EPISTLE CXXIX. The Catholic bishops respond to the Notoria of the Donatists, signifying to Marcellinus that they grant them what they had asked, that all their bishops who had come should be present in that place where the conference was to be celebrated: then also they vindicate the cause of the Catholic Church against their schism with valid arguments. To the honorable and most beloved son, the most illustrious and spectable tribune and notary MARCELLINUS, AURELIUS, SILVANUS, and all the Catholic bishops.

1. The Notoria, or the letters of our brothers, whom we desire to be converted to Catholic peace from pernicious dissension, has rendered us much solicitous, because they were unwilling to consent to the edict of your Nobility, by which you provided for the tranquility and quiet of our discussion itself; lest perhaps if not all, yet some of them, through the tumult or noise of the multitude, should hinder the conference, which ought to be peaceful and quiet. And would that that thought should not tempt them, and that that suspicion should rather deceive us!

et ideo si velint omnes esse praesentes, ut cum eis visum fuerit, congregatis illuc etiam nobis, simul inde egrediamur concordes atque pacati, et schismatica divisione correcta, fraterno unitatis Christi vinculo obstricti, mirantibus et gaudentibus omnibus bonis, dolente autem solo diabolo et similibus ejus, pariter in Ecclesiam ad gratiarum actionem, laudesque Deo reddendas ardentissima et lucidissima charitate pergamus.

2. Quid enim magnum est, si oculus pacatus attendat, et cogitatio christiana non deserat considerare et videre, remotis humanis criminationibus seu veris seu falsis, in eis Litteris Ecclesiam esse quaerendam, ubi Christus Redemptor ejus innotuit? Nam sicut non audimus contra Christum eos qui dicunt corpus ejus de sepulcro furatum a discipulis; sic non debemus audire contra ejus Ecclesiam eos qui dicunt non eam esse nisi in solis Afris et Afrorum paucissimis sociis: Apostolus quippe dicit quoniam veraces christiani membra sunt Christi (Ephes. IV, 25); sicut ergo non credimus furto cujusquam periisse carnem Christi mortuam de sepulcro, sic credere non debemus peccato cujusquam viva ejus membra periisse de mundo. Non est itaque difficile, quoniam caput est Christus, et corpus Ecclesia, simul in Evangelio commendatum videre, et caput contra calumnias Judaeorum, et corpus contra criminationes haereticorum. Nam quod legitur, Oportebat Christum pati, et resurgere a mortuis tertio die, contra eos est qui dicunt mortuum de sepulcro esse sublatum; quod autem sequitur, et praedicari in nomine ejus poenitentiam, et remissionem peccatorum, per omnes gentes, incipientibus ab Jerusalem (Luc. XXIV, 46, 47), contra eos est qui dicunt non esse Ecclesiam in orbe terrarum: ut uno brevi capitulo paucisque verbis, et inimicus capitis, et inimicus corporis repellatur, et, si fideliter attenderit, corrigatur.

3. Nam tenere istas inimicitias fratres nostros tanto magis dolemus, quanto magis eos constat easdem Scripturas nobiscum tenere, quibus haec apertissima testimonia continentur. Judaei quippe qui negant resurrexisse Christum, saltem non accipiunt Evangelium: isti autem fratres nostri utriusque Testamenti auctoritate devincti sunt; et tamen criminari nos volunt de Evangelio tradito, et nolunt ei credere recitato.

and therefore if they wish all to be present, so that when it shall have seemed good to them, we also being assembled there, let us go forth together from there concordant and quieted, and the schismatical division being corrected, bound by the brotherly bond of the unity of Christ, with all good men wondering and rejoicing, but the devil alone and those like him grieving, let us proceed together into the Church for the giving of thanks and rendering praises to God with most ardent and most lucid charity.

2. For what great thing is it, if a peaceful eye should attend, and Christian thought should not desert to consider and see, remote from human criminations whether true or false, that the Church is to be sought in those Letters where Christ its Redeemer became known? For just as we do not hear against Christ those who say that His body was stolen from the sepulcher by the disciples; so we ought not to hear against His Church those who say that it is not except in the Africans alone and in the very few associates of the Africans. For the Apostle says that true Christians are members of Christ (Ephes. IV, 25); as therefore we do not believe that the flesh of Christ, being dead, perished from the sepulcher by anyone's theft, so we ought not to believe that His living members have perished from the world by anyone's sin. It is not therefore difficult, since Christ is the head and the Church the body, to see both commended together in the Gospel, both the head against the calumnies of the Jews, and the body against the criminations of the heretics. For that which is read, "It behooved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead on the third day," is against those who say that He was taken away dead from the sepulcher; but that which follows, "and that penance and remission of sins should be preached in His name through all nations, beginning from Jerusalem" (Luke XXIV, 46, 47), is against those who say that the Church is not in the world: so that in one brief chapter and a few words, both the enemy of the head and the enemy of the body may be repelled, and, if he shall have faithfully attended, may be corrected.

3. For we grieve that our brothers hold these enmities so much the more, as it is more certain that they hold the same Scriptures with us, in which these most open testimonies are contained. Indeed, the Jews who deny that Christ rose again, at least do not receive the Gospel: but these our brothers are bound by the authority of both Testaments; and yet they wish to criminate us concerning the Gospel delivered, and they do not wish to believe it when recited.

Sed nunc fortasse hujus collationis cura suscepta diligentius perscrutati sunt Scripturas sacras; et quia in eis innumerabilia testimonia repererunt, quibus promissa est Ecclesia futura in omnibus gentibus, et toto orbe terrarum, sicut eam reddi et praesentari coepisse in Evangelio et Epistolis apostolicis, et in Actibus Apostolorum videmus, ubi et ipsa loca, et civitates, et provinciae leguntur, per quas crevit, incipiens ab Jerusalem, ut inde se etiam in Africam non migrando, sed crescendo diffunderet; non autem invenerunt aliquod testimonium divinorum eloquiorum, ubi dictum est eam perituram de caeteris partibus mundi, et in sola Africa Donati parte mansuram; et viderunt quam sit absurdum, pro illa, quae fuerat peritura, tot testimonia divina recitari; pro ea vero, quae, sicut putant, fuerat Domino placitura, nullum ejus testimonium reperiri: haec forte cogitantes, ad finiendas vanas, et perniciosas, et saluti aeternae contrarias inimicitias, ad locum collationis nostrae omnes convenire voluerunt, non ut tumultus novus oriatur, sed ut vetusta discordia finiatur.

4. Nam et illud quo in nos solent graviter irritari, quod reges terrae, quos tanto ante praedictum est Christo domino servituros, leges contra haereticos et schismaticos pro catholica pace constituunt, credimus quod aliquando cogitaverint non esse culpandum: quia et antiqui reges non solum gentis Hebraicae, sed etiam alienigenae, ne quisquam contra Deum Israel, hoc est verum Deum, non tantum faceret, sed vel diceret aliquid, omnes regni sui populos praeceptis minacissimis terruerunt; et majores istorum ipsam Caeciliani causam, unde nata est ista dissensio, ad Constantinum imperatorem per Anulinum proconsulem accusando miserunt; quod utique non ob aliud videntur fecisse, nisi ut imperator Constantinus contra eos qui superati essent, eis qui superassent, aliquid regali auctoritate decerneret; totamque ipsam causam potuerunt (et forte fecerunt ipsius collationis necessitate), archivis publicis perserutatis, invenire olim esse finitam, post ecclesiastica judicia, quibus absolutus est Caecilianus, illo etiam imperatore judicante, ad cujus examen rem totam et primo miserunt, et postea perduxerunt. Ibi potuerunt etiam causam Felicis Aptungensis ordinatoris Caeciliani, quem malorum omnium fontem in concilio suo dixerant, cognoscente Aeliano proconsule ex praecepto ejusdem imperatoris, invenire purgatam.

But now perhaps having undertaken the care of this conference they have more diligently searched the sacred Scriptures; and because they have found in them innumerable testimonies by which the future Church in all nations and in the whole world was promised, just as we see it beginning to be rendered and presented in the Gospel and the apostolic Epistles, and in the Acts of the Apostles, where both the places themselves, and cities, and provinces are read through which it grew, beginning from Jerusalem, so that from there it might diffuse itself even into Africa, not by migrating but by growing; but they have not found any testimony of the divine elocutions where it was said that it was to perish from the other parts of the world, and to remain in Africa alone in the part of Donatus; and they saw how absurd it is that so many divine testimonies should be recited for that which was to perish; but for that which, as they think, was to be pleasing to the Lord, no testimony of Him is found: thinking these things perhaps, for the ending of vain and pernicious enmities contrary to eternal salvation, they wished to assemble all at the place of our conference, not so that a new tumult might arise, but that the ancient discord might be ended.

4. For also that by which they are accustomed to be gravely irritated against us, because the kings of the earth, whom it was predicted so long before would serve Christ the Lord, establish laws against heretics and schismatics for the sake of Catholic peace, we believe that they have sometimes considered that it is not to be blamed: because even the ancient kings, not only of the Hebrew nation, but also of foreign ones, lest anyone should do or even say anything against the God of Israel, that is, the true God, terrified all the peoples of their kingdom with most threatening precepts; and the ancestors of these men sent the cause of Caecilian itself, from which that dissension arose, to the emperor Constantine to be accused through the proconsul Anulinus; which they certainly seem to have done for no other reason than that the emperor Constantine should decree something by royal authority against those who had been overcome, in favor of those who had overcome; and they were able to find that the whole cause itself was finished long ago (and perhaps they did so by the necessity of the conference itself), having searched the public archives, after the ecclesiastical judgments by which Caecilian was acquitted, with that emperor also judging, to whose examination they first sent and later brought the whole matter. There they were also able to find that the cause of Felix of Aptunga, the ordainer of Caecilian, whom they had called the fountain of all evils in their council, was cleared, with the proconsul Aelianus taking cognizance by the precept of the same emperor.

5. Quanquam et hoc si attenderunt, et, quod facile fuerat, adverterunt, in Scripturis sanctis Ecclesiam Christi permixtis zizaniis, et palea, et piscibus malis futuram esse promissam usque ad tempus messis (Matth. XIII, 24 30), ventilationis (Id. III, 12), et littoris (Id. XIII, 47, 48), utique cogitare potuerunt, etiamsi malam causam Caecilianus et coepiscopi ejus habuissent, nihil eos praejudicare potuisse orbi christiano, quem Deus paucis credentibus tanto ante promisit, et nunc multis videntibus reddidit. Nisi forte plus contra Ecclesiam valuit homo peccans, quam pro Ecclesia Deus jurans, et iniquitas quod amisit, quam veritas quod promisit. Haec sentire quam sit stultum et impium jam fortasse viderunt: cogitaverunt quoque damnatos a se Maximianistas Primiani damnatores per potestates terrenas etiam de basilicis curasse pellendos, et ibi certius exemplo suo recentiore didicerunt non esse peccatum, si tale aliquid Ecclesia contra rebelles suos ab hujusmodi potestatibus postulat: et quod aliquos ex damnatis postea receperunt, quos cum damnarent, aliis etiam plurimis in eadem societate schismatis constitutis dilationem dederunt, quos in Maximiani sacrilegi surculi communione impollutos mansisse dixerunt, et Baptismum vel a damnatis, vel a sociis eorum, quamvis foris in schismate datum, rescindere atque iterare non ausi sunt; satis utique judicarunt ea quae contra nos dicebant, exemplo suo esse damnata: et credendum est quod jam intelligant quam sit indignum, quam intolerabile, ut cum sedeant in cathedris episcopalibus cum istis, et cum ipso simul Primiano damnatores ejus et damnati in causa ejus, ut sit pax in parte Donati, de Caeciliano infametur orbis christianus, ne in pace vivat unitas Christi.

6. Haec omnia fortasse cogitantes, et Dei timore permoti, omnes collationis loco adesse voluerunt, non tumultus dispositione, sed pacis. Quod enim propterea se universos adesse dixerunt, ut eorum numerus appareat, quoniam eos paucos esse adversarii saepe sui mentiti sunt; hoc si aliquando a nostris dictum est, de his locis dici verissime potuit ubi nostrorum coepiscoporum et clericorum atque laicorum longe major est numerus, et maxime in proconsulari provincia:

5. Although if they also attended to this, and, as was easy, noticed, that in the holy Scriptures the Church of Christ was promised to be with tares, and chaff, and bad fish mixed in, until the time of the harvest (Matt. XIII, 24-30), of the winnowing (Id. III, 12), and of the shore (Id. XIII, 47, 48), they certainly were able to think that even if Caecilian and his fellow bishops had had a bad cause, they could not have prejudiced the Christian world, which God promised so long before to a few believers, and now has rendered to many who see it. Unless perhaps a sinning man prevailed more against the Church than God swearing for the Church, and the iniquity that it lost more than the truth that He promised. How foolish and impious it is to feel these things they have perhaps already seen: they also considered that the Maximianists, the condemners of Primian, having been condemned by them, were taken care of to be driven even from the basilicas through the earthly powers, and there they learned more certainly by their own more recent example that it is not a sin if the Church asks for something of the kind against her rebels from powers of this sort: and because they afterwards received some of the condemned, to whom when they condemned them, they gave a delay to very many others also constituted in the same society of the schism, whom they said had remained unpolluted in the communion of the sacrilegious shoot of Maximian, and they did not dare to rescind and iterate the Baptism given either by the condemned or by their associates, although given outside in the schism; they certainly judged sufficiently that those things which they were saying against us were condemned by their own example: and it is to be believed that they already understand how unworthy, how intolerable it is, that while they sit in the episcopal chairs with these men, and both the condemners of Primian and the condemned in his cause sit together with Primian himself, so that there may be peace in the part of Donatus, the Christian world should be defamed concerning Caecilian, lest the unity of Christ live in peace.

6. Perhaps thinking all these things, and moved by the fear of God, they all wished to be present at the place of conference, not by a disposition of tumult, but of peace. For as to their having said that they were all present for this reason, that their number might appear, since their adversaries have often lied that they were few; if this was ever said by our side, it could most truly be said of those places where the number of our fellow bishops and clerics and laity is far greater, and especially in the proconsular province:

quanquam, excepta Numidia consulari, etiam in caeteris provinciis Africanis nostrorum numero facillime superentur; aut certe, in comparatione omnium gentium, per quas catholica communio dilatatur, eos esse paucissimos rectissime dicimus. Sed nunc si numerum suum innotescere voluissent, nonne ordinatius atque tranquillius innotesceret per eorum subscriptiones, quas ut mandato suo te cernente subjungant, edicto admonuisti? Quid sibi ergo vult quod collationis loco omnes adesse desiderant? Si enim pacem non cogitant, quid non perturbabunt locuturi, aut quid illic facient tacituri? Nam etiamsi clamor non sit, solus susurrus ipse multorum, satis magnum strepitum faciet, quo impediatur illa collatio.

7. Quid est autem quod in Notoria sua ponendum putarunt, ideo se juste flagitasse ut omnes adessent, quia omnes conventi sunt ut venirent? quasi possent eligi pauci qui adesse deberent, nisi ab omnibus qui venissent, ut eorum electioni te praesente subscriberent, ac sic in paucis omnes essent, cum ab omnibus pauci electi essent. Aut ergo tumultus ab eis cogitatur, aut pax; quorum illud optamus, illud cavemus: et ideo ne forte, quod absit, hoc praeparetur potius quod cavemus quam quod optamus, consentimus adesse omnes illos, ut tamen a nobis tantus adsit numerus, quantus tuae Spectabilitati sufficere visus est; ut tumultuosum per turbas si quid emerserit, nonnisi eis recte imputetur, in quorum parte praesens fuerit ad rem, quae a paucis agenda est, omnino superflua multitudo. Si autem quod votis omnibus cupimus, quod ardenter appetimus, quod suppliciter a Domino deprecamur, causa unitatis faciendae illa erit necessaria multitudo, cum voluerint, omnes aderimus, et ad tantum bonum, illo adjuvante qui hoc donat, alacriter convolabimus, dicentes. Fratres nostri estis (Isai. LXVI, 5, sec. LXX), non jam eis qui nos detestantur, sed qui odio finito amplectuntur, ut nomen Domini honorificetur, et appareat illis in jucunditate jam nobiscum experientibus, quam bonum sit et jucundum fratres habitantes in unum (Psal. CXXXII, 1). (Et alia manu): Optamus te, fili, in Deo bene valere. (Item alia manu): Aurelius episcopus Ecclesiae catholicae Carthaginensis, subscripsi. (Item): Silvanus primae sedis provinciae Numidiae, subscripsi.

Epistola CXXX.

Augustinus Probae viduae diviti praescribit quomodo sit orandus Deus.

AUGUSTINUS episcopus servus Christi servorumque Christi, religiosae famulae Dei PROBAE , in Domino dominorum salutem.

although, except for consular Numidia, even in the other African provinces they are very easily surpassed by the number of our people; or certainly, in comparison with all the nations through which the Catholic communion is dilated, we most rightly say that they are very few. But now if they wished their number to become known, would it not become known more orderly and tranquilly through their subscriptions, which you have admonished them in the edict to subjoin to their mandate in your sight? What therefore does it mean that they desire all to be present at the place of conference? For if they do not think of peace, what will they not perturb when about to speak, or what will they do there when about to keep silence? For even if there should be no clamor, the very whisper alone of many will make a sufficiently great noise by which that conference may be impeded.

7. But what is it that they thought fit to be put in their Petition (Notoria), that they had justly demanded that all should be present because all were summoned to come? as if a few could be chosen who ought to be present, except by all who had come, so that they might subscribe to their election in your presence, and thus all would be in the few, since the few had been chosen by all. Either therefore tumult is thought of by them, or peace; of which we wish for the latter, and we beware of the former: and therefore lest perhaps, which may it be far away, this should be prepared rather which we beware of than what we wish for, we consent that all those should be present, so that however such a number should be present from our side as has seemed sufficient to your Spectability; so that if anything tumultuous should emerge through the crowds, it may not be rightly imputed except to those on whose part there was a multitude altogether superfluous to the matter, which is to be acted by a few. But if, which we desire with all our vows, which we ardently seek, which we suppliantly deprecate from the Lord, that multitude shall be necessary for the sake of making unity, when they shall have wished it, we shall all be present, and we shall eagerly fly together to so great a good, with Him helping who grants this, saying: "You are our brothers" (Isai. LXVI, 5, according to LXX), no longer to those who detest us, but to those who embrace us with hatred ended, that the name of the Lord may be honored, and may appear to them already experiencing with us in joy, how good and pleasant it is for brothers to dwell in one (Psalm CXXXII, 1). (And in another hand): We wish that you, son, may fare well in God. (Likewise in another hand): Aurelius, bishop of the Catholic Church of Carthage, I have subscribed. (Likewise): Silvanus, of the first see of the province of Numidia, I have subscribed.

Epistle CXXX.

Augustine to the wealthy widow Proba prescribes how God is to be prayed to.

AUGUSTINE, bishop, servant of Christ and of the servants of Christ, to the religious handmaid of God PROBA, greeting in the Lord of lords.

CAPUT PRIMUM.

1. Et petisse te et promisisse me recolens, ut de orando Deo ad te aliquid scriberem, ubi tribuente ipso quem oramus, tempus facultasque concessa est, oportuit ut debitum meum jam jamque persolverem, et pio studio tuo in Christi charitate servirem. Quam me autem laetificaverit ipsa petitio tua, in qua cognovi quantam rei tantae curam geris, verbis explicare non possum. Quod enim majus oportuit esse negotium viduitatis tuae, quam persistere in oratione nocte ac die, secundum Apostoli admonitionem? ille quippe ait: Quae autem vere vidua est et desolata speravit in Domino, et persistit in oratione nocte ac die (I Tim. V, 5). Unde mirum videri potest, cum sis secundum hoc saeculum nobilis, dives, tantaeque familiae mater, et in eo licet vidua, non tamen desolata, quomodo occupaverit cor tuum praecipueque sibi vindicaverit orandi cura; nisi quia prudenter intelligis quod in hoc mundo et in hac vita nulla anima possit esse secura.

2. Proinde qui tibi eam cogitationem dedit, profecto facit quod Discipulis suis, non pro seipsis, sed pro humano genere contristatis, et desperantibus quemquam posse salvari, posteaquam ab illo audierunt facilius esse camelum intrare per foramen acus, quam divitem in regnum coelorum; mirifica et misericordissima pollicitatione respondit, Deo esse facile quod hominibus impossibile est (Matth. XIX, 24-26). Cui ergo facile est ut etiam dives intret in regnum coelorum, inspiravit tibi piam sollicitudinem, de qua me consulendum putasti quonam modo esset tibi orandum. Ille namque cum etiam hic adhuc esset in carne, Zachaeum divitem in regnum coelorum misit (Luc. XIX, 9), et resurrectione atque ascensione glorificatus, multos postea divites impartito Spiritu sancto fecit hujus saeculi contemptores, et finita divitiarum cupiditate ditiores. Quomodo enim tu sic studeres orare Deum, nisi sperares in eo? quomodo autem sperares in eo, si sperares in incerto divitiarum, et contemneres praeceptum saluberrimum, quo Apostolus ait: Praecipe divitibus hujus mundi non superbe sapere, neque sperare in incerto divitiarum, sed in Deo vivo qui praestat nobis omnia abundanter ad fruendum; ut divites sint in operibus bonis, facile tribuant, communicent, thesaurizent sibi fundamentum bonum in futurum, ut apprehendant veram vitam (I Tim. VI, 17-19)?

CAPUT II.

CHAPTER I.

1. Recollecting that you both asked and I promised that I should write something to you about praying to God, when by the grant of Him whom we pray to, time and opportunity have been conceded, it was fitting that I should now at last pay my debt, and serve your pious study in the charity of Christ. How much however your very petition has gladdened me, in which I have known how great a care you have for so great a matter, I cannot explain in words. For what greater business ought there to have been for your widowhood than to persist in prayer night and day, according to the Apostle's admonition? for he says: "But she who is truly a widow and desolate has hoped in the Lord, and persists in prayer night and day" (1 Tim. V, 5). Whence it can seem a wonder, since according to this world you are noble, wealthy, and the mother of so great a family, and in that although a widow, yet not desolate, how the care of praying has occupied your heart and especially claimed it for itself; unless because you prudently understand that in this world and in this life no soul can be secure.

2. Therefore He who gave you that thought, surely does what He responded with a wonderful and most merciful promise to His Disciples, who were saddened not for themselves but for the human race, and despairing that anyone could be saved, after they heard from Him that it is easier for a camel to enter through the eye of a needle than for a rich man into the kingdom of heaven: that what is impossible to men is easy to God (Matt. XIX, 24-26). To whom therefore it is easy that even a rich person should enter into the kingdom of heaven, inspired in you a pious solicitude, concerning which you thought I should be consulted as to what way you ought to pray. For He, while He was still here in the flesh, sent Zacchaeus the rich man into the kingdom of heaven (Luke XIX, 9), and glorified by resurrection and ascension, He afterwards made many rich men, the Holy Spirit having been imparted, contemners of this world, and richer with the desire of riches ended. For how would you thus study to pray to God, unless you hoped in Him? but how would you hope in Him, if you hoped in the uncertainty of riches, and contemned the most wholesome precept where the Apostle says: "Charge the rich of this world not to be proudly wise, nor to hope in the uncertainty of riches, but in the living God who provides us all things abundantly for enjoyment; that they be rich in good works, easily distribute, communicate, treasure up for themselves a good foundation for the future, that they may apprehend true life" (1 Tim. VI, 17-19)?

CHAPTER II.

3. Debes itaque prae amore hujus verae vitae, etiam desolatam te putare in hoc saeculo, in quantalibet ejus felicitate verseris. Nam sicut est illa vera vita, in cujus comparatione utique ista quae multum amatur, quamlibet jucunda atque producta sit, nec vita dicenda est: sic est etiam solatium verum, quod per prophetam Dominus promittit dicens, Dabo illi solatium verum, pacem super pacem (Isai. LVII, 18, 19, sec. LXX); sine quo solatio quaecumque sunt terrena solatia, magis in eis desolatio, quam consolatio reperitur. Divitiae quippe atque fastigia dignitatum, caeteraque hujusmodi quibus felices se esse putant mortales verae illius felicitatis expertes, quid afferunt consolationis, cum sit eis non indigere quam eminere praestantius; quae plus excruciant adepta timore amissionis, quam concupita adeptionis ardore? Talibus bonis non fiunt homines boni, sed aliunde boni facti, bene utendo faciunt ut ista sint bona. Non sunt ergo in iis vera solatia, sed ibi potius ubi vera vita. Nam inde necesse est ut fiat homo beatus, unde fit bonus.

4. Homines autem boni videntur etiam in hac vita praestare non parva solatia. Nam si paupertas angit, si luctus moestificat, si dolor corporis inquietat, si contristat exsilium, si ulla calamitas alia vexat, adsint boni homines qui non solum gaudere cum gaudentibus, verum etiam fletere cum flentibus (Rom. XII, 15) norunt, et salubriter alloqui et colloqui sciunt; plurimum illa aspera leniuntur, relevantur gravia, superantur adversa. Sed ille hoc in eis et per eos agit, qui spiritu suo bonos fecit. E contra, si divitiae circumfluant, nulla orbitas accidat, adsit sanitas carnis, incolumi habitetur in patria, et cohabitent mali homines, in quibus nemo sit cui fides habeatur, a quo non dolus, fraus, irae, discordiae, insidiae timeantur, atque sustineantur; nonne illa omnia fiunt amara et dura, nec aliquid laetum vel dulce est in eis? Ita in quibuslibet rebus humanis nihil est homini amicum sine homine amico. Sed quotusquisque talis invenitur, de cujus animo et moribus sit in hac vita certa securitas? Nam sicut sibi quisque nemo alter alteri notus est; et tamen nec sibi quisque ita notus est, ut sit de sua crastina conversatione securus. Proinde quamvis ex fructibus suis multi cognoscantur, et alii quidem bene vivendo proximos laetificent, alii male vivendo contristent; tamen propter humanorum animorum ignota et incerta, rectissime Apostolus admonet ut non ante tempus quidquam judicemus, donec veniat Dominus, et illuminet abscondita tenebrarum, et manifestet cogitationes cordis, et tunc laus erit unicuique a Deo (I Cor. IV, 5).

3. You ought therefore, for the love of this true life, even to think yourself desolate in this world, in whatever great happiness of it you may be conversant. For just as that is true life, in comparison with which certainly this which is much loved, however pleasant and prolonged it be, is not even to be called life: so there is also true solace, which the Lord promises through the prophet, saying, "I will give him true solace, peace upon peace" (Isai. LVII, 18, 19, according to LXX); without which solace whatever earthly solaces there are, more desolation than consolation is found in them. Indeed riches and the heights of dignities, and other things of this kind by which mortals who are experts of that true happiness think themselves to be happy, what consolation do they bring, since it is more excellent for them not to need than to excel; which things more excruciate when obtained by fear of loss, than they were coveted by the heat of acquisition? By such goods men do not become good, but having been made good from elsewhere, by using them well they make these things to be good. There are not therefore in these true solaces, but rather there where true life is. For it is necessary that a man be made happy from there whence he is made good.

4. But good men seem even in this life to provide no small solaces. For if poverty pinches, if mourning makes sad, if pain of body disquiets, if exile contristates, if any other calamity vexes, let there be present good men who know not only how to rejoice with those who rejoice, but also to weep with those who weep (Rom. XII, 15), and know how to address and talk with one wholesomely; those harsh things are very much softened, heavy things are relieved, adverse things are overcome. But He who made them good by His Spirit acts this in them and through them. On the contrary, if riches should overflow, no bereavement should happen, health of flesh should be present, one should inhabit in an unharmed country, and evil men should cohabit, in whom there is no one to whom faith may be had, from whom no deceit, fraud, angers, discords, snares are feared and sustained; do not all those things become bitter and hard, nor is anything joyful or sweet in them? So in whatever human things there are, nothing is friendly to a man without a friendly man. But how few of such is found, concerning whose mind and manners there is certain security in this life? For just as no one is known to himself, so no one is known to another; and yet not even to himself is anyone so known, that he is secure concerning his tomorrow's conduct. Therefore although many are known from their fruits, and some indeed by living well gladden their neighbors, others by living ill contristate them; yet on account of the unknown and uncertain things of human minds, the Apostle most rightly admonishes that we should not judge anything before the time, until the Lord comes, and illuminates the hidden things of darkness, and manifests the thoughts of the heart, and then praise will be to each one from God (1 Cor. IV, 5).

5. In iis igitur vitae hujus tenebris, in quibus peregrinamur a Domino, quamdiu per fidem ambulamus, non per speciem (II Cor. V, 6, 7), desolatam debet se christiana anima reputare, ne desistat orare: et Scripturarum divinarum sanctarumque sermoni discat tanquam lucernae in obscuro loco positae fidei oculum intendere, donec dies lucescat, et lucifer oriatur in cordibus nostris (II Petr. I, 19). Hujus enim lucernae quidam fons ineffabilis lumen illud est, quod sic lucet in tenebris, ut non comprehendatur a tenebris, cui videndo, fide corda mundanda sunt: Beati enim mundo corde; quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt (Matth. V, 8); et, Scimus quoniam cum apparuerit, similes ei erimus, quoniam videbimus eum sicuti est (I Joan. III, 2). Tunc erit vera vita post mortem, verumque solatium post desolationem: illa vita eximet animam nostram de morte, et illud solatium oculos nostros a lacrymis; et quoniam ibi jam non erit ulla tentatio, ideo sequitur in eodem psalmo, Pedes meos a lapsu. Porro si nulla tentatio, jam nulla oratio: non enim ibi adhuc erit promissi boni exspectatio, sed redditi contemplatio; unde, Placebo, inquit, Domino in regione vivorum (Psal. CXIV, 8, 9), ubi tunc erimus, non in deserto mortuorum, ubi nunc sumus. Mortui enim estis, ait Apostolus, et vita vestra abscondita est cum Christo in Deo: cum autem Christus apparuerit vita vestra, tunc et vos apparebitis cum ipso in gloria (Coloss. III, 3, 4). Haec est enim vera vita, quam jubentur bonis operibus apprehendere divites: et ibi est verum solatium; quo solatio nunc vidua desolata, etiam quae filios et nepotes habet, et domum suam pie tractat, agens cum omnibus suis ut ponant in Deo spem suam, dicit tamen in oratione, Sitivit tibi anima mea: quam multipliciter tibi et caro mea, in terra deserta, et sine via, et sine aqua (Psal. LXII, 2, 3); quod est ista moribunda vita, quibuslibet mortalibus solatiis frequentetur, quibuslibet itinerantibus comitetur, quantalibet rerum copia cumuletur. Nosti quippe ista omnia quam incerta sint: et in illius promissae felicitatis comparatione quid essent, etiamsi incerta non essent?

6. Haec dixi, quoniam sermonem meum vidua dives et nobilis, et tantae familiae mater, de oratione quaesisti, ut etiam tecum in hac vita permanentibus et obsequentibus tuis, te sentias desolatam, nondum utique apprehensa illa vita, ubi est verum certumque solatium, ubi implebitur quod in prophetia dictum est: Satiati sumus mane misericordia tua; et exsultavimus et jucundati sumus in omnibus diebus nostris. Jucundati sumus pro diebus quibus nos humiliasti, annis quibus vidimus mala (Psal. LXXXIX, 14, 15).

CAPUT III.

5. In these darknesses therefore of this life, in which we sojourn from the Lord, as long as we walk by faith, not by sight (2 Cor. V, 6, 7), the Christian soul ought to repute itself desolate, lest it should cease to pray: and let it learn to intend the eye of faith to the word of the divine and holy Scriptures as to a lamp placed in a dark place, until the day dawns, and the day-star arises in our hearts (2 Peter I, 19). For a certain ineffable fountain of this lamp is that light which so shines in the darkness that it is not comprehended by the darkness, for the seeing of which, hearts are to be cleansed by faith: "Blessed are the clean of heart; for they shall see God" (Matt. V, 8); and, "We know that when He shall have appeared, we shall be like Him, because we shall see Him as He is" (1 John III, 2). Then there will be true life after death, and true solace after desolation: that life will deliver our soul from death, and that solace our eyes from tears; and since there will no longer be any temptation there, therefore it follows in the same psalm, "My feet from falling." Furthermore if no temptation, now no prayer: for there will not yet be there the expectation of the promised good, but the contemplation of it rendered; whence, "I will please," he says, "the Lord in the region of the living" (Psalm CXIV, 8, 9), where we shall then be, not in the desert of the dead, where we now are. "For you are dead," says the Apostle, "and your life is hidden with Christ in God: but when Christ shall have appeared, your life, then you also shall appear with Him in glory" (Coloss. III, 3, 4). For this is the true life, which the rich are commanded to apprehend by good works: and there is true solace; with which solace now the desolate widow, even she who has children and grandchildren, and treats her house piously, acting with all her own that they may place their hope in God, says however in prayer, "My soul has thirsted for you: how manifoldly for you also my flesh, in a desert land, and without a way, and without water" (Psalm LXII, 2, 3); which is this dying life, by whatever mortal solaces it be frequented, with whatever wayfarers it be accompanied, with whatever abundance of things it be heaped up. For you know how uncertain all those things are: and in comparison with that promised happiness what they would be, even if they were not uncertain?

6. These things I have said, since a wealthy and noble widow, and the mother of so great a family, you asked my discourse concerning prayer, so that even with your people remaining with you in this life and obsequious to you, you may feel yourself desolate, that life not yet certainly having been apprehended where there is true and certain solace, where that which was said in prophecy shall be fulfilled: "We were satisfied in the morning with your mercy; and we exulted and were gladdened in all our days. We were gladdened for the days in which you humbled us, the years in which we saw evils" (Psalm LXXXIX, 14, 15).

CHAPTER III.

7. Antequam ergo ista consolatio veniat, quantacumque temporalium bonorum felicitate circumfluas, ut persistas in orationibus die ac nocte, desolatam te esse memineris. Non enim Apostolus qualicumque viduae hoc munus tribuit: Sed quae vere, inquit, vidua est et desolata, speravit in Domino, et persistit in orationibus die ac nocte. Quod vero sequitur, vigilantissime cave, Quae autem in deliciis agit, vivens mortua est (I Tim. V, 5, 6): agit enim homo in iis quae diligit, quae pro magno appetit, quibus beatum se esse credit. Quapropter quod Scriptura dixit de divitiis, Divitiae si affluant, ne apponatis cor (Psal. LXI, 11), hoc etiam de deliciis tibi dico: Deliciae si affluant, ne apponas cor. Non ideo te magnipendas, quod non desunt, quod affatim suppetunt, quod velut ex fonte largissimo terrenae felicitatis fluunt. Omnino haec in te despice atque contemne, nec in iis quidquam requiras praeter integram corporis valetudinem. Haec enim contemnenda non est propter necessarios usus vitae, antequam mortale hoc induatur immortalitate (I Cor. XV, 54); hoc est vera et perfecta et perpetua sanitate, quae non terrena deficiens infirmitate, corruptibili voluptate reficitur, sed coelesti firmitate persistens, aeterna incorruptione vegetatur. Nam et ipse Apostolus, Carnis, inquit, providentiam ne feceritis in concupiscentiis (Rom. XIII, 14); quia gerimus curam carnis, sed ad necessitatem salutis. Nemo enim unquam carnem suam odio habuit (Eph. V, 29), sicut itidem ipse dicit. Hinc est enim quod et Timotheum, nimium, sicut apparet, corporis castigatorem admonet ut modico vino utatur, propter stomachum et frequentes suas infirmitates (I Tim. V, 23).

8. Has ergo delicias, in quibus vidua si agit, hoc est, si delectatione cordis haeret atque habitat, vivens mortua est, multi sancti et sanctae omni modo caventes, ipsas velut matres deliciarum divitias dispergendo pauperibus abjecerunt, et tali modo in coelestibus thesauris tutius condiderunt. Quod si tu devincta aliquo pietatis officio non facis, tu scis quam de iis rationem reddas Deo. Nemo enim scit quid agatur in homine, nisi spiritus hominis qui in ipso est (I Cor. II, 11). Nos non debemus ante tempus quidquam judicare, donec veniat Dominus, qui et illuminabit abscondita tenebrarum, et manifestabit cogitationes cordis, et tunc laus erit unicuique a Deo (Ibid. IV, 5). Pertinet tamen ad vidualem curam tuam, deliciae si affluant, ne apponas cor, ne in eis putrescendo moriatur quod sursum esse debet ut vivat. Te in illorum numero deputato, de quibus scriptum est: Vivent corda eorum in saeculum saeculi (Psal. XXI, 27).

CAPUT IV.

7. Before therefore that consolation comes, in whatever abundance of temporal goods you may overflow, that you may persist in prayers day and night, remember that you are desolate. For the Apostle did not attribute this office to any widow whatever: "But she who is truly," he says, "a widow and desolate, has hoped in the Lord, and persists in prayers day and night." But beware most vigilantly of that which follows, "But she who lives in delights, being alive is dead" (1 Tim. V, 5, 6): for a man lives in those things which he loves, which he seeks after as great, by which he believes himself to be happy. Wherefore what the Scripture said of riches, "If riches should overflow, do not set your heart" (Psalm LXI, 11), this I also say to you of delights: If delights should overflow, do not set your heart. Do not value yourself highly for this reason, that they are not lacking, that they supply abundantly, that they flow as if from a most large fountain of earthly happiness. Altogether despise and contemn these things in yourself, nor seek anything in them besides sound health of body. For this is not to be contemned on account of the necessary uses of life, before this mortal thing be clothed with immortality (1 Cor. XV, 54); that is, with true and perfect and perpetual health, which not failing by earthly infirmity, is refreshed by corruptible pleasure, but persisting by celestial firmness, is vegetated by eternal incorruption. For the Apostle himself says, "Do not make provision for the flesh in lusts" (Rom. XIII, 14); because we carry care of the flesh, but for the necessity of health. "For no one ever hated his own flesh" (Eph. V, 29), as he likewise says. Hence it is that he also admonishes Timothy, a too great chastiser of his body, as it appears, that he should use a little wine, on account of his stomach and his frequent infirmities (1 Tim. V, 23).

8. These delights therefore, in which if a widow lives, that is, if she adheres and dwells in the delight of her heart, being alive she is dead, many holy men and women, avoiding in every way, have cast away these very riches as if mothers of delights by dispersing them to the poor, and in such a way they have more safely stored them in celestial treasures. But if you, bound by some office of piety, do not do so, you know what account of them you shall render to God. "For no one knows what is acted in a man, except the spirit of the man which is in him" (1 Cor. II, 11). We ought not to judge anything before the time, until the Lord comes, who will both illuminate the hidden things of darkness, and manifest the thoughts of the heart, and then praise will be to each one from God (Id. IV, 5). Nevertheless it pertains to your widowly care, if delights overflow, not to set your heart, lest by putrefying in them that should die which ought to be above so that it may live. You being deputed in the number of those of whom it is written: "Their hearts shall live for age of age" (Psalm XXI, 27).

CHAPTER IV.

9. Audisti qualis ores, nunc audi et quid ores, unde me maxime consulendum putasti, quoniam te permovet quod ait Apostolus, Quid enim oremus, sicut oportet nescimus (Rom. VIII, 26); et timuisti ne magis tibi obsit, non sicut oportet orare, quam non orare. Quod itaque dici breviter potest, ora beatam vitam: hanc enim habere omnes homines volunt; nam et qui pessime et perdite vivunt, nullo modo ita viverent, nisi eodem modo se esse vel posse fieri beatos putarent. Quid ergo aliud oportet te orare, nisi id quod cupiunt et mali et boni, sed ad quod perveniunt non nisi boni?

CAPUT V.

10. Hic fortasse jam quaeras quid sit ipsa beata vita. In qua quaestione multorum philosophorum ingenia otiaque contrita sunt, qui tamen eam tanto minus invenire potuerunt, quanto minus ejus fontem honoraverunt, eique gratias non egerunt. Prius itaque attende, utrum acquiescendum sit eis qui dicunt eum beatum esse qui secundum suam vivit voluntatem. Sed absit ut hoc verum esse credamus: quid si enim nequiter velit vivere? Nonne tanto miserior esse convincitur, quanto facilius mala ejus voluntas impletur? Merito hanc sententiam etiam ipsi qui sine cultu Dei philosophati sunt, respuerunt. Nam quidam eorum vir eloquentissimus ait: Ecce autem alii non philosophi quidem, sed prompti tamen ad disputandum, omnes aiunt esse beatos qui vivunt ut ipsi velint. Falsum id quidem: velle enim quod non deceat, idem ipsum miserrimum; nec tam miserum est non adipisci quod velis, quam adipisci velle quod non oporteat (Cicero, in Hortensio). Quid tibi videtur? haec verba nonne ab ipsa veritate per quemlibet hominem dicta sunt? Possumus ergo hic dicere quod Apostolus ait de quodam propheta Cretensi, cum ejus illi sententia placuisset: Testimonium hoc verum est (Tit. I, 13).

11. Ille igitur beatus est, qui omnia quae vult habet, nec aliquid vult quod non decet. Quod si ita est, vide jam quae homines non indecenter velint. Alius vult conjugari, alius conjugio viduatus deinceps continenter eligit vivere, alius nullum concubitum nec in ipsis nuptiis experiri. Et si aliud hic alio melius reperitur, nullum tamen istorum possumus dicere indecenter aliquid velle: sic et optare filios, nuptiarum scilicet fructum, et eis qui suscepti fuerint vitam ac salutem, quo voto plerumque occupatur etiam continentia vidualis;

You have heard what sort of person you should be when you pray; now hear also what you should pray for, concerning which you thought I should be especially consulted, since what the Apostle says moves you: "For what we should pray for as we ought we know not" (Rom. VIII, 26); and you feared lest it should rather be to your disadvantage to pray not as you ought than not to pray. That therefore which can be said briefly is: pray for the happy life. For all men wish to have this; for even those who live most wickedly and lost, would by no means live so, unless they thought that in the same way they were or were able to become happy. What therefore else ought you to pray for, except that which both the evil and the good desire, but which only the good reach?

CHAPTER V.

Here perhaps you may now ask what the happy life itself is. In which question the geniuses and leisures of many philosophers have been worn out, who however could find it so much the less, as they less honored its fountain, and did not give thanks to Him. First therefore attend, whether we should acquiesce to those who say that he is happy who lives according to his own will. But far be it that we should believe this to be true: for what if he should wish to live wickedly? Is he not convinced to be so much more miserable, as his evil will is more easily fulfilled? Meritedly even those who have philosophized without the worship of God rejected this opinion. For a certain most eloquent man of them says: "But behold others, not philosophers indeed, but yet prompt to disputing, all say that they are happy who live as they themselves will. False that indeed: for to will what is not becoming, is the very most miserable thing; nor is it so miserable not to obtain what you will, as to wish to obtain what is not behooving" (Cicero, in Hortensius). What does it seem to you? were these words not said by truth itself through any man whatever? We can therefore say here what the Apostle says of a certain Cretan prophet, when his opinion had pleased him: "This testimony is true" (Tit. I, 13).

He therefore is happy, who has all things which he wills, nor wills anything which is not becoming. Which if it is so, see now what things men do not unbecomingly will. One wills to be married, another having been widowed of a spouse chooses to live continently thereafter, another to experience no sexual intercourse even in nuptials themselves. And if one of these is found better than another, yet we can say that none of these wills anything unbecomingly: so also to desire children, namely the fruit of nuptials, and for those who shall have been received life and health, with which vow widowly continence is also mostly occupied;

nam etsi spreto conjugio jam non optant etiam filios procreare, optant tamen quos procreaverunt incolumes vivere. Ab hac omni cura immunis est virginalis integritas. Habent tamen omnes charos, et charas, quibus non indecenter optant etiam temporalem salutem. Sed cum istam salutem in seipsis et in eis quos diligunt adepti homines fuerint, num poterimus eos dicere jam beatos? Habent enim aliquid quod non dedecet velle; sed si alia non habent majora atque meliora et utilitatis decorisque pleniora, adhuc a beata vita longe absunt.

CAPUT VI.

12. Placetne igitur ut super salutem istam temporalem optent sibi ac suis honores et potestates? Sane, si ut per hoc consulant eis qui vivunt sub eis, non propter haec ipsa, sed propter aliud quod inde fit bonum, decet ea velle: si autem propter inanem fastum elationis pompamque superfluam vel etiam noxiam vanitatis, non decet. Quocirca si optant sibi ac suis etiam sufficientiam rerum necessariarum, de qua sic Apostolus loquitur, Est autem quaestus magnus pietas cum sufficientia. Nihil enim intulimus in hunc mundum, sed nec auferre hinc aliquid possumus: victum et legumentum habentes, his contenti simus. Nam qui volunt divites fieri, incidunt in tentationem et laqueum et desideria multa stulta et noxia, quae mergunt homines in interitum et perditionem. Radix enim omnium malorum est avaritia; quam quidam appetentes a fide erraverunt, et inseruerunt se doloribus multis (I Tim. VI, 6-10): hanc ergo sufficientiam non indecenter vult, quisquis vult, nec amplius vult; alioquin non ipsam vult, et ideo nec decenter vult. Hanc optabat et pro hac orabat qui dicebat: Divitias et paupertatem ne dederis mihi; constitue autem mihi quae necessaria sunt sufficienter, ut ne satiatus mendax efficiar, et dicam, Quis me videt? aut pauper factus furer, et perjurem nomen Dei mei (Prov. XXX, 8, 9). Vides certe et istam sufficientiam non appeti propter seipsam, sed propter salutem corporis, et congruentem habitum personae hominis, quo habitu non sit inconveniens eis cum quibus honeste officioseque vivendum est.

for even if with marriage spurned they now no longer desire even to procreate children, they yet desire those whom they have procreated to live unharmed. From all this care virginal integrity is immune. All however have dear ones, male and female, for whom they not unbecomingly desire even temporal health. But when men shall have obtained that health in themselves and in those whom they love, will we be able to say that they are already happy? For they have something which it is not unbecoming to will; but if they do not have other greater and better things and fuller of utility and decorum, they are still far from the happy life.

CHAPTER VI.

Does it please therefore that above this temporal health they should desire for themselves and theirs honors and powers? Certainly, if so that through this they may consult for those who live under them, not on account of these things themselves, but on account of another thing which from there becomes good, it is becoming to will them: but if on account of the vain pomp of elation and the superfluous or even noxious pageant of vanity, it is not becoming. Wherefore if they desire for themselves and theirs also a sufficiency of necessary things, of which the Apostle thus speaks: "But godliness with sufficiency is great gain. For we brought nothing into this world, nor can we carry away anything hence: having food and covering, with these let us be content. For those who wish to become rich fall into temptation and a snare and many foolish and noxious desires, which drown men into destruction and perdition. For the root of all evils is avarice; which some seeking after have erred from the faith, and have inserted themselves into many sorrows" (1 Tim. VI, 6-10): this sufficiency therefore whoever wills, does not unbecomingly will, nor does he will more; otherwise he does not will it itself, and therefore neither does he will it becomingly. He was desiring this and praying for this who said: "Give me neither riches nor poverty; but constitute for me what things are necessary with sufficiency, lest being satiated I become a liar, and say, Who sees me? or having been made poor I should steal, and forswear the name of my God" (Prov. XXX, 8, 9). You see certainly also that sufficiency is not sought on account of itself, but on account of the health of the body, and the congruent habit of the person of the man, by which habit it may not be inconvenient to those with whom one must live honestly and dutifully.

13. In his itaque omnibus incolumitas hominis et amicitia propter seipsa appetuntur; sufficientia vero rerum necessariarum non propter seipsam, sed propter duo superiora quaeri solet, cum decenter quaeritur. Incolumitas porro in ipsa vita, ac salute, atque integritate animi et corporis constituta est. Itemque amicitia non angustis finibus terminanda est: omnes enim quibus amor et dilectio debetur, amplectitur, quamvis in alios propensius, in alios suspensius inclinetur; pervenit autem usque ad inimicos, pro quibus etiam orare praecipimur. Ita nemo est in genere humano cui non dilectio, etsi non pro mutua charitate, pro ipsa tamen communis naturae societate debeatur.

CAPUT VII.

Sed ii nos multum justeque delectant, a quibus vicissim sancte casteque diligimur. Ista cum habentur, ut teneantur, cum autem non habentur, ut habeantur, orandum est.

14. Hoccine totum, et haec sunt omnia quibus beatae summa vitae colligitur? an aliquid aliud veritas docet quod his omnibus praeferatur? Nam et illa sufficientia, et ipsa incolumitas, vel propria vel amicorum, quamdiu temporalis est, pro aeternae vitae adeptione abjicienda est: quanquam fortasse corpus, animus vero nullo modo sanus existimandus est, qui non temporalibus aeterna praeponit; neque enim in tempore utiliter vivitur, nisi ad comparandum meritum quo in aeternitate vivatur. Ad illam ergo unam vitam, qua cum Deo et de Deo vivitur, caetera quae utiliter et decenter optantur, sine dubio referenda sunt. In eo quippe nosmetipsos diligimus, si Deum diligimus: et ex alio praecepto proximos nostros sicut nosmetipsos ita vere diligimus, si eos ad Dei similem dilectionem, quantum in nobis est, perducamus. Deum igitur diligimus propter seipsum, et nos ac proximos propter ipsum: nec cum ita vivimus, jam nos in ipsa beata vita constitutos existimemus, quasi nihil sit amplius quod oremus. Quomodo enim jam beate vivimus, cum illud adhuc desit, propter quod unum bene vivimus?

CAPUT VIII.

13. In all these things therefore the incolumity of the man and friendship are sought on account of themselves; but the sufficiency of necessary things is not usually sought on account of itself, but on account of the two superior things, when it is sought becomingly. Incolumity furthermore has been constituted in life itself, and health, and the integrity of mind and body. And likewise friendship is not to be terminated by narrow bounds: for it embraces all to whom love and affection is owed, although it may be inclined more propitiously toward some, more suspensively toward others; but it reaches even to enemies, for whom we are also commanded to pray. Thus there is no one in the human race to whom affection, if not for mutual charity, yet for the society itself of common nature, is not owed.

CHAPTER VII.

But those very much and justly delight us, by whom we are in turn holily and chastely loved. When these things are had, one must pray that they be held; but when they are not had, one must pray that they be had.

Is this the whole, and are these all the things by which the sum of the happy life is collected? or does truth teach something else which is to be preferred to all these? For even that sufficiency, and incolumity itself, either of one's own or of friends, as long as it is temporal, is to be cast away for the obtaining of eternal life: although perhaps the body, yet the mind is by no means to be estimated sound, which does not prefer eternal things to temporal ones; for neither is it lived usefully in time, except for the acquiring of merit by which it may be lived in eternity. To that one life therefore, by which it is lived with God and from God, the other things which are usefully and becomingly desired, are without doubt to be referred. For in that we love ourselves, if we love God: and from another precept we so truly love our neighbors as ourselves, if we lead them to a similar love of God, as much as is in us. We love God therefore on account of Himself, and ourselves and neighbors on account of Him: nor when we so live, should we estimate ourselves already constituted in the happy life itself, as if there were nothing more that we should pray for. For how do we already live happily, when that is still lacking, on account of which alone we live well?

CHAPTER VIII.

15. Utquid ergo per multa dispergimur, et quaerimus quid oremus, timentes ne forte sicut non oportet oremus, ac non potius cum Psalmo dicimus: Unam petii a Domino, hanc requiram; ut habitem in domo Domini omnes dies vitae meae; ut contempler delectationem Dei, et visitem templum ejus (Psal. XXVI, 4)? Ibi namque omnes dies non veniendo et transeundo fiunt omnes, nec initium alterius est finis alterius; omnes sine fine simul sunt, ubi nec ipsa vita habet finem, cujus illi dies sunt. Propter hanc adipiscendam vitam beatam ipsa vera Vita beata nos orare docuit, non in multiloquio, tanquam eo fiat ut exaudiamur quo loquaciores sumus, cum eum oremus qui novit, sicut ipse Dominus ait, quid nobis necessarium sit, priusquam petamus ab eo (Matth. VI, 7, 8). Unde mirum videri potest, quamvis multiloquium prohibuerit, cur nos sic orare adhortatus sit, qui novit quid nobis necessarium sit, priusquam petamus ab eo, ut diceret, Oportet semper orare, et non deficere; viduae cujusdam proposito exemplo, quae de suo adversario cupiens vindicari, judicem iniquum saepe interpellando flexit ad audiendum, non justitia vel misericordia permotum, sed taedio superatum: ut hinc admoneremur, quam certius nos exaudiat misericors et justus Dominus Deus sine intermissione orantes, quando illa nec ab iniquo et impio judice potuit assidua interpellatione contemni; et quam libens atque placatus bona desideria impleat eorum, a quibus aliena peccata novit ignosci, si quo cupiebat illa pervenit quae voluit vindicari (Luc. XVIII, 1-8). Ille quoque cui amicus de via venerat, nec quod ei apponeret habebat, ab amico sibi tres panes cupiens commodari, quibus fortasse ipsa Trinitas unius substantiae figurata est, jam cum suis servis dormientem petitor instantissimus et molestissimus excitavit, ut daret ei quantos volebat, magis et ipse vitando taedium quam benevolentiam cogitando: ut hinc intelligeremus, si dare cogitur qui cum dormiat, a petente excitatur invitus, quanto det benignius qui nec dormire novit, et dormientes nos excitat ut petamus.

16. Hinc est et illud: Petite et accipietis; quaerite et invenietis; pulsate et aperietur vobis. Omnis enim qui petit accipit, et quaerens invenit, et pulsanti aperietur. Aut quis est ex vobis homo, a quo filius suus panem petit, numquid lapidem porrigit ei? aut si piscem petit, numquid serpentem porrigit illi? aut si ovum petit, numquid porrigit ei scorpium? Si ergo vos, cum sitis mali, nostis bona data dare filiis vestris, quanto magis Pater vester coelestis dabit bona petentibus se (Id. XI, 5-13)?

15. Why therefore are we dispersed through many things, and seek what we should pray for, fearing lest perhaps we should pray as we ought not, and do not rather say with the Psalm: One thing have I asked of the Lord, this will I seek after; that I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life; that I may behold the delight of God, and visit His temple (Ps. XXVI, 4)? For there all the days are not made all by coming and passing away, nor is the beginning of one the end of another; all are together without end, where neither life itself has an end, whose days those are. For the sake of obtaining this happy life, the true Happy Life itself taught us to pray, not in much speaking, as if it were brought about that we should be heard by being more loquacious, since we pray to Him who knows, as the Lord Himself says, what is necessary for us before we ask Him (Matt. VI, 7, 8). Whence it can seem wonderful, although He prohibited much speaking, why He so exhorted us to pray, He who knows what is necessary for us before we ask Him, as to say, It is necessary always to pray, and not to faint; the example of a certain widow being proposed, who desiring to be avenged of her adversary, by often interpellating an unjust judge, bent him to hear her, moved not by justice or mercy, but overcome by weariness: that from this we might be admonished, how much more certainly the merciful and just Lord God hears us praying without intermission, when she could not be contemned even by an unjust and impious judge with assiduous interpellation; and how willingly and appeased He fills the good desires of those by whom He knows that the sins of others are forgiven, if she reached where she desired who wished to be avenged (Luke XVIII, 1-8). He also to whom a friend had come from a journey, and he had nothing to set before him, desiring three loaves to be lent to him by a friend, by which perhaps the Trinity of one substance itself was figured, a most insistent and most troublesome petitioner excited him already sleeping with his servants, that he might give him as many as he wished, he himself also rather avoiding weariness than thinking of benevolence: that from this we might understand, if he is compelled to give who, when he sleeps, is excited unwillingly by the petitioner, how much more benignly He gives who knows not how to sleep, and excites us sleeping that we may ask.

16. Hence is also that: Ask and you shall receive; seek and you shall find; knock and it shall be opened to you. For every one that asks receives, and he that seeks finds, and to him that knocks it shall be opened. Or what man is there of you, of whom if his son asks bread, will he reach him a stone? or if he asks a fish, will he reach him a serpent? or if he asks an egg, will he reach him a scorpion? If you then, being evil, know how to give good gifts to your children, how much more will your Father who is in heaven give good things to them that ask Him (Id. XI, 5-13)?

Cum ergo secundum tria illa quae commendat Apostolus, fides significetur in pisce, vel propter aquam Baptismi, vel quod in hujus saeculi fluctibus integra est; cui contrarius est ille serpens, qui ut non crederetur Deo, venenosa fraude persuasit: spes in ovo, quia vita pulli nondum est, sed futura est, nec jam videtur, sed adhuc speratur; spes enim quae videtur, non est spes (Rom. VIII, 24); cui contrarius est scorpius, quoniam qui sperat aeternam vitam, quae retro sunt obliviscitur, et in anteriora se extendit; cui noxium est retro respicere; scorpius autem ex ea parte cavendus est, quam venenatam et aculeatam retrorsum habet: charitas in pane; major enim horum charitas (I Cor. XIII. 13), et in cibis utique vincit caetera panis utilitas; cui contrarius est lapis, quoniam dura corda respuunt charitatem: sive aliud aliquid congruentius ista significent, tamen qui novit bona data dare filiis suis, petere nos et quaerere et pulsare compellit.

17. Quod quare faciat, qui novit quid nobis necessarium sit, priusquam petamus ab eo, movere animum potest, nisi intelligamus quod Dominus et Deus noster non voluntatem nostram sibi velit innotescere, quam non potest ignorare; sed exerceri in orationibus desiderium nostrum, quo possimus capere quod praeparat dare. Illud enim valde magnum est, sed nos ad capiendum parvi et angusti sumus. Ideo nobis dicitur: Dilatamini; ne sitis jugum ducentes cum infidelibus (II Cor. VI, 13, 14). Tanto quippe illud quod valde magnum est, quod nec oculus vidit, quia non est color; nec auris audivit, quia non est sonus; nec in cor hominis ascendit (I Cor. II, 9), quia cor hominis illuc debet ascendere, sumemus capacius, quanto id et fidelius credimus, et speramus firmius, et desideramus ardentius.

CAPUT IX.

18. In ipsa ergo fide et spe et charitate continuato desiderio semper oramus. Sed ideo per certa intervalla horarum et temporum etiam verbis rogamus Deum, ut illis rerum signis nos ipsos admoneamus, quantumque in hoc desiderio profecerimus nobis ipsis innotescamus, et ad hoc augendum nos ipsos acrius excitemus. Dignior enim sequetur effectus, quem ferventior praecedit affectus. Ac per hoc et quod ait Apostolus, Sine intermissione orate (I Thess. V, 17), quid est aliud quam, Beatam vitam, quae nulla nisi aeterna est, ab eo qui eam solus dare potest, sine intermissione desiderate?

When therefore according to those three things which the Apostle commends, faith is signified in the fish, either on account of the water of Baptism, or because it is entire in the waves of this world; to which is contrary that serpent, who that God might not be believed, persuaded by poisonous fraud: hope in the egg, because the life of the chick is not yet, but is to be, nor is it already seen, but is still hoped for; for hope that is seen is not hope (Rom. VIII, 24); to which is contrary the scorpion, since he who hopes for eternal life forgets the things that are behind, and extends himself to those that are before; to whom it is harmful to look back; but the scorpion is to be guarded against from that part which it has poisonous and stinging backwards: charity in the bread; for the greatest of these is charity (I Cor. XIII, 13), and in foods certainly the utility of bread surpasses the rest; to which is contrary the stone, since hard hearts reject charity: or whether these things signify something else more congruously, yet He who knows how to give good gifts to His children, compels us to ask and to seek and to knock.

17. Why He should do this, who knows what is necessary for us before we ask Him, can move the mind, unless we understand that the Lord and our God does not wish our will to be made known to Himself, which He cannot be ignorant of; but that our desire should be exercised in prayers, by which we may be able to receive what He prepares to give. For that is very great, but we are small and narrow for receiving it. Therefore it is said to us: Be dilated; be not leading a yoke with unbelievers (II Cor. VI, 13, 14). For by so much more capably shall we take that which is very great, which neither eye has seen, because it is not a color; nor ear has heard, because it is not a sound; nor has it ascended into the heart of man (I Cor. II, 9), because the heart of man ought to ascend thither, by how much more faithfully we believe it, and more firmly hope for it, and more ardently desire it.

CHAPTER IX.

18. In that very faith and hope and charity, therefore, we pray always with continued desire. But for this reason, at certain intervals of hours and times, we also ask God in words, that by those signs of things we may admonish ourselves, and may make known to ourselves how much we have profited in this desire, and may excite ourselves more sharply to increase this. For a worthier effect will follow, which a more fervent affect precedes. And through this also what the Apostle says, Pray without intermission (I Thess. V, 17), what else is it than: Desire without intermission the happy life, which is none except the eternal one, from Him who alone can give it?

Semper ergo hanc a Domino Deo desideremus, et oremus semper. Sed ideo ab aliis curis atque negotiis, quibus ipsum desiderium quodammodo repescit, certis horis ad negotium orandi mentem revocamus, verbis orationis nos ipsos admonentes in id quod desideramus, intendere, ne quod tepescere coeperat, omnino frigescat, et penitus exstinguatur, nisi crebrius inflammetur. Unde et illud quod idem apostolus ait, Postulationes vestrae innotescant apud Deum (Philipp. IV, 6), non sic accipiendum est, tanquam Deo innotescant, qui eas et antequam essent utique noverat, sed nobis innotescant apud Deum per tolerantiam, non apud homines per jactantiam. Aut forte etiam innotescant Angelis qui sunt apud Deum, ut quodammodo eas offerant Deo, et de his consulant, et quod eo jubente implendum esse cognoverint, sicut oportere ibi cognoverint, hoc nobis vel evidenter vel latenter apportent: dixit enim angelus homini: Et nunc quando orabas tu et Sara, ego obtuli orationem vestram in conspectu claritatis Dei (Tob. XII, 12).

CAPUT X.

19. Quae cum ita sint, etiam cum diu orare vacat, id est cum alia bonarum et necessariarum actionum non impediuntur officia, quamvis et in eis, ut dixi, desiderio illo semper orandum sit, non est improbum nec inutile. Neque enim, ut nonnulli putant, hoc est orare in multiloquio, si diutius oretur. Aliud est sermo multus, aliud diuturnus affectus. Nam et de ipso Domino scriptum est quod pernoctaverit in orando (Luc. VI, 12), et quod prolixius oraverit (Id. XXII, 43): ubi quid aliud quam nobis praebebat exemplum, in tempore precator opportunus, cum Patre exauditor aeternus?

20. Dicuntur fratres in Aegypto crebras quidem habere orationes, sed eas tamen brevissimas, et raptim quodammodo jaculatas, ne illa vigilanter erecta, quae oranti plurimum necessaria est, per productiores moras evanescat atque hebetetur intentio. Ac per hoc etiam ipsi satis ostendunt, hanc intentionem, sicut non est obtundenda, si perdurare non potest, ita si perduraverit, non cito esse rumpendam. Absit enim ab oratione multa locutio, sed non desit multa precatio, si fervens perseverat intentio. Nam multum loqui, est in orando rem necessariam superfluis agere verbis. Multum autem precari, est ad eum quem precamur, diuturna et pia cordis excitatione pulsare. Nam plerumque hoc negotium plus gemitibus quam sermonibus agitur, plus fletu quam affatu. Ponit autem lacrymas nostras in conspectu suo, et gemitus noster non est absconditus ab eo qui omnia per Verbum condidit, et humana verba non quaerit.

Always therefore let us desire this from the Lord God, and let us pray always. But for this reason, from other cares and businesses, by which that desire itself in some way cools, at certain hours we recall the mind to the business of praying, admonishing ourselves by the words of prayer to intend into that which we desire, lest what had begun to grow lukewarm should altogether freeze, and be inwardly extinguished, unless it be more frequently inflamed. Whence also that which the same Apostle says, Let your requests be made known with God (Phil. IV, 6), is not to be so taken as if they were made known to God, who certainly knew them even before they were, but let them be made known to us with God through tolerance, not with men through boasting. Or perhaps also they may be made known to the Angels who are with God, that they may in some way offer them to God, and consult concerning them, and what they have known to be fulfilled at His command, as they have known it to be proper there, this they may bring to us either evidently or latently: for the angel said to the man: And now when you prayed, you and Sarah, I offered your prayer in the sight of the clarity of God (Tobit XII, 12).

CHAPTER X.

19. Which things being so, even when there is leisure to pray for a long time, that is when other offices of good and necessary actions are not hindered, although even in those, as I said, it is always to be prayed with that desire, it is not improper nor useless. For neither, as some think, is this to pray in much speaking, if it be prayed longer. One thing is much talk, another thing a long-lasting affect. For even of the Lord Himself it is written that He passed the night in praying (Luke VI, 12), and that He prayed more prolixly (Id. XXII, 43): where what else was He doing than providing an example for us, an opportune petitioner in time, with the Father an eternal Hearer?

20. The brethren in Egypt are said to have frequent prayers indeed, but those nevertheless very short, and in some way hurriedly darted, lest that vigilantly erect intention, which is most necessary to the one praying, should through longer delays vanish and be blunted. And through this also they themselves sufficiently show, that this intention, as it is not to be blunted if it cannot endure, so if it has endured, it is not quickly to be broken. For far be much speaking from prayer, but let not much praying be lacking, if a fervent intention perseveres. For to speak much is to transact a necessary thing in praying with superfluous words. But to pray much is to knock at Him whom we pray to with a long-lasting and pious excitation of the heart. For for the most part this business is transacted more by groans than by discourses, more by weeping than by speaking. But He puts our tears in His sight, and our groaning is not hidden from Him who created all things by the Word, and does not seek human words.

CAPUT XI.

21. Nobis ergo verba necessaria sunt, quibus commoneamur et inspiciamus quid petamus, non quibus Dominum seu docendum seu flectendum esse credamus. Cum ergo dicimus, Sanctificetur nomen tuum, nos ipsos admonemus desiderare ut nomen ejus quod semper sanctum est, etiam apud homines sanctum habeatur, hoc est non contemnatur; quod non Deo, sed hominibus prodest. Et in eo quod dicimus, Adveniat regnum tuum, quod seu velimus, seu nolimus, utique veniet, desiderium nostrum ad illud regnum excitamus, ut nobis veniat, atque nos in eo regnare mereamur. Cum dicimus, Fiat voluntas tua sicut in coelo et in terra, nobis ab illo precamur ipsam obedientiam, ut sic a nobis fiat voluntas ejus, quemadmodum fit in coelestibus ab Angelis ejus. Cum dicimus, Panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie; per id quod dicitur hodie, significatur hoc tempore, ubi vel illam sufficientiam petimus, a parte quae excellit, id est nomine panis totam significantes; vel Sacramentum fidelium, quod in hoc tempore necessarium est, non tamen ad hujus temporis, sed ad illam aeternam felicitatem assequendam. Cum dicimus, Dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris, nos admonemus et quid petamus, et quid faciamus, ut accipere mereamur. Cum dicimus, Ne nos inferas in tentationem, nos admonemus hoc petere, ne deserti ejus adjutorio alicui tentationi vel consentiamus decepti, vel cedamus afflicti. Cum dicimus, Libera nos a malo (Matth. VI, 9-13), nos admonemus cogitare, nondum nos esse in eo bono ubi nullum patiemur malum. Et hoc quidem ultimum quod in dominica oratione positum est, tam late patet, ut homo christianus in qualibet tribulatione constitutus in hoc gemitus edat, in hoc lacrymas fundat, hinc exordiatur, in hoc immoretur, ad hoc terminet orationem. His enim verbis res ipsas memoriae nostrae commendari oportebat.

CAPUT XII.

22. Nam quaelibet alia verba dicamus, quae affectus orantis vel praecedendo format ut clareat, vel consequendo attendit ut crescat; nihil aliud dicimus quam quod in ista dominica oratione positum est, si recte et congruenter oramus. Quisquis autem id dicit quod ad istam evangelicam precem pertinere non possit, etiamsi non illicite orat, carnaliter orat: quod nescio quemadmodum non dicatur illicite, quandoquidem spiritu renatos nonnisi spiritualiter decet orare.

CHAPTER XI.

21. For us therefore words are necessary, by which we may be admonished and may inspect what we ask, not those by which we should believe the Lord is either to be taught or to be bent. When therefore we say, Hallowed be Thy name, we admonish ourselves to desire that His name, which is always holy, should also be held holy among men, that is, that it be not contemned; which profits not God, but men. And in that which we say, Thy kingdom come, which whether we will or no, will certainly come, we excite our desire to that kingdom, that it may come to us, and we may deserve to reign in it. When we say, Thy will be done as in heaven and in earth, we pray to Him for obedience itself, that His will may be so done by us, as it is done in celestial things by His Angels. When we say, Give us this day our daily bread; by that which is said, this day, is signified at this time, where we either ask that sufficiency, from the part which excels, that is signifying the whole by the name of bread; or the Sacrament of the faithful, which is necessary in this time, not however for this time, but for the obtaining of that eternal happiness. When we say, Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors, we admonish ourselves both what we ask, and what we should do, that we may deserve to receive. When we say, Lead us not into temptation, we admonish ourselves to ask this, lest deserted of His aid we should either consent to any temptation being deceived, or yield being afflicted. When we say, Deliver us from evil (Matt. VI, 9-13), we admonish ourselves to think that we are not yet in that good where we shall suffer no evil. And this last indeed, which is placed in the Lord's prayer, lies open so widely, that a Christian man constituted in any tribulation whatever may in this emit groans, in this shed tears, from this begin, in this dwell, with this terminate his prayer. For it was fitting that the things themselves be commended to our memory by these words.

CHAPTER XII.

22. For whatever other words we may say, which the affect of the one praying either forms by preceding that it may become clear, or attends by following that it may increase; we say nothing else than what is placed in that Lord's prayer, if we pray rightly and congruously. But whoever says that which cannot pertain to that evangelical prayer, even if he does not pray illicitly, he prays carnally: which I know not how it should not be called illicitly, since it becomes those reborn in the spirit to pray not otherwise than spiritually.

Qui enim dicit, verbi gratia, Clarificare in omnibus gentibus, sicut clarificatus es in nobis: et, Prophetae tui fideles inveniantur (Eccli. XXXVI, 4, 18); quid aliud dicit quam, Sanctificetur nomen tuum? Qui dicit, Deus virtutum, converte nos, et ostende faciem tuam, et salvi erimus (Psal. LXXIX, 4); quid aliud dicit quam, Veniat regnum tuum? Qui dicit, Itinera mea dirige secundum verbum tuum, et ne dominetur mei omnis iniquitas (Psal. CXVIII, 133); quid aliud dicit quam, Fiat voluntas tua sicut in coelo et in terra? Qui dicit, Paupertatem et divitias ne dederis mihi (Prov. XXX, 8); quid aliud dicit quam, Panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie? Qui dicit, Memento, Domine, David, et omnis mansuetudinis ejus (Psal. CXXXI, 1): aut, Domine, si feci istud, si est iniquitas in manibus meis, si reddidi retribuentibus mihi mala (Psal. VII, 4); quid aliud dicit quam, Dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris? Qui dicit, Aufer a me concupiscentias ventris, et desiderium concubitus ne apprehendat me (Eccli. XXIII, 6); quid aliud dicit quam, Ne nos inferas in tentationem? Qui dicit, Erue me ab inimicis meis, Deus, et ab insurgentibus super me libera me (Psal. LVIII, 2); quid aliud dicit quam, Libera nos a malo? Et si per omnia precationum sanctarum verba discurras, quantum existimo, nihil invenies quod in ista dominica non contineatur et concludatur oratione. Unde liberum est aliis atque aliis verbis, eadem tamen in orando dicere; sed non debet esse liberum alia dicere.

23. Haec et pro nobis, et pro nostris, et pro alienis, atque pro ipsis inimicis sine fluctu dubitationis oranda sunt: quamvis alius pro isto, alius pro illo, sicut se habent propinquitates vel longinquitates necessitudinum, in corde orantis oriatur aut excellat affectus. Qui autem dicit in oratione, verbi gratia, Domine, multiplica divitas meas; aut, Da mihi tantas quantas illi vel illi dedisti; aut, Honores meos auge, fac me in hoc saeculo praepotentem atque clarentem, vel si quid hujusmodi est; et haec dicit, eorum habens concupiscentiam, non id attendens, ut ex his secundum Deum prosit hominibus: puto eum non invenire in oratione dominica quo possit haec vota coaptare. Quamobrem pudeat saltem petere quae non pudet cupere; aut si et hoc pudet, sed cupiditas vincit, quanto melius hoc petitur, ut etiam ab isto cupiditatis malo liberet, cui dicimus, Libera nos a malo!

CAPUT XIII.

For he who says, for example, Be glorified in all nations, as Thou hast been glorified in us: and, Let Thy faithful prophets be found (Ecclus. XXXVI, 4, 18); what else does he say than, Hallowed be Thy name? He who says, God of virtues, convert us, and show Thy face, and we shall be saved (Ps. LXXIX, 4); what else does he say than, Thy kingdom come? He who says, Direct my paths according to Thy word, and let not any iniquity have dominion over me (Ps. CXVIII, 133); what else does he say than, Thy will be done as in heaven and in earth? He who says, Give me neither poverty nor riches (Prov. XXX, 8); what else does he say than, Give us this day our daily bread? He who says, Remember, O Lord, David, and all his meekness (Ps. CXXXI, 1): or, O Lord, if I have done this, if there be iniquity in my hands, if I have rendered to them that retributed me evils (Ps. VII, 4); what else does he say than, Forgive us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors? He who says, Take from me the lusts of the belly, and let not the desire of copulation apprehend me (Ecclus. XXIII, 6); what else does he say than, Lead us not into temptation? He who says, Deliver me from my enemies, O God, and from them that rise up over me liberate me (Ps. LVIII, 2); what else does he say than, Deliver us from evil? And if you run through all the words of holy prayers, as much as I estimate, you will find nothing which is not contained and concluded in that Lord's prayer. Whence it is free to say the same things in praying with other and other words; but it ought not to be free to say other things.

23. These things are to be prayed for both for ourselves, and for our own, and for strangers, and for enemies themselves without a wave of doubt: although one affect for this one, another for that one, as the proximities or remotenesses of closenesses (necessitudinum) have themselves, may arise or excel in the heart of the one praying. But he who says in prayer, for example, Lord, multiply my riches; or, Give me as many as Thou hast given to that one or that one; or, Increase my honors, make me prepotent and clear in this world, or if there be anything of this kind; and says these things, having a concupiscence of them, not attending to this, that from these he may profit men according to God: I think that he does not find in the Lord's prayer where he can fit these vows. Wherefore let it at least shame to ask what it does not shame to desire; or if this also shames, but cupidity overcomes, how much better is this asked, that He should deliver also from that evil of cupidity, to whom we say, Deliver us from evil!

CHAPTER XIII.

24. Habes, quantum arbitror, non solum qualis ores, verum etiam quid ores; non me docente, sed illo qui omnes nos docere dignatus est. Beata vita quaerenda est, haec a Domino Deo petenda est. Quid sit beatum esse, a multis multa sunt disputata; sed nos ad multos et ad multa utquid imus? Breviter in Scriptura Dei veraciterque dictum est: Beatus populus cujus est Dominus Deus ipsius (Psal. CXLIII, 15). In ipso populo ut simus, atque ad eum contemplandum et cum eo sine fine vivendum pervenire possimus, finis praecepti est charitas de corde puro, et conscientia bona, et fide non ficta (I Tim. I, 5). In eisdem tribus, pro conscientia bona spes posita est. Fides ergo et spes et charitas ad Deum perducunt orantem, hoc est credentem, sperantem, desiderantem, et quae petat a Domino in dominica oratione considerantem. Jejunia et ab aliis voluptatibus sine salutis neglectu carnalis concupiscentiae refrenatio, maxime que eleemosynae multum adjuvant orationem, ut possimus dicere: In die tribulationis meae Deum exquisivi, manibus meis, nocte coram eo; et non sum deceptus (Psal. LXXVI, 3). Quomodo enim Deus incorporalis et impalpabilis manibus exquiritur, nisi operibus exquiratur?

CAPUT XIV.

25. Adhuc est fortasse quod quaeras, cur Apostolus dixerit, Quid enim oremus sicut oportet, nescimus (Rom. VIII, 26): neque enim ullo modo credendum est vel ipsum, vel quibus ista dicebat, dominicam nescisse orationem. Cur ergo putamus hoc eum dixisse quod nec temere potuit nec mendaciter dicere, nisi quia molestiae tribulationesque temporales plerumque prosunt, vel ad sanandum tumorem superbiae, vel ad probandam exercendamve patientiam, cui probatae et exercitatae clarior merces uberiorque servatur, vel ad quaecumque flagellanda et abolenda peccata; tamen nos nescientes quid ista prosint, ab omni tribulatione optamus liberari? Ab hac ignorantia nec seipsum Apostolus ostendit alienum, nisi forte quid oraret, sicut oportet, sciebat, quando in revelationum magnitudine ne extolleretur datus est illi stimulus carnis, angelus satanae, qui eum colaphizaret; propter quod ter Dominum rogavit ut eum auferret ab eo, utique, sicut oportet, nesciens quid oraret. Denique Dei responsum cur non fieret quod vir tantus orabat, et quare fieri non expediret, audivit: Sufficit tibi gratia mea; nam virtus in infirmitate perficitur (II Cor. XII, 7-9).

24. You have, as much as I judge, not only how you should pray, but even what you should pray; not with me teaching, but with Him who deigned to teach us all. The happy life is to be sought, this is to be asked of the Lord God. What it is to be happy, many things have been disputed by many; but why do we go to many men and to many things? Briefly and truly it has been said in the Scripture of God: Happy is the people whose Lord is its God (Ps. CXLIII, 15). That we may be in that very people, and may be able to reach to the contemplating of Him and to living with Him without end, the end of the precept is charity from a pure heart, and a good conscience, and faith unfeigned (I Tim. I, 5). In those same three, for a good conscience hope is placed. Faith therefore and hope and charity lead the one praying to God, that is, the one believing, hoping, desiring, and considering what things he should ask of the Lord in the Lord's prayer. Fasts and the refraining from other pleasures without neglect of health of carnal concupiscence, and especially alms, much help prayer, so that we may be able to say: In the day of my tribulation I sought God, with my hands, by night before Him; and I am not deceived (Ps. LXXVI, 3). For how is the incorporeal and impalpable God sought with hands, unless He be sought by works?

CHAPTER XIV.

25. There is still perhaps what you may ask, why the Apostle said, For what we should pray for as it behoves, we know not (Rom. VIII, 26): for neither is it by any means to be believed that either he himself, or they to whom he said these things, were ignorant of the Lord's prayer. Why therefore do we think he said this, which he could neither say rashly nor mendaciously, except because temporal molestations and tribulations for the most part profit, either for healing the tumor of pride, or for proving or exercising patience, for which when proved and exercised a clearer and more abundant reward is reserved, or for scourging and abolishing any sins whatever; yet we, not knowing what these things profit, desire to be delivered from all tribulation? From this ignorance the Apostle showed not even himself alien, unless perhaps he knew what he should pray for as it behoves, when in the magnitude of revelations, lest he should be extolled, there was given to him a sting of the flesh, an angel of Satan, who should buffet him; on account of which thrice he asked the Lord that He would take it away from him, certainly, as it behoves, not knowing what he should pray for. Finally he heard God's response why that which so great a man prayed for should not be done, and why it was not expedient to be done: My grace is sufficient for thee; for virtue is perfected in infirmity (II Cor. XII, 7-9).

26. In his ergo tribulationibus quae possunt et prodesse et nocere, quid oremus, sicut oportet, nescimus: et tamen quia dura, quia molesta, quia contra sensum nostrae infirmitatis sunt, universali humana voluntate, ut a nobis haec auferantur, oramus. Sed hoc devotionis debemus Domino Deo nostro, ut si ea non abstulerit, non ideo nos ab eo negligi existimemus, sed potius pia patientia malorum, bona speremus ampliora: sic enim virtus in infirmitate perficitur. Nonnullis quippe impatientibus Dominus Deus quod petebant concessit iratus, sicut contra Apostolo negavit propitius. Nam legimus Israelitae quid et quomodo rogaverint et acceperint; sed expleta concupiscentia, impatientia est graviter castigata (Num. XI). Dedit et regem petentibus secundum cor eorum, sicut scriptum est, non secundum cor suum (I Reg. VIII, 5, 7). Dedit etiam quod diabolus postulavit, ut probandus ejus famulus tentaretur (Job. I, 12, et II, 6). Exaudivit rogantes et immundos spiritus, ut in multos sues legio daemonum mitteretur (Luc. VIII, 32). Haec scripta sunt, ne forte se quisque magnipendat, si fuerit exauditus, cum aliquid impatienter petit, quod non impetrare plus prosit; aut se abjiciat, et de divina erga se miseratione desperet, si non exaudiatur, cum forte aliquid petit, quo accipiendo affligatur atrocius, vel a prosperitate corruptus penitus evertatur. In talibus ergo quid oremus, sicut oportet, nescimus. Unde si aliquid contra quam oramus acciderit, patienter ferendo, et in omnibus gratias agendo, hoc potius oportuisse quod Dei, non quod nostra voluntas habuit, minime dubitare debemus. Nam et hujusmodi exemplum praebuit nobis ille mediator, qui cum dixisset, Pater, si fieri potest, transeat a me calix iste, humanam in se voluntatem ex hominis susceptione transformans, continuo subjecit: Verum non quod ego volo, sed quod tu vis, Pater (Matth. XXVI, 39). Unde non immerito per unius obedientiam justi constituuntur multi (Rom. V, 19).

27. Quisquis autem illam unam petit a Domino, et hanc requirit (Psal. XXVI, 4), certus ac securus petit, nec timet ne forte obsit cum acceperit, sine qua nihil prodest quidquid aliud orando, sicut oportet, acceperit. Ipsa est enim una vera et sola beata vita, ut contemplemur Domini delectationem in aeternum, immortales atque incorruptibiles corpore et spiritu. Propter hanc unam caetera requiruntur, et non indecenter petuntur. Istam quisquis habuerit, omnia quae vult habebit, nec aliquid ibi velle habere poterit quod non decebit.

26. In these tribulations therefore which can both profit and harm, what we should pray for as it behoves, we know not: and yet because they are hard, because they are molestful, because they are against the sense of our infirmity, by a universal human will we pray that these be taken away from us. But this of devotion we owe to the Lord our God, that if He shall not have taken them away, we should not therefore estimate ourselves to be neglected by Him, but rather by a pious patience of evils, we should hope for more ample good things: for thus virtue is perfected in infirmity. For to some impatient ones the Lord God granted what they asked being angry, just as on the contrary He denied the Apostle being propitious. For we read what and how the Israelites asked and received; but their concupiscence being fulfilled, their impatience was heavily chastised (Num. XI). He gave also a king to them asking according to their heart, as it is written, not according to His own heart (I Sam. VIII, 5, 7). He gave also what the devil demanded, that His servant to be proved might be tempted (Job I, 12, and II, 6). He heard also the unclean spirits asking, that a legion of demons might be sent into many swine (Luke VIII, 32). These things are written, lest perhaps anyone should weigh himself great if he shall have been heard, when he asks something impatiently, which not to impetrate profits more; or should cast himself down, and despair of divine commiseration toward himself, if he be not heard, when perhaps he asks something, by the receiving of which he may be more atrociously afflicted, or being corrupted by prosperity may be inwardly overturned. In such things therefore what we should pray for as it behoves, we know not. Whence if anything shall have happened contrary to what we pray for, by bearing it patiently, and in all things giving thanks, we ought by no means to doubt that this was rather necessary which God's will, not which our will had. For also of this kind an example that mediator provided for us, who when he had said, Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me, transforming the human will in himself from the assumption of man, continuously subjected: Nevertheless not what I will, but what Thou wilt, Father (Matt. XXVI, 39). Whence not undeservedly through the obedience of one many are constituted just (Rom. V, 19).

27. But whoever asks that one thing from the Lord, and seeks this (Ps. XXVI, 4), asks certain and secure, nor does he fear lest perhaps it should harm when he shall have received it, without which nothing profits whatever else he shall have received by praying, as it behoves. For it is itself the one true and only happy life, that we should contemplate the delight of the Lord for eternity, immortal and incorruptible in body and spirit. On account of this one thing the rest are required, and are not indecently asked. Whoever shall have had this, will have all things that he wishes, nor will he be able to wish to have anything there which will not be becoming.

Ibi quippe est fons vitae, quem sitire nunc oportet in oratione, quamdiu in spe vivimus, et quod speramus nondum videmus, in protectione alarum ejus, ante quem est omne desiderium nostrum, ut inebriemur ab ubertate domus ejus, et torrente voluptatis ejus potemur; quoniam apud eum est fons vitae, et in lumine ejus videbimus lumen (Psal. XXXV, 8-10), quando satiabitur in bonis desiderium nostrum, et nihil erit ultra quod gemendo quaeramus, sed quod gaudendo teneamus. Verumtamen quia ipsa est pax quae praecellit omnem intellectum, etiam ipsam in oratione poscendo, quid oremus, sicut oportet, nescimus. Quod enim sicuti est cogitare non possumus, utique nescimus; sed quidquid cogitanti occurrerit, abjicimus, respuimus, improbamus, non hoc esse quod quaerimus novimus, quamvis illud nondum quale sit noverimus.

CAPUT XV.

28. Est ergo in nobis quaedam, ut ita dicam, docta ignorantia, sed docta spiritu Dei qui adjuvat infirmitatem nostram. Nam cum dixisset Apostolus, Si autem quod non videmus speramus, per patientiam exspectamus; ibi subjecit: Similiter et Spiritus adjuvat infirmitatem nostram: quid enim oremus, sicut oportet, nescimus; sed ipse Spiritus interpellat pro nobis gemitibus inenarrabilibus. Qui autem scrutatur corda, scit quid Spiritus sapiat, quia secundum Deum interpellat pro sanctis (Rom. VIII, 25-27). Quod non sic est intelligendum, ut existimemus sanctum Spiritum Dei, qui in Trinitate incommutabilis Deus est, et cum Patre et Filio unus Deus, tanquam aliquem qui non sit quod Deus est, interpellare pro sanctis: dictum quippe est, Interpellat pro sanctis, quia interpellare sanctos facit; sicut dictum est, Tentat vos Dominus Deus vester, ut sciat si diligatis eum (Deut. XIII, 3), hoc est ut scire vos faciat. Interpellare itaque sanctos facit gemitibus inenarrabilibus, inspirans eis desiderium etiam adhuc incognitae tantae rei quam per patientiam exspectamus. Quomodo enim narratur, quando desideratur, quod ignoratur? nam utique si omnimodo ignoraretur, non desideraretur; et rursus, si videretur, non desideraretur, nec gemitibus quaereretur.

CAPUT XVI.

For there is the fountain of life, for which it behoves now to thirst in prayer, as long as we live in hope, and what we hope for we do not yet see, in the protection of His wings, before whom is all our desire, that we may be inebriated from the richness of His house, and be made to drink from the torrent of His pleasure; since with Him is the fountain of life, and in His light we shall see light (Ps. XXXV, 8-10), when our desire shall be satisfied in good things, and there will be nothing further which we may seek by groaning, but what we may hold by rejoicing. Nevertheless, because it is itself the peace which excels all understanding, even in demanding it in prayer, what we should pray for as it behoves, we know not. For what we cannot think as it is, we certainly know not; but whatever shall have occurred to the one thinking, we cast away, reject, disapprove, we know this is not what we seek, although we do not yet know of what kind that is.

CHAPTER XV.

28. There is therefore in us a certain, as I may so say, learned ignorance, but learned by the Spirit of God who helps our infirmity. For when the Apostle had said, But if we hope for that which we see not, through patience we wait for it; he there subjected: Likewise also the Spirit helps our infirmity: for what we should pray for, as it behoves, we know not; but the Spirit Himself intercedes for us with unutterable groanings. And He who searches hearts, knows what the Spirit savors, because according to God He intercedes for the saints (Rom. VIII, 25-27). Which is not so to be understood, that we should estimate the Holy Spirit of God, who in the Trinity is incommutable God, and with the Father and the Son one God, as someone who is not what God is, to intercede for the saints: for it was said indeed, He intercedes for the saints, because He makes the saints to intercede; as it was said, The Lord your God tempts you, that He may know if you love Him (Deut. XIII, 3), that is that He may make you to know. He makes the saints therefore to intercede with unutterable groanings, inspiring in them a desire even of so great a thing as yet unknown, which through patience we wait for. For how is it told, when it is desired, what is unknown? for certainly if it were altogether unknown, it would not be desired; and again, if it were seen, it would not be desired, nor sought with groanings.

CHAPTER XVI.

29. Haec omnia considerans, et si quid aliud de hac re tibi Dominus insinuaverit, quod vel mihi non occurrit, vel dici a me longum fuit, concerta in oratione vincere hoc saeculum; ora in spe, ora fideliter et amanter, ora instanter atque patienter, ora sicut vidua Christi. Quamvis enim ad omnia membra ejus, hoc est ad omnes qui in eum credunt, et ejus corpori sociantur, sicut docuit, orare pertineat, specialiter tamen diligentior cura orationum in Scripturis ejus viduis invenitur injuncta. Nam duae fuerunt Annae honorabiliter nominatae, una conjugata quae sanctum Samuelem peperit, alia vidua quae Sanctum sanctorum, cum adhuc infans esset, agnovit. Oravit et conjugata in dolore animi et afflictione cordis, quia filios non habebat: tunc ipsum Samuelem impetravit, et acceptum Deo reddidit, quia cum posceret, vovit (I Reg. 1). Sed oratio ejus quomodo ad orationem illam dominicam pertineat, non facile reperitur, nisi quia in eo quod ibi positum est, Libera nos a malo, non parvum malum videbatur, et nuptam esse, et fructu carere nuptiarum, cum sola excuset nuptias procreandorum causa filiorum. De illa vero Anna vidua vide quid scriptum sit: Quia non discedebat de templo, jejuniis et obsecrationibus serviens nocte ac die (Luc. II, 36, 37). Nec aliunde Apostolus, quod et supra commemoravi: Quae autem vere vidua est, inquit, et desolata, speravit in Domino, et persistit in orationibus nocte ac die (I Tim. V, 5): et Dominus cum semper ad orandum, et non deficiendum nos hortaretur, viduam commemoravit, quae licet iniquum et impium judicem, ac Dei et hominum contemptorem, ad audiendam causam suam assidue interpellando convertit. Quam ergo prae caeteris viduae debent vacare orationibus, satis hinc intelligi potest, quod omnibus ad suscipiendum orandi studium de viduis propositum est exhortationis exemplum.

30. Quid autem in hoc operis genere in viduis electum est, nisi destitutio et desolatio? Quapropter si se omnis anima intelligat in hoc saeculo destitutam atque desolatam, quamdiu peregrinatur a Domino, profecto quamdam viduitatem suam Deo defensori assidua et impensissima precatione commendat. Ora ergo ut vidua Christi, nondum habens ejus conspectum, cujus precaris auxilium. Et licet sis ditissima, sicut pauper ora: nondum enim veras futuri saeculi divitias habes, ubi nulla damna formides. Licet habeas filios et nepotes, numerosamque familiam, quod et supra dictum est, sicut desolata ora: incerta sunt enim omnia temporalia, etiam usque in finem vitae hujus in nostram consolationem mansura. Tu autem si ea quae sursum sunt quaeris et sapis, aeterna et certa desideras, quae quamdiu nondum habes, etiam salvis omnibus atque obsequentibus tuis, tanquam desolatam deputare te debes.

29. Considering all these things, and if the Lord should suggest anything else to you concerning this matter, which either did not occur to me or was too long for me to say, strive in prayer to overcome this world; pray in hope, pray faithfully and lovingly, pray urgently and patiently, pray as a widow of Christ. For although it belongs to all His members, that is, to all who believe in Him and are associated with His body, to pray as He taught, yet a more diligent care for prayers is found in the Scriptures to be specially enjoined upon His widows. For there were two Annas honorably named, one married who bore the holy Samuel, the other a widow who recognized the Holy of Holies when He was yet an infant. And the married woman prayed in sorrow of soul and affliction of heart, because she had no children: then she obtained Samuel himself, and gave him back to God as accepted, because when she asked, she vowed (1 Sam. 1). But how her prayer belongs to that Lord's prayer is not easily found, except that in what is placed there, Deliver us from evil, it seemed no small evil both to be married and to lack the fruit of marriage, since she alone excuses marriage for the sake of procreating children. But concerning that Anna the widow, see what is written: Because she did not depart from the temple, serving with fasts and supplications night and day (Luke 2:36, 37). Nor from anywhere else did the Apostle say, as I also mentioned above: But she who is truly a widow and desolate, has hoped in the Lord, and persists in prayers night and day (1 Tim. 5:5): and the Lord, when He always exhorted us to pray and not to fail, mentioned the widow, who although she converted an unjust and impious judge, and a despiser of God and men, to hear her cause by interceding assiduously. How much therefore widows beyond others ought to be free for prayers, can be sufficiently understood from this, that to all for the undertaking of the zeal for praying, the example of the widow is proposed for exhortation.

30. But what in this kind of work was chosen in widows, except destitution and desolation? Wherefore if every soul understands itself to be destitute and desolate in this world, as long as it journeys from the Lord, surely it commends its certain widowhood to God its defender with assiduous and most earnest prayer. Pray therefore as a widow of Christ, not yet having His sight, whose help you pray for. And although you be very rich, pray as a poor person: for you do not yet have the true riches of the world to come, where you may fear no losses. Although you have children and grandchildren, and a numerous family, as was also said above, pray as one desolate: for all temporal things are uncertain, even if they remain to the end of this life for our consolation. But if you seek and savor those things which are above, you desire eternal and certain things, which as long as you do not yet have, even while all your people are safe and obedient to you, you ought to consider yourself as desolate.

Et si tu, profecto etiam tuo exemplo religiosissima nurus tua, et aliae sanctae viduae virginesque sub vestra cura securius constitutae: quanto enim magis domum vestram pie tractatis, tanto impensius orationibus instare debetis, rerum praesentium non occupatae negotiis, nisi quae flagitat causa pietatis.

31. Sane memineritis et pro nobis non negligenter orare. Nolumus enim sic nobis honorem, quem periculosum gerimus, deferatis, ut adjutorium, quod necessarium novimus, auferatis. A familia Christi oratum est pro Petro, oratum est pro Paulo; et vos in ejus familia esse gaudemus, et incomparabiliter plus quam Petrus et Paulus orationum fraternarum auxiliis indigemus. Orate certatim concordi sanctoque certamine: non enim adversus alterutrum certatis, sed adversus diabolum, sanctis omnibus inimicum. In jejuniis et vigiliis, et omni castigatione corporis quamplurimum adjuvatur oratio (Tob. XII, 8). Faciat quaeque vestrum quod poterit: quod altera minus potest, in ea quae potest facit, si in altera diligit quod ideo quia non potest ipsa non facit; proinde quae minus valet, non impediat plus valentem, et quae plus valet, non urgeat minus valentem. Conscientiam quippe vestram Deo debetis; nemini autem vestrum aliquid debeatis, nisi ut invicem diligatis. Exaudiat te Dominus, qui potens est facere supra quam petimus aut intelligimus (Ephes. III, 20).

Epistola CXXXI.

Augustinus Probam resalutat, et gratias agit quod de salute ipsius fuerit sollicita.

Dominae insigni et merito illustri, et praestantissimae filiae PROBAE, AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem. Est quidem ita, ut dicis, quod in corpore corruptibili anima constituta, terrena quadam contagione constringitur, et tati onere quodammodo depressa curvatur, ut in imo multa, quam in summo unum, facilius concupiscat et cogitet. Nam hoc etiam sancta Scriptura ita dicit: Corpus enim quod corrumpitur aggravat animam, et deprimit terrena inhabitatio sensum multa cogitantem (Sap. IX, 13). Sed ideo venit Salvator noster, qui mulierem illam in Evangelio per decem et octo annos curvam, quae fortasse hoc significabat, verbo salutis erexit (Luc. XIII, 11-13), ut anima christiana non frustra audiat, Sursum cor; nec frustra respondeat, se habere ad Dominum. Quod intuens recte facis, mala hujus mundi tolerabilia ducere spe futuri. Sic enim usu quodam bono convertuntur in bonum, dum non augent nostram concupiscentiam, sed exercent patientiam; de qua re Apostolus ait: Scimus quoniam diligentibus Deum omnia cooperantur in bonum (Rom. VIII, 28).

And if you do, surely also by your example your most religious daughter-in-law, and the other holy widows and virgins placed more securely under your care: for the more piously you manage your house, the more earnestly you ought to persist in prayers, not occupied with the business of present things, except what the cause of piety demands.

31. Indeed, remember to pray for us also not negligently. For we do not wish you to defer to us in honor, which we bear dangerously, in such a way as to take away the help which we know to be necessary. Prayer was made for Peter by the family of Christ, prayer was made for Paul; and we rejoice that you are in His family, and we incomparably more than Peter and Paul stand in need of the help of fraternal prayers. Pray emulously with a concordant and holy strife: for you do not strive against one another, but against the devil, the enemy of all the holy. In fasts and vigils, and all chastisement of the body, prayer is very much helped (Tobit 12:8). Let each of you do what she can: what one can do less, she does in her who can, if she loves in the other that which she herself does not do because she cannot; therefore, let her who is less able not hinder her who is more able, and let her who is more able not urge her who is less able. For you owe your conscience to God; but owe nothing to any of you, except that you love one another. May the Lord hear you, who is able to do above what we ask or understand (Eph. 3:20).

Epistle CXXXI.

Augustine salutes Proba again, and gives thanks that she was solicitous for his health.

To the distinguished lady and deservedly illustrious, and most excellent daughter PROBA, AUGUSTINUS, in the Lord greetings. It is indeed so, as you say, that the soul being placed in a corruptible body, is constrained by a certain earthly contagion, and being in a certain way depressed by so great a weight, is bowed down, so that it more easily desires and thinks of many things in the depths than of one thing in the heights. For the holy Scripture also says thus: For the body which is corrupted weighs down the soul, and the earthly habitation depresses the sense that thinks many things (Wisdom 9:15). But for this reason came our Savior, who raised up with the word of health that woman in the Gospel bowed down for eighteen years, who perhaps signified this (Luke 13:11-13), so that the Christian soul may not in vain hear, Lift up your heart; nor in vain respond, that it has it to the Lord. Looking at which, you do rightly to consider the evils of this world tolerable through the hope of the future. For thus by a certain good use they are converted into good, while they do not increase our concupiscence, but exercise patience; concerning which matter the Apostle says: We know that all things work together for good to them that love God (Rom. 8:28).

Omnia, inquit: non solum ergo illa quae appetuntur ut suavia, verum etiam illa quae ut molesta vitantur; quando alia sic sumimus ne capiamur, alia sic ferimus ne frangamur, et secundum praecepta divina in omnibus gratias agimus ei, de quo dicimus: Benedicam Dominum in omni tempore; semper laus ejus in ore meo (Psal. XXXIII, 2); et, Bonum est mihi quod humiliasti me, ut discam justificationes tuas (Psal. CXVIII, 71). Neque enim revera, si fallacis prosperitatis semper hic tranquillitas arrideret, anima humana portum illum verae certaeque securitatis appeteret, domina insignis et merito illustris, et praestantissima filia. Reddens itaque debitum Praestantiae tuae salutationis obsequium, agensque gratias quod salutis nostrae religiosissimam curam geris, posco tibi a Domino futurae vitae praemia, praesentisque solaria; omniumque vestrum, in quorum cordibus per fidem habitat Christus, me dilectioni orationique commendo. Et alia manu: Deus verus et verax veraciter consoletur cor tuum, et protegat salutem tuam, domina insignis et merito illustris, ac praestantissima filia.

EPISTOLA CXXXII. Augustinus Volusiano, exhortans illum ut sacrarum scripturarum lectioni vacet, sibique rescribat si quid in eis difficultatis legenti occurrerit. Domino illustri et merito praestantissimo filio VOLUSIANO, AUGUSTINUS episcopus.

De salute tua, quam et in hoc saeculo, et in Christo esse cupio, sanctae matris tuae votis sum fortasse etiam ipse non impar. Unde meritis tuis reddens salutationis obsequium, hortor, ut valeo, ut Litterarum vere certeque sanctarum studio te curam non pigeat impendere. Sincera enim et solida res est, nec fucatis eloquiis ambit ad animum, nec ullo linguae tectorio inane aliquid ac pendulum crepitat. Multum movet, non verborum, sed rerum avidum; et multum terret, factura securum. Praecipue Apostolorum linguas exhortor ut legas; ex his enim ad cognoscendos Prophetas excitaberis, quorum testimoniis utuntur Apostoli. Si quid autem, vel cum legis, vel cum cogitas, tibi oritur quaestionis, in quo dissolvendo videar necessarius, scribe ut rescribam. Magis enim hoc forte Domino ad juvante potero, quam praesens talia loqui tecum; non solum propter occupationes varias et meas et tuas (quoniam non cum mihi vacat, occurrit ut et tibi vacet), verum etiam propter eorum irruentem praesentiam, qui plerumque non sunt apti tali negotio, magisque linguae certaminibus, quam scientiae luminibus delectantur: quod autem scriptum habetur, semper vacat ad legendum, cum vacat legenti; nec onerosum fit praesens, quod cum voles sumitur, cum voles ponitur.

All things, he says: not only therefore those which are sought as sweet, but also those which are avoided as troublesome; when we so take some lest we be caught, and so bear others lest we be broken, and according to the divine precepts give thanks in all things to Him, of whom we say: I will bless the Lord at all times; His praise shall always be in my mouth (Psalm 34:1); and, It is good for me that Thou hast humbled me, that I may learn Thy justifications (Psalm 119:71). For indeed, if the tranquility of deceitful prosperity always smiled here, the human soul would not seek that port of true and certain security, distinguished lady and deservedly illustrious, and most excellent daughter. Rendering therefore the owed service of salutation to your Excellence, and giving thanks that you bear a most religious care for our health, I ask for you from the Lord the rewards of the future life, and the consolations of the present; and I commend myself to the love and prayer of all of you, in whose hearts Christ dwells through faith. And with another hand: May the true and truthful God truly console your heart, and protect your health, distinguished lady and deservedly illustrious, and most excellent daughter.

EPISTLE CXXXII. Augustine to Volusianus, exhorting him to be free for the reading of the sacred scriptures, and to write back to him if any difficulty should occur to him while reading. To the illustrious and deservedly most excellent son VOLUSIANUS, AUGUSTINE the bishop.

Concerning your health, which I desire to be both in this world and in Christ, I am perhaps myself not unequal to the vows of your holy mother. Wherefore, rendering the service of salutation to your merits, I exhort you, as I am able, that it may not grieve you to spend care on the study of truly and certainly holy Letters. For it is a sincere and solid thing, and does not strive for the mind with feigned eloquence, nor does anything vain and dangling rattle with any plaster of the tongue. It moves much one who is greedy not of words, but of things; and it terrifies much, to make one secure. Especially I exhort you to read the tongues of the Apostles; for from these you will be excited to know the Prophets, whose testimonies the Apostles use. But if anything, either when you read or when you think, arises in you as a question, in the dissolving of which I may seem necessary, write that I may write back. For I shall perhaps be able to do this more with the Lord helping than to speak such things with you present; not only because of various occupations both mine and yours (since it does not happen that when I am free, you are also free), but also because of the rushing presence of those who for the most part are not fit for such business, and are delighted more with the strifes of the tongue than with the lights of knowledge: but what is held written is always free for reading when it is free for the reader; nor does it become burdensome when present, which is taken up when you will, and laid down when you will.

EPISTOLA CXXXIII. Augustinus Marcellino tribuno, ut Donatistas in quaestione confessos atrocia facinora, puniat citra supplicium capitis, uti congruit Ecclesiae mansuetudini. Domino eximio et merito insigni, atque charissimo filio MARCELLINO, AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem. 1. Circumcelliones illos et clericos partis Donati, quos de Hipponensi ad judicium pro factis eorum publicae disciplinae cura deduxerat, a tua Nobilitate comperi auditos, et plurimos eorum de homicidio quod in Restitutum, catholicum presbyterum commiserunt, et de caede Innocentii, alterius catholici presbyteri, atque de oculo ejus effosso, et de digito praeciso fuisse confessos. Unde mihi sollicitudo maxima incussa est, ne forte Sublimitas tua censeat eos tanta legum severitate plectendos, ut qualia fecerunt, talia patiantur. Ideoque his litteris obtestor fidem tuam quam habes in Christo, per ipsius Domini Christi misericordiam, ut hoc nec facias, nec fieri omnino permittas. Quamvis enim ab eorum interitu dissimulare possemus, qui non accusantibus nostris, sed illorum Notoria ad quos tuendae publicae pacis vigilantia pertinebat, praesentati videantur examini; nolumus tamen passiones servorum Dei, quasi vice talionis, paribus suppliciis vindicari. Non quo scelestis hominibus licentiam facinorum prohibeamus auferri; sed hoc magis sufficere volumus ut vivi et nulla corporis parte truncati, vel ab inquietudine insana ad sanitatis otium legum coercitione dirigantur, vel a malignis operibus alicui utili operi deputentur. Vocatur quidem et ista damnatio; sed quis non intelligat magis beneficium quam supplicium nuncupandum, ubi nec saeviendi relaxetur audacia, nec poenitendi subtrahatur medicina?

2. Imple, christiane judex, pii patris officium; sic succense iniquitati, ut consulere humanitati memineris: nec in peccatorum atrocitatibus exerceas ulciscendi libidinem; sed peccatorum vulneribus curandi adhibeas voluntatem. Noli perdere paternam diligentiam, quam in ipsa inquisitione servasti, quando tantorum scelerum confessionem, non extendente equuleo, non sulcantibus ungulis, non urentibus flammis, sed virgarum verberibus eruisti. Qui modus coercitionis a magistris artium liberalium, et ab ipsis parentibus, et saepe etiam in judiciis solet ab episcopis adhiberi.

EPISTLE CXXXIII. Augustine to Marcellinus the tribune, that he should punish the Donatists who confessed to atrocious crimes in the inquiry without the punishment of death, as is congruent with the gentleness of the Church. To the distinguished and deservedly renowned, and most dear son MARCELLINUS, AUGUSTINE, in the Lord greetings. 1. I have learned from your Nobility that those Circumcellions and clerics of the party of Donatus, whom the care of public discipline had brought from Hippo to judgment for their deeds, have been heard, and that many of them have confessed to the homicide which they committed against Restitutus, a Catholic presbyter, and to the slaughter of Innocent, another Catholic presbyter, and to his eye being dug out, and to a finger being cut off. Wherefore a very great solicitude has been struck into me, lest perhaps your Sublimity should think that they are to be punished with such severity of the laws that they suffer such things as they did. And therefore by these letters I adjure your faith which you have in Christ, through the mercy of the Lord Christ Himself, that you neither do this, nor permit it to be done at all. For although we could dissemble from their destruction, who seem to have been presented for examination not by our accusing, but by the petition (Notoria) of those to whom the vigilance of protecting public peace belonged; yet we do not wish the sufferings of the servants of God to be avenged by equal punishments, as if by way of retaliation. Not that we would prohibit the license for crimes to be taken away from wicked men; but we rather wish this to suffice, that being alive and with no part of their body truncated, they be directed either from insane restlessness to the leisure of health by the coercion of the laws, or from malignant works be deputed to some useful work. This too is indeed called condemnation; but who does not understand that it is rather to be called a benefit than a punishment, where neither the audacity of raging is relaxed, nor the medicine of repenting is withdrawn?

2. Fulfill, Christian judge, the office of a pious father; so be angry at iniquity that you remember to consult for humanity: nor exercise the lust of avenging in the atrocities of sinners; but apply the will of healing to the wounds of sinners. Do not lose the paternal diligence which you kept in the inquiry itself, when you elicited the confession of so great crimes, not by the rack extending, not by the claws furrowing, not by burning flames, but by the beatings of rods. Which mode of coercion is accustomed to be applied by masters of liberal arts, and by parents themselves, and often even in judgments by bishops.

Noli ergo atrocius vindicare, quod lenius invenisti. Inquirendi quam puniendi necessitas major est: ad hoc enim et mitissimi homines facinus occultatum diligenter atque instanter examinant, ut inveniant quibus parcant. Unde plerumque necesse est, exerceatur acrius inquisitio, ut manifestato scelere sit ubi appareat mansuetudo. Omnia quippe bona opera amant in luce constitui; non propter humanam gloriam, sed ut videant, ait Dominus, bona opera vestra, et glorificent Patrem vestrum qui in coelis est (Matth. V, 16). Et ideo non suffecit Apostolo monere ut mansuetudinem servaremus, sed ut eam etiam notam omnibus faceremus: Mansuetudo, inquit, vestra nota sit omnibus hominibus (Philipp. IV, 5); et alio loco, Mansuetudinem ostentantes ad omnes homines (Tit. III, 2). Unde nec illa sancti David, quando inimico sibi in manus tradito clementer pepercit (I Reg. XXIV, 7), praeclarissima lenitas emineret, nisi potestas pariter appareret. Non te ergo exasperet vindicandi potestas, cui lenitatem non excussit examinandi necessitas. Noli facinore invento quaerere percussorem, in quo inveniendo noluisti adhibere tortorem.

3. Postremo pro Ecclesiae utilitate missus es. Hoc Ecclesiae catholicae, aut, ut modum dispensationis meae non supergredi videar, hoc Ecclesiae ad Hipponensium-Regiorum dioecesim pertinenti prodesse, hoc expedire contestor. Si non audis amicum petentem, audi episcopum consulentem. Quamvis quoniam christiano loquor, maxime in tali causa, non arroganter dixerim, audire te episcopum convenit jubentem, domine eximie et merito insignis, atque charissime fili. Unde scio quidem causas ecclesiasticas Excellentiae tuae potissimum injunctas, sed quia credo istam curam ad virum clarissimum atque spectabilem proconsulem pertinere, ad eum quoque litteras dedi; quas rego ut ipse illi tradere et allegare, si opus est, non graveris: atque ambos obsecro, ne importunam arbitremini, vel intercessionem, vel suggestionem, vel sollicitudinem nostram; et passiones catholicorum servorum Dei, quae infirmis ad aedificationem spiritualem utiles esse debent, haud reciproca inimicorum, a quibus passi sunt, poena decoloretis, sed potius refracta judiciaria severitate, et vestram fidem, quia filii estis Ecclesiae, et ipsius matris mansuetudinem commendare minime negligatis. Deus omnipotens Praestantiam tuam bonis omnibus augeat, domine eximie et merito insignis, atque charissime fili.

EPISTOLA CXXXI V. Augustinus Apringium proconsulem rogat ac monet ut Circumcelliones atrocia confessos mitius puniat, memor ecclesiasticae mansuetudinis. Domino insigni et merito sublimi, ac praestantissimo filio APRINGIO, AUGUSTINUS.

Do not therefore avenge more atrociously what you found more leniently. The necessity of inquiring is greater than of punishing: for to this end also most mild men examine a hidden crime diligently and urgently, that they may find those whom they may spare. Wherefore it is often necessary that the inquiry be exercised more sharply, so that when the crime is manifested, there may be where gentleness may appear. For all good works love to be placed in the light; not for human glory, but that they may see, says the Lord, your good works, and glorify your Father who is in heaven (Matt. 5:16). And therefore it did not suffice for the Apostle to warn that we should keep gentleness, but that we should also make it known to all: Your gentleness, he says, be known to all men (Phil. 4:5); and in another place, showing gentleness to all men (Titus 3:2). Wherefore neither that most famous lenity of holy David, when he clemently spared his enemy delivered into his hands (1 Sam. 24:7), would stand out, unless power likewise appeared. Let not therefore the power of avenging exasperate you, from whom the necessity of examining did not shake out lenity. Do not seek a striker when the crime is found, in finding which you did not wish to apply a torturer.

3. Finally, you have been sent for the benefit of the Church. I attest that this benefits the Catholic Church, or, that I may not seem to exceed the measure of my dispensation, that this is expedient for the Church belonging to the diocese of Hippo-Regius. If you do not hear a friend asking, hear a bishop consulting. Although since I speak to a Christian, especially in such a cause, I would not have said arrogantly, it becomes you to hear a bishop commanding, distinguished and deservedly renowned, and most dear son. Wherefore I know indeed that ecclesiastical causes are especially enjoined upon your Excellence, but because I believe that that care belongs to the most renowned and spectable man the proconsul, I have also given letters to him; which I ask that you yourself may not be burdened to hand over and allege to him, if there is need: and I beseech both of you, that you do not think importunate either our intercession, or suggestion, or solicitude; and that you do not discolor the sufferings of the Catholic servants of God, which ought to be useful to the weak for spiritual edification, with a reciprocal punishment of the enemies from whom they suffered, but rather, the judicial severity being broken, that you by no means neglect to commend both your faith, because you are sons of the Church, and the gentleness of the mother herself. May Almighty God increase your Excellence in all good things, distinguished and deservedly renowned, and most dear son.

EPISTLE CXXXIV. Augustine to Apringius the proconsul, asks and warns him that he should punish the Circumcellions who confessed to atrocities more mildly, mindful of ecclesiastical gentleness. To the distinguished and deservedly sublime, and most excellent son APRINGIUS, AUGUSTINE.

1. Non dubito in hac potestate quam tibi Deus homini in homines dedit, cogitare te divinum judicium, ubi et judices stabunt rationem de suo judicio reddituri. Christiana quippe fide te imbutum scio; unde mihi ad Excellentiam tuam major fiducia tribuitur, non solum petendi, verum etiam monendi propter illum Dominum, in cujus familia nobiscum coelesti jure censeris, in quo spem vitae aeternae pariter habemus, et quem pro vobis in sacrosanctis mysteriis invocamus. Proinde, domine insignis et merito sublimis, ac praestantissime fili, primum quaeso ut non tibi videar importunus irruere actibus tuis, ea sollicitudine quam me praecipue gerere oportet pro Ecclesia mihi credita, cujus utilitatibus servio, cui non tam praeesse quam prodesse desidero: deinde obsecro ut quod moneo vel rogo, non dedigneris accipere, non cuncteris acquiescere.

2. Circumcelliones quosdam et clericos donatistas, cura eorum qui disciplinae publicae inserviunt, praemissa Notoria, ad judicia legesque perduxit. Hi cum audirentur a viro clarissimo et spectabili tribuno et notario fratre tuo, filio meo Marcellino, non tormentis ungularum atque flammarum, sed virgarum coerciti, horrenda facinora in fratres et compresbyteros meos a se perpetrata confessi sunt; quod scilicet unum eorum exceptum insidiis trucidaverunt, alterum e domo raptum, oculo effosso digitoque amputato truncaverunt. Haec cum comperissem illos fuisse confessos, ideoque minime dubitarem sub jura tuae securis esse venturos, has ad tuam Nobilitatem litteras acceleravi, quibus deprecor, et per misericordiam Christi obsecro, sic de tua majore atque certiore felicitate gaudeamus, ut eis paria non retribuantur; quanquam lapidis ictibus digitum praecidere oculumque convellere leges puniendo non possint, quod isti saeviendo potuerunt. Unde securus sum de iis qui hoc se fecisse confessi sunt, quod hanc vicissitudinem non reportabunt; sed ne vel ipsi, vel illi quorum homicidium patefactum est, per tuae potestatis sententiam multentur, hoc timeo, hoc ne fiat et christianus judicem rogo, et christianum episcopus moneo.

3. De vobis quidem dixisse Apostolum legimus quod non sine causa gladium geratis, et ministri Dei sitis, vindices in eos qui male agunt (Rom. XIII, 4); sed alia causa est provinciae, alia est Ecclesiae: illius terribiliter gerenda est administratio; hujus clementer commendanda est mansuetudo.

1. I do not doubt that in this power which God gave to you as a man over men, you think of the divine judgment, where judges also will stand to render an account of their own judgment. For I know that you are imbued with the Christian faith; wherefore a greater confidence is given to me toward your Excellence, not only of asking, but also of warning because of that Lord in whose family you are counted with us by heavenly right, in whom we likewise have the hope of eternal life, and whom we invoke for you in the sacrosanct mysteries. Therefore, distinguished and deservedly sublime, and most excellent son, first I ask that I may not seem to you importunate to rush into your acts, with that solicitude which it behooves me especially to bear for the Church committed to me, whose interests I serve, and over which I desire not so much to preside as to benefit: then I beseech that what I warn or ask, you do not disdain to receive, nor hesitate to acquiesce.

2. Certain Circumcellions and Donatist clerics, by the care of those who serve the public discipline, a petition (Notoria) having been sent before, were brought to judgments and laws. These when they were heard by the most renowned and spectable man the tribune and notary your brother, my son Marcellinus, not coerced by the tortures of claws and flames, but by rods, confessed the horrendous crimes perpetrated by them against my brothers and fellow-presbyters; that namely they killed one of them caught in ambushes, and truncated another snatched from his house, his eye being dug out and finger cut off. When I had learned that they had confessed these things, and therefore did not doubt that they would come under the laws of your axe, I accelerated these letters to your Nobility, by which I deprecate, and through the mercy of Christ beseech, that we may so rejoice in your greater and more certain happiness, that equal things be not returned to them; although the laws in punishing cannot cut off a finger and pluck out an eye by the blows of a stone, as these were able to do in their raging. Wherefore I am secure concerning those who confessed that they did this, that they will not report this retaliation; but lest either they, or those whose homicide has been made open, be punished by the sentence of your power, this I fear, that this may not happen I both ask the judge as a Christian, and warn the Christian as a bishop.

3. We read indeed that the Apostle said of you that you bear the sword not without cause, and are ministers of God, avengers against those who do evil (Rom. 13:4); but the cause of the province is one thing, the cause of the Church is another: the administration of the former is to be carried out terribly; the gentleness of the latter is to be clemently commended.

Si apud judicem non christianum mihi sermo esset, aliter agerem: nec tamen etiam sic Ecclesiae causam desererem, et quantum admittere dignaretur, instarem ne passiones servorum Dei catholicorum, quae prodesse debent ad exempla patientiae, inimicorum suorum sanguine foedarentur; et si nollet acquiescere, inimico animo eum resistere suspicarer. Nunc vero quando apud te res agitur, alia mihi ratio est, alia consultatio. Rectorem te quidem praecelsae potestatis videmus, sed etiam filium christianae pietatis agnoscimus. Subdatur sublimitas tua, subdatur fides tua; causam tecum tracto communem, sed tu in ea potes quod ego non possum: confer nobiscum consilium, et porrige auxilium.

4. Diligenter actum est ut inimici Ecclesiae, qui solent vaniloquio seductionis sollicitare animos imperitos tanquam de persecutione gloriantes quam se perpeti jactant, horrenda facinora sua in catholicos clericos perpetrata faterentur et suis verbis implicarentur. Legenda sunt Gesta ad sanandas animas, quas pestifera suasione venenaverunt: numquid placet tibi ut ad finem Gestorum, si cruentum istorum supplicium continebit, legendo pervenire timeamus, ubi ponimus et ipsam conscientiam, ne malum pro malo, qui passi sunt, reddidisse videantur? Si ergo nihil aliud constitueretur frenandae malitiae perditorum, extrema fortasse necessitas ut tales occiderentur urgeret; quanquam quod ad nos attinet, si nihil mitius eis fieri posset, mallemus eos liberos relaxari, quam passiones fratrum nostrorum fuso eorum sanguine vindicari: nunc vero cum aliquid fieri possit, quo et mitis commendetur Ecclesia, et immitium cohibeatur audacia; cur non flectas in partem providentiorem, lenioremque sententiam, quod licet judicibus facere etiam non in causis Ecclesiae? Time ergo nobiscum judicium Dei Patris, et commenda mansuetudinem matris: cum enim tu facis, Ecclesia facit, propter quam facis, et cujus filius facis. Contende bonitate cum malis: illi scelere immani membra de corpore vivo avulserunt; tu opere misericordi effice ut illa quae nefandis operibus exercebant, alicui utili operi integra eorum membra deserviant. Illi non pepercerunt correctionem sibi praedicantibus Dei servis; tu parce comprehensis, parce ductis, parce convictis. Illi impio ferro fuderunt sanguinem Christianum: tu ab eorum sanguine etiam juridicum gladium cohibe propter Christum.

If I were speaking with a judge who was not a Christian, I would act otherwise: nor yet even so would I desert the cause of the Church, and as much as he would deign to admit, I would insist that the sufferings of the Catholic servants of God, which ought to benefit for examples of patience, be not stained with the blood of their enemies; and if he would not acquiesce, I would suspect him to resist with a hostile mind. But now when the matter is dealt with before you, my reason is one, my consultation another. We see you indeed as a ruler of most high power, but we also recognize a son of Christian piety. Let your sublimity be subjected, let your faith be subjected; I treat a common cause with you, but you can do in it what I cannot: confer counsel with us, and reach out help.

4. It has been diligently handled so that the enemies of the Church, who are accustomed to solicit ignorant minds with the vain talk of seduction, as if boasting of the persecution which they vaunt themselves to suffer, might confess their horrendous crimes perpetrated against Catholic clerics and be entangled in their own words. The Acts (Gesta) must be read to heal the souls which they have poisoned with pestiferous persuasion: does it please you that we should fear to reach the end of the Acts in reading, if it shall contain their bloody punishment, where we place even conscience itself, lest those who suffered should seem to have returned evil for evil? If therefore nothing else could be established for curbing the malice of the lost, perhaps extreme necessity would urge that such should be killed; although as far as pertains to us, if nothing milder could be done for them, we would prefer that they be released free, than that the sufferings of our brothers be avenged by the shedding of their blood: but now since something can be done, by which both the gentle Church may be commended, and the audacity of the ungentle may be restrained; why should you not incline to the more provident part, and the milder sentence, which it is permitted to judges to do even in causes not of the Church? Fear therefore with us the judgment of God the Father, and commend the gentleness of the mother: for when you do it, the Church does it, for whose sake you do it, and whose son you do it. Contend in goodness with the evil: they with monstrous crime tore away members from a living body; you by a work of mercy effect that those members which they employed in wicked works, should serve some useful work as whole members. They did not spare the servants of God preaching correction to them; you spare them when apprehended, spare them when led forth, spare them when convicted. They with impious steel shed Christian blood: you restrain even the judicial sword from their blood for Christ's sake.

Illi ministro Ecclesiae occiso extorserunt spatium vivendi: tu inimicis Ecclesiae viventibus relaxa spatium poenitendi. Talem te oportet esse in causa Ecclesiae judicem christianum, petentibus, monentibus, intercedentibus nobis. Solent homines quando cum inimicis eorum convictis lenius agitur, a mitiore sententia provocare: sed inimicos nostros ita diligimus, ut nisi de tua christiana obedientia praesumamus, a tua severa sententia provocemus. Deus omnipotens Excellentiam tuam auctiorem felicioremque conservet, domine insignis et merito sublimis, ac praestantissime fili.

EPISTOLA CXXXV . Volusianus Augustino, proponens illi quaestiones: quomodo Deus immensus claudi potuerit utero virginis, et infantis corpusculo; an mundi curam deseruerit interim, etc.; num etiam miraculis satis declarata sit ejus divinitas.

Domino vere sancto, ac merito venerabili patri AUGUSTINO episcopo, VOLUSIANUS.

1. Petis me, vir probitatis justitiaeque documentum, ut aliqua ex ambiguis lectionis peritae discenda perconter. Amplector gratiam muneris imperati, meque libens in disciplinas tuas offero, veteris sententiae auctoritatem secutus, quae nullam ad perdiscendum abundare credit aetatem. Neque immerito sapiens, prudentiae studia nullis terminis, neque fine conclusit, quando primordiis suis remota virtus nunquam adeo reseratur adeuntibus, ut omnis protinus ad agnitionem patescat. Domine vere sancte, ac merito venerabilis pater, est operae pretium cognoscere habitam inter nos proxime confabulationem. Quibusdam amicorum conventibus aderamus, frequentes proferebantur illic pro ingeniis studisque sententiae. Erat tamen sermo rhetorica partitio: apud agnoscentem loquor; nam etiam ista paulo ante docuisti. Adstruebatur quid esset inventio, quae inventionis acrimonia , quantus disponendi labor, quae translationis gratia, quae iconismatum pulchritudo, et pro ingenio naturaque materiae apposita etiam dicendi facultas. Alii rursus poeticam elevabant faventes. Ne hanc quidem eloquentiae partem tacitam aut inhonoram relinquis, ut convenienter poeta dixerit: Inter victrices hederam tibi serpere lauros. (Virg. Bucol. ecl. 8.) Dicebatur ergo quantus oeconomiae esset ornatus, quae metaphorarum venustas, quanta in comparatione sublimitas; jam leves enodesque versus, atque, ut ita dixerim, caesurarum modulata variatio. Tunc ad familiarem tuam philosophiam sermo deflectit, quam ipse Aristotelico more tanquam Isocraticam fovere consueveras.

They having killed a minister of the Church extorted a space of living: you grant to the living enemies of the Church a space of repenting. Such a Christian judge you ought to be in the cause of the Church, at our requesting, advising, and interceding. Men are accustomed, when it is dealt more leniently with their convicted enemies, to appeal from a milder sentence: but we so love our enemies, that unless we presumed upon your Christian obedience, we would appeal from your severe sentence. May almighty God keep your Excellence more increased and happy, lord distinguished and deservedly sublime, and most excellent son.

EPISTOLA CXXXV . Volusianus to Augustine, proposing questions to him: how God, being immense, could be enclosed in the womb of a virgin, and in the small body of an infant; whether He deserted the care of the world in the meantime, etc.; whether His divinity was sufficiently declared even by miracles.

To the truly holy lord, and deservedly venerable father bishop AUGUSTINE, VOLUSIANUS.

1. You ask me, a man of proof in probity and justice, that I should inquire into some of the ambiguities of learned reading. I embrace the grace of the commanded duty, and willingly offer myself to your disciplines, following the authority of the ancient sentence, which believes no age to be too abundant for learning. Nor undeservedly did the wise man enclose the studies of prudence with no limits nor end, since virtue, remote from its beginnings, is never so unlocked to those approaching it, that the whole at once lies open to recognition. Lord truly holy, and deservedly venerable father, it is worth the effort to know the conversation held between us lately. We were present at certain gatherings of friends, where many opinions were brought forth according to wits and studies. The speech was however a rhetorical partition: I speak to one who knows; for you also taught these things a little before. It was being established what invention was, what the sharpness of invention, how great the labor of disposing, what the grace of translation, what the beauty of iconisms, and the faculty of speaking apposite even to the wit and nature of the matter. Others again were extolling poetic works with favor. Not even this part of eloquence do you leave silent or unhonored, as the poet conveniently said: That the ivy creep among thy victorious laurels. (Virg. Ecl. 8). It was said therefore how great was the ornament of economy, what the charm of metaphors, how great the sublimity in comparison; now light and knotless verses, and, as I might say, the modulated variation of caesuras. Then the speech turned to your familiar philosophy, which you yourself were accustomed to cherish in the Aristotelian manner as Isocratic.

Quaerebamus et quid egerit praeceptor ex Lyceo; quid Academiae multiplex et continuata cunctatio; quid ille disputator ex Porticu; quid Physicorum peritia; quid Epicureorum voluptas; quid inter omnes infinita disputandi libido, tuncque magis ignorata veritas, postquam praesumptum est quod possit agnosci.

2. Dum in his confabulatio nostra remoratur, unus e multis: Et quis, inquit, est sapientia ad perfectum Christianitatis imbutus, qui ambigua in quibus haereo possit aperire, dubiosque assensus meos vera vel verisimili credulitate firmare? Stupemus tacentes. Tunc in haec sponte prorumpit: Miror utrum mundi Dominus et rector intemeratae feminae corpus impleverit, pertulerit decem mensium longa illa fastidia mater, et tamen virgo enixa sit solemnitate pariendi, et post haec virginitas intacta permanserit. His et alia subnectit: Intra corpusculum vagientis infantiae latet, cui par vix putatur universitas; patitur puerilitatis annos, adolescit, juventute solidatur; tam diu a sedibus suis abest ille regnator, atque ad unum corpusculum totius mundi cura transfertur; deinde in somnos resolvitur, cibo alitur, omnes mortalium sentit affectus; nec ullis competentibus signis tantae majestatis indicia clarescunt, quoniam larvalis illa purgatio, debilium curae, reddita vita defunctis, haec, si et alios cogites, Deo parva sunt. Intervenimus ulterius inquirenti, solutoque conventu, ad potioris peritiae merita distulimus, ne dum incautive secreta temerantur, in culpam deflecteret error innocuus. Accepisti, vir totius gloriae capax, imperitiae confessionem; quid a partibus vestris desideretur agnoscis. Interest famae tuae, ut quaesita noverimus. Utcumque absque detrimento cultus divini in aliis sacerdotibus toleratur inscitia; at cum ad antistitem Augustinum venitur, legi deest quidquid contigerit ignorari. Incolumem Venerationem tuam divinitas summa tueatur, domine vere sancte, ac merito venerabilis pater.

EPISTOLA CXXXVI . Marcellinus Augustino, rogans ut Volusiano faciat satis, et narrans quosdam calumniari quod Deus veterem Legem prae taedio seu consiliorum inconstantia abrogarit, quodque doctrina evangelica sit reipublicae inutilis; denique christianos principes multum malorum invexisse reipublicae.

Domino nimiumque venerabili, et omnibus mihi officiis unice percolendo patri AUGUSTINO, MARCELLINUS.

We were seeking also what the teacher from the Lyceum did; what the manifold and continued hesitation of the Academy; what that disputer from the Porch; what the skill of the Physicists; what the pleasure of the Epicureans; what the infinite lust for disputing among all, and then the truth was more unknown, after it was presumed that it could be recognized.

2. While our conversation lingered on these things, one of many said: "And who is imbued with the wisdom of the perfection of Christianity, who can open the ambiguities in which I stick, and firm my doubtful assents with true or likely credulity?" We are amazed, keeping silence. Then he spontaneously broke forth into these: "I wonder whether the Lord and ruler of the world filled the body of an unstained woman, whether the mother bore those long fastidiousnesses of ten months, and yet the virgin brought forth with the solemnity of birthing, and after these her virginity remained intact." To these he joins other things: "He lies hidden within the small body of a wailing infancy, to whom the whole universe is thought scarcely equal; He suffers the years of boyhood, grows up, is solidified in youth; so long is that ruler absent from His seats, and the care of the whole world is transferred to one small body; then He is resolved into sleep, is nourished by food, feels all the affects of mortals; nor by any competent signs do the indications of such great majesty shine clear, since that larval purging, the cares of the weak, life restored to the dead, these, if you think of others also, are small for God." We intervened to him inquiring further, and the gathering being dissolved, we deferred to the merits of better skill, lest while secrets are rashly violated incautiously, an innocent error should turn into a fault. You have received, O man capable of all glory, the confession of ignorance; you recognize what is desired from your parts. It interests your fame, that we should know the things sought. Howsoever ignorance is tolerated in other priests without detriment to divine worship; but when it comes to the bishop Augustine, whatever happens to be unknown is lacking to the law. May the highest divinity keep your Veneration safe, lord truly holy, and deservedly venerable father.

EPISTOLA CXXXVI . Marcellinus to Augustine, asking that he satisfy Volusianus, and telling that some calumniate that God abolished the old Law out of weariness or inconstancy of counsels, and that the evangelical doctrine is useless to the commonwealth; finally that Christian princes have brought much of evils into the commonwealth.

To the lord most exceedingly venerable, and to be uniquely cherished by me with all duties, father AUGUSTINE, MARCELLINUS.

1. Vir illustris Volusianus Beatitudinis tuae mihi litteras legit, imo me quidem cogente pluribus legit, quae scilicet omnia quae a te dicuntur, cum vere miranda sint, usquequaque miratus sum. Sermonis enim divini gratia humiliter tumens, facile ut placeret emeruit. Hinc enim plurimum placuit, quod hominis gressus aliquanto titubantes boni propositi exhortatione statuere et firmare contendis. Est enim nobis cum eodem quotidiana pro viribus nostris, et pro ingenii paupertate disputatio. Sanctae siquidem matris ejus precatione compulsus, cura mihi est eum frequentius salutandi gratia convenire, licet vicem in hac parte reddere etiam ipse dignetur. Accepta autem Venerabilitatis tuae epistola, homo qui a veri Dei stabilitate, multorum quorum in hac urbe copia est persuasione revocatur, ita motus est, ut si, quantum ipse confirmat, litterarum prolixitatem minime formidasset omne Beatitudini tuae quod habere potest insinuasset ambiguum. Sed tamen satis, sicut etiam ipse probare dignaberis, culto accuratoque sermone, et Romanae eloquenceiae nitore perspicuo, aliqua sibi exsolvi impendio postulavit. Quae quidem quaestio usquequaque detrita est, et eorum super hac parte satis nota calliditas, qui dispensationem dominicae incarnationis infamant. Sed tamen etiam ego in hac parte, quia plurimis quidquid rescripseris profuturum esse confido, precator accesserim, ut ad ea vigilantius respondere digneris, in quibus nihil amplius Dominum, quam alii homines facere potuerunt, gessisse mentiuntur. Apollonium siquidem suum nobis et Apuleium, aliosque magicae artis homines in medium proferunt, quorum majora contendunt extitisse miracula.

2. Ipse autem vir illustris superius memoratus, multa esse dixit praesentibus aliquantis, quae huic possent jungi non immerito quaestioni , si, ut ante dixi, non ab ejus partibus epistolaris considerata brevitas fuisset. Quae tamen licet scribere noluerit, tacere non est passus. Dicebat enim quod etsi sibi hodie incarnationis dominicae ratio redderetur, reddi vix ad liquidum possit cur hic Deus, qui et Veteris Testamenti Deus esse firmatur, spretis veteribus sacrificiis delectatus est novis. Nihil enim corrigi posse asserebat nisi quod antefactum non recte probaretur; vel quod semel recte factum sit, immutari ullatenus non debuisse. Recte enim facta dicebat mutari nisi injuste non posse; maxime quia ista varietas inconstantiae Deum possit arguere.

1. The illustrious man Volusianus read to me the letters of your Beatitude, or rather, at my compelling indeed, he read them several times, which namely everything that is said by you, since they are truly to be wondered at, I have everywhere wondered at. For the grace of the divine speech, humbly swelling, easily merited to please. For from this it pleased most, that you contend to set and firm the steps of a man somewhat stumbling by the exhortation of a good purpose. For we have with him a daily disputation according to our strength, and according to the poverty of our wit. Compelled indeed by the prayer of his holy mother, it is my care to meet him frequently for the sake of saluting, although he himself also deigns to return the turn in this part. But your Venerability's epistle being received, the man who is recalled from the stability of the true God by the persuasion of many of whom there is a plenty in this city, was so moved, that if, as much as he himself confirms, he had not at all feared the prolixity of the letters, he would have insinuated to your Beatitude every ambiguity that he can have. But yet sufficiently, as also you yourself will deign to prove, with a cultivated and accurate speech, and with the clear brightness of Roman eloquence, he asked that some things be resolved for him at great expense. Which question indeed is everywhere worn out, and the craftiness of those is sufficiently known upon this part, who defame the dispensation of the Lord's incarnation. But yet I also in this part, because I trust that whatever you write back will be profitable to very many, have approached as a petitioner, that you deign to respond more vigilantly to those things, in which they lie that the Lord did nothing more than other men were able to do. For they bring forth into the midst their Apollonius and Apuleius, and other men of the magic art, whose miracles they contend to have been greater.

2. Moreover the illustrious man himself mentioned above, said in the presence of some, that there were many things which could be joined not undeservedly to this question, if, as I said before, the brevities of an epistle had not been considered by his part. Which things however although he would not write, he did not suffer to be silent. For he was saying that even if the reason of the Lord's incarnation were rendered to him today, it could scarcely be rendered clearly why this God, who is also firmed to be the God of the Old Testament, having spurned the old sacrifices was delighted with the new ones. For he was asserting that nothing could be corrected except what was proved not rightly done before; or that what was once rightly done, ought not to have been changed at all. For he was saying that things rightly done could not be changed except unjustly; especially because this variety could accuse God of inconstancy.

Tum deinde quod ejus praedicatio atque doctrina, reipublicae moribus nulla ex parte conveniat; utpote, sicut a multis dicitur, cujus hoc constet praeceptum, ut nulli malum pro malo reddere debeamus (Rom. XII, 17), et percutienti aliam praebere maxillam, et pallium dare persistenti tunicam tollere, et cum eo qui nos angariare voluerit, ire debere spatio itineris duplicato (Matth. V, 39, 41): quae omnia reipublicae moribus asserit esse contraria. Nam quis tolli sibi ab hoste aliquid patiatur, vel Romanae provinciae depraedatori non mala velit belli jure reponere? Et caetera quae dici ad reliqua posse, intelligit Venerabilitas tua. Haec ergo omnia ipsi posse adjungi aestimat quaestioni, in tantum ut per christianos principes, christianam religionem maxima ex parte servantes, tanta (etiamsi ipse de hac parte taceat) reipublicae mala evenisse manifestum sit.

3. Unde, sicut Beatitudo tua mecum dignatur agnoscere, ad haec omnia (quoniam multorum manibus sine dubio tradetur Sanctitatis tuae desiderata responsio) plenus debet et elucubratus solutionis splendor ostendi; maxime quia cum ista gererentur, eximius Hipponensis regionis possessor et dominus praesens aderat, qui et Sanctitatem tuam sub ironiae adulatione laudaret, et sibi, cum de his quaereret, minime satisfactum esse contenderet. Ego vero ad haec omnia promissionis non immemor sed exactor libros confici deprecor, Ecclesiae, hoc maxime tempore, incredibiliter profuturos.

Epistola CXXXVII.

Respondet Augustinus ad singulas quaestiones superius propositas a Volusiano.

Domino illustri et merito insigni, et praestantissimo filio VOLUSIANO, AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

CAPUT PRIMUM.

1. Legi litteras tuas, in quibus vidi magni cujusdam dialogi specimen, laudabili brevitate comprehensum. Respondere igitur debui, nec pro dilatione aliquid excusationis opponere. Accidit enim opportune, ut ab alienis negotiis mihi aliquantulum vacaret. Quibus autem dictandis hoc otium statueram impendere, paululum distuli, nequaquam justum esse arbitratus ut quem ad quaerendum exhortatus ipse fueram, differrem quaerentem.

Then finally that His preaching and doctrine by no part agrees with the customs of the commonwealth; as, as is said by many, it is certain that this is His precept, that we ought to return evil for evil to no one (Rom. 12:17), and to offer the other cheek to the one striking, and to give the cloak to the one persisting to take the tunic, and with him who would will to constrain us, we ought to go a double space of the journey (Matt. 5:39, 41): all which he asserts to be contrary to the customs of the commonwealth. For who would suffer anything to be taken from him by an enemy, or would not will to repay evils by the right of war to a plunderer of a Roman province? And other things which your Venerability understands can be said to the rest. All these things therefore he estimates can be joined to the same question, in so much that it is manifest that through Christian princes, serving the Christian religion for the most part, so great evils (even if he himself is silent about this part) have happened to the commonwealth.

3. Whence, as your Beatitude deigns to recognize with me, to all these things (since the desired response of your Holiness will without doubt be delivered into the hands of many) a full and elucubrated brightness of solution ought to be shown; especially because when these things were going on, an excellent possessor and lord of the Hipponensian region was present, who both praised your Holiness under the flattery of irony, and contended that he was not at all satisfied when he asked about these things. I indeed, not unmindful of the promise but an exacter, pray for all these things that books be finished, which will be incredibly profitable to the Church, especially at this time.

Epistola CXXXVII.

Augustine responds to the individual questions proposed above by Volusianus.

To the illustrious and deservedly distinguished lord, and most excellent son VOLUSIANUS, AUGUSTINE, sends greeting in the Lord.

CHAPTER I.

1. I read your letters, in which I saw a specimen of a certain great dialogue, comprehended with laudable brevity. I ought therefore to respond, nor oppose any excuse for the delay. For it happened opportunely, that I had a little leisure from the business of others. Upon dictating which things I had established to spend this leisure, I deferred a little, by no means thinking it just that him whom I myself had exhorted to seeking, I should defer when seeking.

Quis autem nostrum, qui Christi, ut possumus, gratiam ministramus, cum tua verba legerit, ita te velit doctrina instrui christiana, ut tibi tantum sufficiat ad salutem, non hujus vitae, quam vaporis esse simillimam, tantillum apparentis, et illico vanescentis atque pereuntis, sermo divinus admonere curavit (Jacobi IV, 15), sed illam salutem propter quam adipiscendam et in aeternum obtinendam christiani sumus? Parum est ergo nobis sic te instrui, ut tibi sit liberando satis. Ingenium quippe et eloquium tuum tam excellens tamque luculentum prodesse debet etiam caeteris, contra quorum tarditatem seu perversitatem, convenientissime defendenda est tantae gratiae dispensatio, quam superbae animulae nihili pendunt, quae nimis affectant plurimum posse, et ad sua vitia sananda vel etiam refrenanda nihil possunt.

2. Quaeris igitur, Utrum mundi Dominus et rector intemeratae feminae corpus impleverit; pertulerit decem mensium longa illa fastidia mater, et tamen virgo enixa sit solemnitate pariendi, et post haec virginitas inviolata permanserit. Utrum intra corpusculum vagientis infantiae latuerit, cui par vix putatur universitas; possus fuerit puerilitatis annos, adoleverit, juventute solidatus sit; tam diu a sedibus suis abfuerit regnator ille, atque in unum corpusculum, totius mundi cura translata sit; deinde in somnos resolutus sit; cibo alitus, omnes mortalium senserit affectus; neque ullis competentibus signis claruerint tantae majestatis indicia; quoniam larvalis illa purgatio, debilium curae, reddita vita defunctis, haec, si et alios cogitemus, Deo parva sunt. Hanc scribis in quodam conventu amicorum ab uno ex multis qui aderant, illatam esse quaestionem; vos autem intervenisse ulterius inquirenti, solutumque conventum, ad potioris peritiae merita distulisse, ne dum incautius secreta temerantur, in culpam deflecteret error innocuus.

3. Deinde ad me litterarum tuarum dirigis intentionem, et post hanc imperitiae confessionem, admones ut a partibus nostris quid desideretur agnoscam. Adjungis etiam famae meae interesse ut quaesita noveritis, quod utcumque absque detrimento divini cultus in aliis sacerdotibus toleratur inscitia, at cum ad me antistitem venitur, legi deesse quidquid contigerit ignorari. Tanta est enim christianarum profunditas Litterarum, ut in eis quotidie proficerem, si eas solas ab ineunte pueritia usque ad decrepitam senectutem maximo otio, summo studio, meliore ingenio conarer addiscere: non quod ad ea quae necessaria sunt saluti, tanta in eis perveniatur difficultate;

But who of us, who minister, as we can, the grace of Christ, when he shall have read your words, would so will you to be instructed in Christian doctrine, that it might only suffice you for salvation, not of this life, which the divine speech took care to admonish is most like a vapor, appearing for a little while, and straightway vanishing and perishing (James 4:15), but that salvation for the sake of attaining and obtaining which in eternity we are Christians? It is a small thing therefore for us that you be so instructed, that it be enough for your being delivered. For your wit and eloquence, so excellent and so bright, ought to profit others also, against whose slowness or perversity, the dispensation of so great grace is most conveniently to be defended, which proud little souls weigh as nothing, which too much affect to be most powerful, and for healing or even restraining their own vices are able to do nothing.

2. You ask therefore, *Whether the Lord and ruler of the world filled the body of an unstained woman; whether the mother bore those long fastidiousnesses of ten months, and yet the virgin brought forth with the solemnity of birthing, and after these her virginity remained inviolate.* *Whether He lay hidden within the small body of a wailing infancy, to whom the whole universe is thought scarcely equal; was He able to suffer the years of boyhood, grew up, was solidified in youth; was that ruler absent so long from His seats, and the care of the whole world transferred to one small body; then was He resolved into sleep; nourished by food, felt all the affects of mortals; nor by any competent signs did the indications of such great majesty shine clear; since that larval purging, the cares of the weak, life restored to the dead, these, if we think of others also, are small for God.* You write that this question was brought in in a certain gathering of friends by one of many who were present; but that you intervened to him inquiring further, and the gathering being dissolved, deferred to the merits of better skill, lest while secrets are more incautiously violated, an innocent error should turn into a fault.

3. Then you direct the intention of your letters to me, and after this confession of ignorance, you advise that I recognize what is desired from our parts. You join also that it interests my fame, that you should know the things sought, because howsoever ignorance is tolerated in other priests without detriment to divine worship, but when it comes to me as bishop, whatever happens to be unknown is lacking to the law. For so great is the depth of the Christian Letters, that I would profit in them daily, if I should try to learn them alone from beginning boyhood even to decrepit old age with the greatest leisure, the highest study, and a better wit: not that in them, as to those things which are necessary for salvation, it is arrived with so great difficulty;

sed cum quisque ibi fidem tenuerit, sine qua pie recteque non vivitur, tam multa, tamque multiplicibus mysteriorum umbraculis opacata intelligenda proficientibus restant, tantaque non solum in verbis quibus ista dicta sunt, verum etiam in rebus quae intelligendae sunt, latet altitudo sapientiae, ut annosissimis, acutissimis, flagrantissimis cupiditate discendi hoc contingat, quod eadem Scriptura quodam loco habet, Cum consummaverit homo, tunc incipit (Eccli. XVIII, 6).

CAPUT II.

4. Sed quid hinc plura? Veniendum potius est ad rem quam requiris. Ubi primum te scire volo, non hoc habere christianam doctrinam, quod ita sit Deus infusus carni, qua ex virgine nasceretur, ut curam gubernandae universitatis vel deseruerit vel amiserit, vel ad illud corpusculum quasi contractam materiam collectamque transtulerit. Hominum iste sensus est, nihil nisi corpora valentium cogitare; sive ista crassiora, sicut sunt humor atque humus, sive subtiliora, sicut aeris et lucis; sed tamen corpora, quorum nullum potest esse ubique totum, quoniam per innumerabiles partes aliud alibi habeat necesse est, et quantumcumque sit corpus seu quantulumcumque corpusculum, loci occupet spatium, eumdemque locum sic impleat, ut in nulla ejus parte sit totum. Ac per hoc densari ac rarescere, contrahi et dilatari, in minutias deteri et grandescere in molem, non nisi corporum est. Longe aliud est animae natura quam corporis: quanto magis Dei, qui creator est et animae et corporis? Non sic Deus dicitur implere mundum, velut aqua, velut aer, velut ipsa lux, ut minore sui parte minorem mundi impleat partem, et majore majorem. Novit ubique totus esse, et nullo contineri loco; novit venire non recedendo ubi erat; novit abire non deserendo quo venerat.

5. Miratur hoc mens humana, et quia non capit, fortasse nec credit: seipsam primitus ingrata miretur, seipsam paululum, si potest, attollat a corpore, et ab eis rebus quas solet sentire per corpus; et videat ipsa quid sit quae utitur corpore. Sed forte non potest: magni quippe est ingenii, ut ait quidam, sevocare mentem a sensibus, et cogitationem a consuetudine abducere (Cicero, Quaest. Tuscul. lib. 1). Ipsos ergo corporis sensus aliquanto insuetius, et vigilantius perscrutetur.

but when each one shall have held the faith there, without which one does not live piously and rightly, so many things, and overshadowed by so manifold shades of mysteries, remain to be understood by those profiting, and so great a depth of wisdom lies hidden not only in the words in which those things were said, but also in the things which are to be understood, that to the most aged, most acute, most flagrant with the desire of learning, this happens, which the same Scripture has in a certain place, When a man has finished, then he begins (Ecclus. 18:6).

CHAPTER II.

4. But why more of this? We must rather come to the matter which you require. Where first I will that you know, that Christian doctrine does not have this, that God was so infused into the flesh by which He was born of the virgin, that He either deserted or lost the care of governing the universe, or transferred it as if contracted and collected matter to that small body. That is the sense of men, who are able to think of nothing except bodies; whether those coarser ones, as are liquid and earth, or those more subtle, as of air and light; but yet bodies, of which none can be whole everywhere, since through innumerable parts it is necessary that it have one part in one place and another in another, and how great soever the body be or how small soever the small body, it occupies a space of place, and so fills the same place, that in no part of it is it whole. And through this to be thickened and thinned, to be contracted and dilated, to be worn into minutiae and to grow into a mass, is only of bodies. Far other is the nature of the soul than of the body: how much more of God, who is the creator of both soul and body? Not thus is God said to fill the world, as water, as air, as light itself, that with a smaller part of Himself He should fill a smaller part of the world, and with a larger a larger. He knows how to be whole everywhere, and to be contained in no place; He knows how to come not by receding where He was; He knows how to depart not by deserting whither He had come.

5. The human mind wonders at this, and because it does not take it, perhaps it does not believe it: let it first ungratefully wonder at itself, let it lift itself a little, if it can, from the body, and from those things which it is accustomed to feel through the body; and let it see itself what it is that uses the body. But perhaps it cannot: for it is of great wit, as a certain one says, to call away the mind from the senses, and to lead away thought from custom (Cicero, Tusc. Disp. 1). Let it therefore search out the senses of the body themselves somewhat more unusually and vigilantly.

Sunt certe quinque partiti corporis sensus, qui nec sine corpore, nec sine anima esse possunt: quia neque sentire est nisi viventis, quod ab anima est corpori; neque sine corporeis instrumentis, et quasi vasis atque organis videmus, audimus, caeterisque tribus utimur sensibus. Intendat haec anima rationalis, et sensus corporis non sensibus corporis, sed ipsa mente atque ratione consideret. Certe sentire homo non potest, nisi vivat; vivit autem in carne, antequam morte utrumque dirimatur. Quomodo igitur anima quae sunt extra carnem suam sentit, quae nonnisi in carne sua vivit? Annon ab ejus carne longissime absunt sidera in coelo? annon id coelo videt solem? An sentire non est videre, cum sit in quinque sensibus caeteris excellentior visus? An et in coelo vivit, quia et in coelo sentit, et sensus esse non potest ubi vita non est? An sentit, et ubi non vivit; quia cum in sua tantum carne vivat, sentit etiam in his locis, quae praeter ejus carnem continent ea quae tangit aspectu? Videsne quam hoc sit latebrosum in sensu tam conspicuo, qui visus dicitur? Attende et auditum. Nam et ipse se foras quodammodo diffundit a carne. Unde enim dicimus, Foris sonat, nisi ibi sentiamus ubi sonat? Ergo et illic extra carnem nostram vivimus. An sentire possumus et ubi non vivimus, cum sensus sine vita esse non possit?

6. Caeteri tres sensus apud seipsos sentiunt, quamvis de olfactu utcumque possit dubitari. De gustu autem atque tactu nulla controversia est, quod ea quae gustamus et tangimus, non alibi than in carne nostra sentimus. Proinde isti tres sensus ab hac consideratione semoveantur. Visus auditusque afferunt mirabilem quaestionem; aut quomodo anima sentiat ubi non vivit, aut quomodo vivat ubi non est. Neque enim nisi in carne sua est; sentit autem etiam praeter carnem suam. Ibi quippe sentit ubi videt; quia et videre sentire est: ibi sentit ubi audit; quia et audire, sentire est. Aut ergo et ibi vivit, ac per hoc etiam et ibi est; aut sentit et ubi non vivit; aut vivit et ubi non est. Haec omnia mira sunt; nihil horum affirmari sine quadam velut absurditate potest: et de sensu loquimur morticino. Quid igitur est ipsa anima, praeter corporis sensum, id est in mente qua ista considerat? Neque enim sensu corporis, de ipsis sensibus corporis judicat Et putamus nobis de omnipotentia Dei incredibile dici aliquid, cum dicitur Verbum Dei, per quod omnia facta sunt, sic assumpsisse corpus ex virgine, et sensibus apparuisse mortalibus, ut immortalitatem suam non corruperit, ut aeternitatem non mutaverit, ut potestatem non minuerit, ut administrationem mundi non deseruerit, ut a sinu Patris, id est a secreto, quo cum illo et in illo est, non recesserit!

There are certainly five partitioned senses of the body, which can neither be without the body, nor without the soul: because neither is feeling except of one living, which is from the soul to the body; nor without the corporeal instruments, and as if vessels and organs, do we see, hear, and use the other three senses. Let this rational soul attend, and let it consider the senses of the body not by the senses of the body, but by the mind and reason itself. Certainly a man cannot feel unless he lives; but he lives in the flesh, before both are separated by death. How therefore does the soul feel those things which are outside its own flesh, which lives only in its own flesh? Are not the stars in heaven most far from its flesh? Does it not see the sun in heaven? Or is not feeling seeing, since sight is the more excellent power in the five senses? Or does it also live in heaven, because it also feels in heaven, and sense cannot be where life is not? Or does it feel even where it does not live; because while it lives only in its own flesh, it feels even in those places, which besides its flesh contain those things which it touches with its sight? Do you see how hidden this is in a sense so conspicuous, which is called sight? Attend also to hearing. For it also in a certain manner diffuses itself out from the flesh. For whence do we say, It sounds outside, unless we feel there where it sounds? Therefore also there outside our flesh we live. Or can we feel even where we do not live, since sense cannot be without life?

6. The other three senses feel within themselves, although about smell it can be doubted in some way. But about taste and touch there is no controversy, that those things which we taste and touch, we feel not elsewhere than in our flesh. Therefore let those three senses be set aside from this consideration. Sight and hearing bring a wonderful question; either how the soul feels where it does not live, or how it lives where it is not. For it is not unless in its own flesh; but it feels even besides its own flesh. For it feels there where it sees; because even seeing is feeling: it feels there where it hears; because even hearing is feeling. Either therefore it also lives there, and through this it is also there; or it feels even where it does not live; or it lives even where it is not. All these things are wonderful; none of these can be affirmed without a certain as if absurdity: and we speak of a dying sense. What therefore is the soul itself, besides the sense of the body, that is in the mind by which it considers these things? For nor does it judge about the senses of the body themselves by the sense of the body. And we think something incredible is said to us about the omnipotence of God, when it is said that the Word of God, through which all things were made, so assumed a body from a virgin, and appeared to mortal senses, that He did not corrupt His own immortality, that He did not change His eternity, that He did not diminish His power, that He did not desert the administration of the world, that He did not recede from the bosom of the Father, that is from the secret, in which He is with Him and in Him!

7. Verbum Dei sic intellige, per quod facta sunt omnia, non ut ejus transire aliquid cogites, et ex futuro praeteritum fieri. Manet sicuti est, et ubique totum est. Venit autem cum manifestatur, et cum occultatur abscedit. Adest tamen sive occultum sive manifestum, sicut lux adest oculis et videntis, et caeci: sed videnti adest praesens, caeco vero absens. Adest et vox audientibus auribus, adest etiam surdis: sed illis patet, istas latet. Quid autem mirabilius quam id quod accidit in vocibus nostris verbisque sonantibus, in re scilicet raptim transitoria? Cum enim loquimur, ne secundae quidem syllabae locus est, nisi prima sonare destiterit; et tamen si unus adsit auditor, totum audit quod dicimus; et si duo adsint, tantumdem ambo audiunt quod et singulis totum est; et si audiat multitudo silens, non inter se particulatim comminuunt sonos tanquam cibos, sed omne quod sonat et omnibus totum est, et singulis totum. Itane jam non illud est potius incredibile, si verbum hominis transiens quod exhibet auribus, Verbum Dei permanens non exhiberet rebus , ut quemadmodum hoc simul auditur a singulis etiam totum, ita illud simul ubique sit totum?

8. Non itaque metuendum est corpusculum infantiae, ne in illo tantas Deus angustias passus esse videatur. Neque enim mole, sed virtute magnus est Deus; qui providentia sua meliorem sensum formiculis et apiculis dedit quam asinis et camelis; qui ex grano minutissimo seminis tantam ficulneae arboris magnitudinem creat, cum ex multo majoribus seminibus longe minora multa nascantur; qui pupillam tam parvam ditavit acie, qua per oculos emicante, in ictu temporis coelum prope dimidium lustraretur; qui ex puncto et quasi centro cerebri, sensus omnes quinaria distributione diffundit; qui corde, membro tam exiguo, vitalem motum per corporis cuncta dispensat: his atque hujusmodi rebus insinuans magna de minimis, qui non est parvus in parvis. Ipsa enim magnitudo virtutis ejus, quae nullas in angusto sentit angustias, uterum virginalem non adventitio, sed indigena puerperio fecundavit: ipsa sibi animam rationalem, et per eamdem etiam corpus humanum, totumque omnino hominem in melius mutandum, nullo modo in deterius mutata coaptavit; nomen humanitatis ab eo dignanter assumens, divinitatis ei largiter tribuens. Ipsa virtus per inviolatae matris virginea viscera, membra infantis eduxit, quae postea per clausa ostia membra juvenis introduxit (Joan. XX, 26). Hic si ratio quaeritur, non erit mirabile: si exemplum poscitur, non erit singulare. Demus Deum aliquid posse, quod nos fateamur investigare non posse. In talibus rebus tota ratio facti est potentia facientis.

7. Understand the Word of God thus, through which all things were made, not that you should think anything of it to pass away, and from future to become past. It remains as it is, and is whole everywhere. But it comes when it is manifested, and when it is hidden it departs. It is present however whether hidden or manifested, as light is present to the eyes of both the seeing and the blind: but to the seeing it is present as present, to the blind indeed as absent. A voice is also present to hearing ears, it is present even to the deaf: but to those it lies open, to these it lies hidden. But what more wonderful than that which happens in our voices and sounding words, in a thing namely rapidly transitory? For when we speak, there is not even room for the second syllable, unless the first shall have ceased to sound; and yet if one hearer be present, he hears the whole that we say; and if two be present, both hear just as much, which is also whole to each; and if a silent multitude should hear, they do not divide the sounds among themselves part by part like foods, but everything that sounds is both whole to all, and whole to each. Is it then not rather that which is incredible, if the passing word of man which it exhibits to the ears, the permanent Word of God should not exhibit to things, so that as this is heard at once by individuals even whole, so that should be at once everywhere whole?

8. It is not therefore to be feared for the small body of infancy, lest in it God should seem to have suffered so great straits. For not by mass, but by power is God great; who by His providence gave a better sense to ants and bees than to asses and camels; who from a most minute grain of seed creates so great a magnitude of a fig tree, when from much larger seeds many far smaller things are born; who endowed so small a pupil with an edge, by which flashing through the eyes, almost half the heaven would be surveyed in a twinkling of time; who from a point and as if center of the brain, diffuses all the senses by a fivefold distribution; who by the heart, a member so small, dispenses vital motion through all things of the body: in these and such like things insinuating great things from the smallest, who is not small in small things. For the very magnitude of His power, which feels no straits in narrowness, fecundated the virginal womb not by an adventitious, but by a native child-bearing: it fitted to itself a rational soul, and through the same also a human body, and the whole man entirely to be changed for the better, in no way changed for the worse itself; deigningly assuming the name of humanity from him, bountifully attributing divinity to him. The power itself through the virginal viscera of an inviolate mother, brought forth the members of the infant, which afterwards through closed doors introduced the members of the young man (John 20:26). Here if the reason is sought, it will not be wonderful: if an example is asked, it will not be singular. Let us grant that God can do something, which we confess we cannot investigate. In such things the whole reason of the deed is the power of the doer.

CAPUT III.

9. Jam illud, quod in somnos solvitur, et cibo alitur, et omnes humanos sentit affectus, hominem persuadet hominibus, quem non consumpsit utique, sed assumpsit. Ecce sic factum est; et tamen quidam haeretici, perverse mirando laudandoque ejus virtutem, naturam humanam in eo prorsus agnoscere noluerunt, ubi est omnis gratiae commendatio, qua salvos facit credentes in se, profundos thesauros sapientiae et scientiae continens, et fide mentes imbuens, quas ad aeternam contemplationem veritatis incommutabilis provehat. Quid si Omnipotens hominem ubicumque formatum non ex materno utero crearet, sed repentinum inferret aspectibus? quid si nullas ex parvulo in juventam mutaret aetates, nullos cibos, nullos caperet somnos? Nonne opinionem confirmaret erroris, nec hominem verum suscepisse ullo modo crederetur; et dum omnia mirabiliter facit, auferret quod misericorditer fecit? Nunc vero ita inter Deum et homines mediator apparuit, ut in unitate personae copulans utramque naturam, et solita sublimaret insolitis, et insolita solitis temperaret.

10. Quid autem non mirum facit Deus in omnibus creaturae motibus, nisi consuetudine quotidiana viluissent! Denique quam multa usitata calcantur, quae considerata stupentur! sicut ipsa vis seminum, quos numeros habet, et quam vivaces, quam efficaces, quam latenter potentes, quam in parvo magna molientes, quis adeat animo, quis promat eloquio? Ille igitur sibi hominem sine semine operatus est, qui in rerum natura sine seminibus operatur et semina. Ille in suo corpore numeros temporum mensurasque servavit aetatum, qui sine ulla sui mutabilitate mutando contexit ordinem saeculorum. Hoc enim crevit in tempore, quod coepit ex tempore. Verbum autem in principio, per quod facta sunt tempora, tempus elegit quo susciperet carnem, non tempori cessit ut verteretur in carnem. Homo quippe Deo accessit, non Deus a se recessit.

11. Sic autem quidam reddi sibi rationem flagitant, quomodo Deus homini permixtus sit, ut una fieret persona Christi, cum hoc semel fieri oportuerit; quasi rationem ipsi reddant de re quae quotidie fit, quomodo misceatur anima corpori, ut una persona fiat hominis. Nam sicut in unitate personae anima unitur corpori, ut homo sit; ita in unitate personae Deus unitur homini, ut Christus sit.

CHAPTER III.

9. Now that fact, that he is released in sleep, and is nourished by food, and feels all human affects, persuades men of the man, whom he certainly did not consume, but assumed. Behold, it was thus done; and yet certain heretics, by perversely wondering at and praising his power, were altogether unwilling to acknowledge the human nature in him, where is the commendation of all grace, by which he makes safe those believing in him, containing profound treasures of wisdom and knowledge, and imbuing minds with faith, which he may lead forward to the eternal contemplation of the incommutable truth. What if the Omnipotent should not create the man formed anywhere from a maternal womb, but should bring him sudden to the sights? what if he should change no ages from a little one into youth, should take no foods, no sleeps? Would he not confirm the opinion of error, nor would it be believed in any way that he had undertaken a true man; and while he does all things wonderfully, would he take away what he did mercifully? But now he so appeared as mediator between God and men, that coupling each nature in the unity of person, he both sublimated the usual by the unusual, and tempered the unusual by the usual.

10. But what does God not do wonderful in all motions of the creature, unless they had become vile by daily custom! Finally, how many usual things are trodden upon, which when considered are wondered at! as that very force of seeds, what numbers it has, and how vivacious, how efficacious, how latently powerful, working great things in a small space, who may approach with the mind, who may bring forth with eloquence? He therefore worked for himself a man without seed, who in the nature of things works both without seeds and seeds. He in his own body preserved the numbers of times and the measures of ages, who without any mutability of his own by changing wove the order of the ages. For this grew in time, which began from time. But the Word in the beginning, through which times were made, chose the time in which it should assume flesh, it did not yield to time so as to be turned into flesh. For the man approached to God, not God receded from himself.

11. But thus some demand that a reason be rendered to them, how God was mixed with man, so that one person of Christ should be made, since it behooved this to be done once; as if they themselves should render a reason about the thing which is done daily, how the soul is mixed with the body, so that one person of man should be made. For as in the unity of person the soul is united to the body, that there may be a man; so in the unity of person God is united to the man, that there may be Christ.

In illa ergo persona mixtura est animae et corporis; in hac persona mixtura est Dei et hominis: si tamen recedat auditor a consuetudine corporum, qua solent duo liquores ita commisceri, ut neuter servet integritatem suam; quanquam et in ipsis corporibus aeri lux incorrupta misceatur. Ergo persona hominis, mixtura est animae et corporis: persona autem Christi, mixtura est Dei et hominis. Cum enim Verbum Dei permixtum est animae habenti corpus, simul et animam suscepit et corpus. Illud quotidie fit ad procreandos homines: hoc semel factum est ad liberandos homines. Verumtamen duarum rerum incorporearum commixtio facilius credi debuit, quam unius incorporeae, et alterius corporeae. Nam si anima in sua natura non fallatur, incorpoream se esse comprehendit: multo magis incorporeum est Verbum Dei, ac per hoc Verbi Dei et animae credibilior debuit esse permixtio, quam animae et corporis. Sed hoc in nobis ipsis experimur: illud in Christo credere jubemur. Si autem utrumque nobis pariter inexpertum credendum praeciperetur, quid horum citius crederemus? Quomodo non fateremur duo incorporea, quam unum corporeum alterumque incorporea facilius potuisse misceri? si tamen non indigne ad ista mixtionis vel mixturae nomen admittitur, propter consuetudinem corporalium rerum, longe aliter se habentium aliterque notarum.

12. Verbum igitur Dei, idemque Dei Filius, Patri coaeternus, eademque Virtus et Sapientia Dei (I Cor. I, 24), a superno fine creaturae rationalis usque ad infimum finem creaturae corporalis attingens fortiter, et disponens omnia suaviter (Sap. VIII, 1), praesens et latens, nusquam conclusa, nusquam discissa, nusquam tumida, sed sine mole ubique tota, longe alio modo quodam, quam eo quo creaturis caeteris adest, suscepit hominem, seque et illo fecit unum Jesum Christum, mediatorem Dei et hominum (I Tim. II, 5), aequalem Patri secundum divinitatem, minorem autem Patre secundum carnem, hoc est secundum hominem; incommutabiliter immortalem secundum aequalem Patri divinitatem, eumdemque mutabilem atque mortalem secundum cognatam nobis infirmitatem. In quo Christo, eo tempore quod opportunissimum ipse noverat, et ante saecula disposuerat, venit hominibus magisterium et adjutorium, ad capessendam sempiternam salutem. Magisterium quidem ut ea quae hic ante dicta sunt utiliter vera, non solum a Prophetis sanctis, qui omnia vera dixerunt, verum etiam a philosophis atque ipsis poetis, et cujuscemodi auctoribus litterarum (quos multa vera falsis miscuisse quis ambigat?), illius etiam in carne praesentata confirmaret auctoritas, propter eos qui illa non possent in ipsa intima veritate cernere atque discernere: quae Veritas et antequam hominem assumeret, ipse aderat omnibus, qui ejus participes esse potuerunt.

In that person therefore there is a mixture of soul and body; in this person there is a mixture of God and man: if however the hearer should recede from the custom of bodies, by which two liquors are wont to be so commingled that neither preserves its own integrity; although even in those very bodies incorrupt light may be mixed with air. Therefore the person of man is a mixture of soul and body: but the person of Christ is a mixture of God and man. For when the Word of God was mixed with a soul having a body, at once he assumed both the soul and the body. That is done daily for the procreating of men: this was done once for the liberating of men. Nevertheless the commixture of two incorporeal things ought more easily to have been believed, than of one incorporeal and the other corporeal. For if the soul be not deceived in its own nature, it comprehends itself to be incorporeal: much more is the Word of God incorporeal, and through this the mixture of the Word of God and the soul ought to have been more credible than of the soul and the body. But this we experience in ourselves: that we are commanded to believe in Christ. But if it were commanded that both equally unexperienced by us should be believed, which of these would we believe more quickly? How should we not confess that two incorporeal things could have been mixed more easily than one corporeal and the other incorporeal? if however not unworthily the name of mixing or mixture is admitted to these things, on account of the custom of corporeal things, behaving themselves far otherwise and known otherwise.

12. Therefore the Word of God, and the same Son of God, coeternal with the Father, and the same Power and Wisdom of God (1 Cor. 1:24), reaching strongly from the upper end of the rational creature even to the lowest end of the corporal creature, and disposing all things sweetly (Wisd. 8:1), present and latent, nowhere enclosed, nowhere rent asunder, nowhere swollen, but without mass everywhere whole, in a far other way than that by which he is present to other creatures, assumed man, and made himself and him one Jesus Christ, the mediator between God and men (1 Tim. 2:5), equal to the Father according to divinity, but less than the Father according to the flesh, that is according to the man; incommutably immortal according to the divinity equal to the Father, and the same mutable and mortal according to the infirmity cognate to us. In which Christ, at that time which he himself knew most opportune, and had disposed before the ages, there came to men a mastership and a help, for the attaining of everlasting salvation. A mastership indeed that those things which were here before said to be usefully true, not only by the holy Prophets, who said all things true, but also by philosophers and poets themselves, and authors of literature of whatever kind (who would doubt that they mixed many true things with false?), his authority also presented in the flesh might confirm, on account of those who could not discern and distinguish those things in the inmost truth itself: which Truth even before it assumed man, was itself present to all, who were able to be partakers of it.

Maxime vero suae incarnationis exemplo id salubriter persuasit, ut quoniam homines plerique divinitatis avidi, per potestates coelestes quas deos putarent, ritusque varios illicitorum, non sacrorum, sed sacrilegiorum, ambiendum sibi arbitrarentur ad Deum, magis superbe quam pie, qua in re pro Angelis sanctis eis se daemones superbiae cognatione supponunt, scirent homines tam proximum esse Deum pietati hominum, ad quem velut longe positum per interpositas potestates ambiebant, ut hominem suscipere dignaretur, et cum illo uniri quodam modo ut ei sic coaptaretur homo totus, quemadmodum animae corpus; excepta concretione mutabili, in quam non convertitur Deus, et quam videmus quod habeat et corpus et animus. Adjutorium autem, quod sine gratia fidei quae ab illo est, nemo potest vincere concupiscentias vitiosas; et si qua earum residua non vicerit, veniali remissione purgari. Quod ergo ad magisterium ejus attinet, quis nunc extremus idiota, vel quae abjecta muliercula non credit animae immortalitatem vitamque post mortem futuram? Quod apud Graecos olim primus Pherecydes Assyrius cum disputasset, Pythagoram Samium illius disputationis novitate permotum ex athleta in philosophum vertit. Nunc ergo quod Maro ait, et omnes videmus; Amomum Assyrium vulgo nascitur: quod autem ad adjutorium gratiae pertinet, quae in Christo est, ipse est omnino, Quo duce si qua manent sceleris vestigia nostri, Irrita perpetua solvent formidine terras. (Virg. Ecl. 4.)

Sed tamen et aliquid proprium facere debuit: nasci de virgine, a mortuis resurgere, in coelum ascendere.

CAPUT IV.

13. Sed nulla, inquiunt, competentibus signis claruerunt tantae majestatis indicia: quia larvalis illa purgatio, debilium curae, reddita vita defunctis, si et alii considerentur, Deo parva sunt. Fatemur quidem et nos talia quaedam fecisse Prophetas. Nam in his signis quid excellentius quam mortuos resurrexisse? Fecit hoc Elias (III Reg. XVII, 22), fecit hoc Elisaeus (IV Reg. IV, 35). Nam de magorum miraculis, utrum etiam mortuos suscitaverint, illi viderint qui et Apuleium se contra magicarum artium crimina copiosissime defendentem, conantur non accusando, sed laudando convincere. Nos legimus, magos Aegyptiorum, artium istarum peritissimos, a Moyse famulo Dei fuisse superatos, cum illi quaedam mira nefandis artibus agerent, ille Deo simpliciter invocato, machinamenta eorum cuncta subverteret (Exod. VII, VIII). Sed et ipse Moyses, et caeteri Prophetae veracissimi Dominum Christum prophetaverunt, et gloriam magnam ei dederunt; hunc non tanquam parem sibi, nec in eadem miraculorum potentia superiorem, sed plane Dominum Deum omnium, et hominem propter homines factum, venturum praenuntiaverunt.

But most especially by the example of his incarnation he wholesomely persuaded this, that since many men greedy of divinity, through celestial powers which they thought to be gods, and various rites of illicit things, not of sacred but of sacrilegious things, should think they must go about for themselves to God, more proudly than piously, in which matter demons for the holy Angels substitute themselves to them by a kinship of pride, men might know that God is so near to the piety of men, to whom they went about as if placed far off through interposed powers, that he deigned to assume man, and to be united with him in a certain way so that the whole man should be fitted to him, just as the body to the soul; except the mutable concretion, into which God is not converted, and which we see that both the body and the mind have. But a help, because without the grace of faith which is from him, no one can overcome vicious lusts; and if any of them remain which he has not overcome, they may be purged by venial remission. As therefore pertains to his mastership, what last idiot now, or what abject little woman does not believe in the immortality of the soul and a life to come after death? Which when first Pherecydes the Assyrian had disputed of old among the Greeks, he turned Pythagoras the Samian by the novelty of that disputation from an athlete into a philosopher. Now therefore that which Maro says, and we all see; Assyrian amomum is born everywhere: but as pertains to the help of grace, which is in Christ, he is altogether He, By whose lead if any traces of our crime remain, they shall dissolve the lands from perpetual fear, being void. (Virgil, Ecl. 4)

But yet he ought also to do something proper: to be born of a virgin, to rise from the dead, to ascend into heaven.

CHAPTER IV.

13. But no indications, they say, of so great a majesty shone forth by competent signs: because that ghostly purgation, the cures of the weak, life restored to the defunct, if others also be considered, are small things for God. We indeed also confess that the Prophets did such things. For in these signs what more excellent than that the dead rose again? Elias did this (1 Kings 17:22), Elisha did this (2 Kings 4:35). For about the miracles of the magi, whether they also raised the dead, let those see who also try to convince Apuleius, defending himself most copiously against the crimes of magical arts, not by accusing, but by praising him. We read that the magi of the Egyptians, most skilled in those arts, were overcome by Moses the servant of God, when they did certain wonderful things by unspeakable arts, he, having simply invoked God, subverted all their machinations (Exod. 7, 8). But both Moses himself and the other most truthful Prophets prophesied the Lord Christ, and gave great glory to him; they foretold that he would come not as equal to themselves, nor superior in the same power of miracles, but plainly the Lord God of all, and man made on account of men.

Qui propterea et ipse talia facere voluit, ne esset absurdum, quae per illos fecerat si ipse non faceret. Hoc Deo qui parum putat, quid plus exspectet ignoro.

14. Arbitror enim talia flagitari, qualia gerens hominem, facere non debuit. Nam in principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum, et omnia per ipsum facta sunt (Joan. I, 1). Num homine assumpto, alium mundum facere debuit, ut eum esse crederemus, per quem factus est mundus? Sed nec major mundus, nec isti aequalis in hoc mundo fieri posset. Si autem minorem faceret infra istum, similiter hoc quope parum putaretur. Quia ergo non oportebat ut novum faceret mundum, nova fecit in mundo. Homo enim de virgine procreatus, et a mortuis in aeternam vitam resuscitatus, et super coelos exaltatus, potentius fortasse opus est quam mundus. Hic forte respondent, se factum hoc esse non credere. Quid ergo fiat hominibus, qui minima contemnunt, majora non credunt? Reddita vita defunctis, ideo creditur, quia fecerunt alii, et parum est Deo: caro propria de virgine creata, et a morte in aeternam vitam super coelos levata, ideo non creditur, quia nemo fecit, et competit Deo. Ac per hoc quae sibi quisque facilia, non factu, sed captu, putat, aequo animo accipit; supra ea veluti ficta pro falsis ducit: noli eis esse similis, obsecro te.

15. Disputantur haec latius, et omnes quaestionum necessariarum sinus perscrutati discussique panduntur: sed intellectui fides aditum aperit, infidelitas claudit. Quem non moveat ad credendum tantus ab initio ipse rerum gestarum ordo, et ipsa connexio temporum, praeteritis fidem de praesentibus faciens, priora posterioribus et recentioribus antiqua confirmans? Eligitur unus ex gente Chaldaeorum, pietate fidelissima praeditus, cui promissa divina post tantam saeculorum seriem novissimis temporibus complenda prodantur, atque in ejus semine omnes gentes habiturae benedictionem praenuntiantur (Gen. XII, 2). Hic unum Deum verum colens universitatis creatorem, gignit filium senex, de conjuge quam spe pariendi penitus destitutam sterilitas aetasque jam fecerat. Propagatur ex illo numerosissimus populus, multiplicatus in Aegypto, quo illam stirpem ex orientalibus partibus, promissis effectisque crebrescens dispositio divina transmiserat. Educitur ex Aegypti servitute gens valida, horrendis signis atque miraculis; pulsisque impiis gentibus, in terrare promissionis perducta et constituta, regno etiam molimatur. Deinde praevalescente peccato, sacrilegis ausibus Deum verum, qui eis tanta beneficia contulerat, saepissime offendens, variisque flagellata cladibus, et prosperitatibus consolata, usque ad Christi incarnationem declarationemque perducitur.

Who therefore also wished himself to do such things, lest it should be absurd if he did not himself do what he had done through them. He who thinks this little for God, I know not what more he may expect.

14. For I think such things are demanded, which while bearing man, he ought not to do. For in the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God, and all things were made through him (John 1:1). Having assumed man, ought he to have made another world, that we might believe him to be he through whom the world was made? But neither a greater world, nor one equal to this could be made in this world. But if he should make a smaller one below this, similarly this also would be thought little. Because therefore it was not fitting that he should make a new world, he made new things in the world. For a man procreated from a virgin, and raised from the dead into eternal life, and exalted above the heavens, is perhaps a more powerful work than the world. Here perhaps they respond, that they do not believe this to have been done. What therefore may be done for men, who contemn the smallest things, and do not believe the greater? Life restored to the defunct is therefore believed, because others did it, and it is little for God: his own flesh created of a virgin, and lifted from death into eternal life above the heavens, is therefore not believed, because no one did it, and it is fitting for God. And through this what things each one thinks easy for himself, not in doing but in grasping, he accepts with an even mind; things above them he leads as if feigned for false: do not be like to them, I beseech you.

15. These things are disputed more broadly, and all the folds of necessary questions are searched out and spread open being discussed: but faith opens the entrance to the understanding, infidelity closes it. Whom should not so great an order of the things done from the beginning move to believe, and the very connection of the times, making faith for the past from the present things, confirming the prior things by the later and the ancient by the more recent? One is chosen from the nation of the Chaldeans, endowed with most faithful piety, to whom the divine promises to be fulfilled in the last times after so great a series of ages are brought forth, and in his seed all nations about to have a blessing are foretold (Gen. 12:2). This man worshipping the one true God, the creator of the universe, begets a son as an old man, from a spouse whom sterility and age had now made altogether destitute of the hope of bearing. From him is propagated a most numerous people, multiplied in Egypt, to which place the divine disposition increasing with promises and effects had transmitted that stock from the oriental parts. A strong nation is led out from the servitude of Egypt, with horrendous signs and miracles; and the impious nations being driven out, led into and established in the land of promise, it is also raised into a kingdom. Then sin prevailing, very often offending the true God who had conferred so great benefits upon them by sacrilegious darings, and scourged by various disasters, and consoled by prosperities, it is led forward even to the incarnation and declaration of Christ.

Quem Christum, Dei Verbum, Dei Filium, Deum in carne venturum, moriturum, resurrecturum, in coelum ascensurum, praepollentissimo suo nomine, in omnibus gentibus dicatos sibi populos habiturum; inque illo remissionem peccatorum, salutemque aeternam futuram esse credentibus, omnia gentis illius promissa, omnes prophetiae, sacerdotia, sacrificia, templum, et cuncta omnino sacramenta sonuerunt.

16. Venit et Christus; complentur in ejus ortu, vita, dietis, factis, passionibus, morte, resurrectione, ascensione, omnia praeconia Prophetarum (Matth. I, 25). Mittit Spiritum sanctum, implet fideles una in domo congregatos (Act. II, 2), et hoc ipsum promissum orando atque desiderando exspectantes. Impleti autem Spiritu sanctum, loquuntur repente linguis omnium gentium, arguunt fidenter errores, praedicant saluberrimam veritatem, exhortantur ad poenitentiam praeteritae culpabilis vitae, indulgentiam de divina gratia pollicentur. Praedicationem pietatis veraeque religionis signa congruentia et miracula consequuntur. Excitatur adversus eos saeva infidelitas; tolerant praedicta, sperant promissa, docent praecepta. Numero exigui per mundum disseminantur, populos facilitate mirabili convertunt, inter inimicos augentur, persecutionibus crescunt, per afflictionum angustias usque in terrarum extrema dilatantur. Ex imperitissimis, ex abjectissimis, ex paucissimis illuminantur, nobilitantur, multiplicantur praeclarissima ingenia, cultissima eloquia; mirabilesque peritias acutorum, facundorum atque doctorum subjugant Christo, et ad praedicandum viam pietatis salutisque convertunt. Alternis adversitatibus et prosperitatibus rerum, patientiam et temperantiam vigilanter exercent: mundo declinante in extrema, fessisque rebus aetatem ultimam protestante, multo fidentius, quia et hoc praedictum est, aeternam civitatis coelestis felicitatem exspectant. Atque inter haec omnia, contra Ecclesiam Christi impiarum gentium infidelitas fremit: evincit illa patiendo, et inconcussam fidem inter obsistentium saevitiam profitendo. Revelatae veritatis, quae diu promissis mysticis velabatur, sacrificio succedente, illa sacrificia quibus hoc figurabatur, templi ipsius eversione tolluntur. Reproba per infidelitatem gens ipsa Judaeorum a sedibus exstirpata, per mundum usquequaque dispergitur, ut ubique portet Codices sanctos, ac sic prophetiae testimonium, qua Christus et Ecclesia praenuntiata est, ne ad tempus a nobis fictum existimaretur, ab ipsis adversariis proferatur; ubi etiam ipsos praedictum est non fuisse crediturus. Templa et simulacra daemonum, ritusque sacrilegi paulatim atque alternatim secundum praedicta prophetica subvertuntur.

Which Christ, the Word of God, the Son of God, God about to come in the flesh, about to die, about to rise again, about to ascend into heaven, in his most prepotent name, about to have peoples dedicated to himself in all nations; and that in him there would be remission of sins and eternal salvation for those believing, all the promises of that nation, all the prophecies, priesthoods, sacrifices, the temple, and altogether all the sacraments sounded forth.

16. Christ also came; there are fulfilled in his birth, life, sayings, deeds, passions, death, resurrection, ascension, all the proclamations of the Prophets (Matt. 1:25). He sends the Holy Spirit, he fills the faithful gathered in one house (Acts 2:2), and those themselves expecting this promised thing by praying and desiring. But filled with the Holy Spirit, they suddenly speak with the tongues of all nations, they confidently argue against errors, they preach the most wholesome truth, they exhort to repentance for the past culpable life, they promise indulgence from divine grace. Signs congruent and miracles follow the preaching of piety and true religion. Cruel infidelity is excited against them; they tolerate predicted things, they hope for promised things, they teach commanded things. Few in number they are disseminated through the world, they convert peoples with wonderful facility, they are increased among enemies, they grow by persecutions, through the straits of afflictions they are dilated even into the extremes of the lands. From the most unskilful, from the most abject, from the fewest they are enlightened, ennobled, multiplied most illustrious geniuses, most cultivated eloquences; and they subjugate to Christ the wonderful skills of the acute, the eloquent, and the learned, and they convert them to preaching the way of piety and salvation. In alternate adversities and prosperities of things, they vigilantly exercise patience and temperance: the world declining into the extremes, and with weary things protesting the last age, they expect much more confidently, because this also was foretold, the eternal happiness of the heavenly city. And among all these things, the infidelity of impious nations rages against the Church of Christ: she overcomes by suffering, and by professing an unshaken faith among the cruelty of those resisting. The revealed truth, which for a long time was veiled by mystical promises, the sacrifice succeeding, those sacrifices by which this was figured are taken away by the overthrow of the temple itself. The nation of the Jews itself, reprobate through infidelity, extirpated from its seats, is dispersed everywhere through the world, that it may everywhere carry the holy Books, and thus the testimony of prophecy, by which Christ and the Church were foretold, lest it should be thought for a time feigned by us, may be brought forth by the adversaries themselves; where also it was foretold that they themselves would not believe. The temples and images of demons, and sacrilegious rites are subverted little by little and alternately according to the prophetic predictions.

Haereses adversus nomen Christi, sub velamento tamen nominis Christi, ad exercendam doctrinam sanctae religionis, sicut praenuntiatae sunt, pullulant. Haec omnia sicut leguntur praedicta, ita cernuntur impleta, atque ex his jam tot et tantis quae restant, exspectantur implenda. Quae tandem mens avida aeternitatis, vitaeque praesentis brevitate permota, contra hujus divinae auctoritatis lumen culmenque contendat?

CAPUT V.

17. Quae disputationes, quae litterae quorumlibet philosophorum, quae leges quarumlibet civitatum, duobus praeceptis, ex quibus Christus dicit totam Legem Prophetasque pendere, ullo modo sint comparandae: Diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo, et ex tota anima tua, et ex tota mente tua; et, diliges proximum tuum tanquam teipsum? (Matth. XXII, 37, 39.) Hic physica, quoniam omnes omnium naturarum causae in Deo creatore sunt. Hic ethica, quoniam vita bona et honesta non aliunde formatur, quam cum ea quae diligenda sunt, quemadmodum diligenda sunt, diliguntur, hoc est Deus et proximus. Hic logica, quoniam veritas lumenque animae rationalis, nonnisi Deus est. Hic etiam laudabilis reipublicae salus: neque enim conditur et custoditur optime civitas, nisi fundamento et vinculo fidei, firmaeque concordiae, cum bonum commune diligitur, quod summum ac verissimum Deus est, atque in illo invicem sincerissime se diligunt homines, cum propter illum se diligunt, cui, quo animo diligant, occultare non possunt.

18. Modus autem ipse dicendi, quo sancta Scriptura contexitur, quam omnibus accessibilis, quamvis paucissimis penetrabilis! Ea quae aperta continet, quasi amicus familiaris, sine fuco ad cor loquitur indoctorum atque doctorum: ea vero quae in mysteriis occultat, nec ipsa eloquio superbo erigit, quo non audeat accedere meus tardiuscula et inerudita, quasi pauper ad divitem; sed invitat omnes humili sermone, quos non solum manifesta paseat, sed etiam secreta exerceat veritate, hoc in promptis quod in reconditis habens. Sed ne aperta fastidirentur, eadem rursus operta desiderantur, desiderata quodam modo renovantur, renovata suaviter intimantur. His salubriter et prava corriguntur, et parva nutriuntur, et magna oblectantur ingenia. Ille huic doctrinae inimicus est animus, qui vel errando eam nescit esse saluberrimam, vel odit aegrotando medicinam.

Heresies sprout against the name of Christ, yet under the veil of the name of Christ, for exercising the doctrine of holy religion, just as they were foretold. All these things as they are read foretold, so they are discerned fulfilled, and from these so many and so great things which remain, they are expected to be fulfilled. What mind at length greedy of eternity, and moved by the brevity of the present life, would contend against the light and summit of this divine authority?

CHAPTER V.

17. What disputations, what literature of any philosophers, what laws of any cities, are in any way to be compared to the two precepts, from which Christ says the whole Law and the Prophets hang: You shall love the Lord your God from your whole heart, and from your whole soul, and from your whole mind; and, you shall love your neighbor as yourself? (Matt. 22:37, 39.) Here is physics, since all the causes of all natures are in God the creator. Here is ethics, since a good and honest life is not formed from elsewhere than when those things which are to be loved are loved as they are to be loved, that is God and neighbor. Here is logic, since the truth and light of the rational soul is none but God. Here also is the laudable safety of the republic: for a city is not founded and guarded best unless by the foundation and bond of faith, and of firm concord, when the common good is loved, which is God supreme and most true, and in him men love each other in turn most sincerely, when they love on account of him to whom they cannot hide with what mind they love.

18. But the very mode of speaking in which holy Scripture is woven, how accessible to all, although penetrable by very few! Those things which it contains open, like a familiar friend, it speaks without deceit to the heart of the unlearned and of the learned: but those things which it hides in mysteries, it does not even erect with proud eloquence, where a mind somewhat slow and unlearned should not dare to approach, like a poor man to a rich man; but it invites all with humble speech, whom it may not only feed with manifest truth, but also exercise with secret truth, having the same in the ready things as in the recondite things. But lest the open things should be loathed, the same things again being covered are desired, being desired they are in a certain way renewed, being renewed they are sweetly intimated. By these both depraved things are wholesomely corrected, and little ones are nourished, and great geniuses are delighted. That mind is an enemy to this doctrine, which either by erring does not know it to be most wholesome, or by being sick hates the medicine.

19. Vides quam prolixam epistolam fecerim. Si quid ergo te movet, atque inter nos pertractari tanti habes, non tibi faciat angustias usitatarum epistolarum velut custodiendus modus; quia et optime nosti quam grandes eas veteres habuerint, cum aliquid agerent quod explicare breviter non valerent. Et si auctorum ad alias litteras pertinentium mos esset alius, nostrorum nobis in hac re dignius imitanda praeberetur auctoritas. Inspice itaque modum Epistolarum apostolicarum, vel eorum etiam qui illa divina eloquia tractaverunt; et non pigeat te vel multa quaerendo proponere, si multa te permovent, vel aliquando diutius versare quod quaeris, ut quantum fieri per tales quales sumus potest, non remaneat dubitationis nubilum quod obstet lumini veritatis.

20. Scio enim Excellentiam tuam, quorumdam perpeti obstinatissimas contradictiones, qui propterea putant, vel putari volunt christianam doctrinam utilitati non convenire reipublicae, quia nolunt stare rempublicam firmitate virtutum, sed impunitate vitiorum. Non autem sicut regi homini, vel cuilibet principi civitatis, ita etiam Deo quidquid a multis peccatur inultum est. Misericordia vero ejus et gratia praedicata hominibus per hominem Christum, impartita autem per Deum Deique filium eumdem ipsum Christum, non deserit eos qui ex ejus fide vivunt, eumque pie colunt, sive mala hujus vitae patienter fortiterque experiantur, sive bonis ejus misericorditer ac temperanter utantur; aeternum pro utroque praemium recepturi in civitate superna atque divina, ubi jam non sit moleste toleranda calamitas, nec laboriose frenanda cupiditas, sed sola sine ulla difficultate, et cum perfecta libertate retinenda Dei et proximi charitas. Incolumem felicioremque te misericordissima Dei omnipotentia tueatur, domine illustris et merito insignis, ac praestantissime fili. Sanctam et in Christo dignissime honorandam matrem, cujus pro te Deus preces exaudiat, pro meritis vestris officiosissime saluto. Sanctus frater et coepiscopus meus Possidius Praestantiam vestram multum salutat.

EPISTOLA CXXXVIII. Augustinus ad Marcellinum, respondens epistolae 136, qua nimirum ille petierat ut satisfaceret Volusiano, et significarat quosdam reprehendere quod Deus veterem Legem abrogasset, necnon asserere doctrinam evangelicam esse perniciosam reipublicae; ac demum non deesse qui Apollonii Apuleiique magica ludibria miraculis Christi praeferrent.

Domino eximio et merito insigni, charissimo ac desiderantissimo filio MARCELLINO, AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

CAP. PRIMUM.

19. You see how prolix a letter I have made. If therefore anything moves you, and you hold it of so much account to be treated between us, let not the mode of usual letters as if to be guarded make straits for you; because you also know very well how large the ancients held them, when they were doing something which they were not able to explain briefly. And if the custom of authors pertaining to other literature were other, the authority of ours in this matter would be offered to us to be more worthily imitated. Inspect therefore the mode of the apostolic Epistles, or of those also who have treated those divine eloquences; and let it not irk you to propose even many things by seeking, if many things move you, or sometimes to turn longer what you seek, so that as much as can be done through such as we are, there may not remain a cloud of doubt which may stand in the way of the light of truth.

20. For I know your Excellence to suffer most obstinate contradictions of some, who for this reason think, or wish it to be thought, that Christian doctrine does not agree with the utility of the republic, because they do not wish the republic to stand by the firmness of virtues, but by the impunity of vices. But not as to a king a man, or to any prince of a city, so also to God whatever is sinned by many is unpunished. But his mercy and grace preached to men through the man Christ, but imparted through God and the Son of God the same Christ himself, does not desert those who live from his faith and worship him piously, whether they experience the evils of this life patiently and strongly, or use its goods mercifully and temperately; about to receive an eternal reward for both in the city supreme and divine, where there is now no calamity to be borne with annoyance, nor lust to be curbed laboriously, but alone without any difficulty and with perfect liberty the charity of God and neighbor is to be retained. May the most merciful omnipotence of God guard you safe and more happy, illustrious lord and deservedly distinguished, and most excellent son. I salute most officially according to your merits the holy mother, most worthily to be honored in Christ, whose prayers for you may God hear. My holy brother and fellow-bishop Possidius salutes your Excellence much.

EPISTLE CXXXVIII. Augustine to Marcellinus, responding to epistle 136, by which namely he had asked that he satisfy Volusianus, and had signified that some represent that God had abrogated the old Law, and also assert that evangelical doctrine is pernicious to the republic; and finally that some are not lacking who prefer the magical mockeries of Apollonius and Apuleius to the miracles of Christ.

To the excellent lord and deservedly distinguished, most dear and most longed-for son MARCELLINUS, AUGUSTINE, sends greeting in the Lord.

CHAPTER FIRST.

1. Illustri viro et eloquentissimo, nobisque dilectissimo Volusiano, non amplius quam ad illud quod inquirendum putavit, respondendum fuit: ad ea vero quae mihi pertractanda atque solvenda in epistola tua ipse misisti, sive ab illo, sive etiam ab aliis vel suggerantur vel ingerantur, ad te potius pro viribus nostris pertractata et soluta mitti debuerunt; non sic quemadmodum de his agendum est librorum negotio, sed quemadmodum potest epistolari sat esse colloquio, ut si tibi visum fuerit, qui eorum motus quotidianis disputationibus experiris, et illis legantur hae litterae. At si auriculis eorum minus pietate fidei praecultis, sermo iste non sufficit, prius inter nos quod eis putas sufficere peragatur, tum demum ad illos quod peractum fuerit perferatur. Multa enim sunt, a quibus sensus eorum si adhuc abhorret et resilit, vel uberiore vel subtiliore ratione, vel certe auctoritate cui resistere indignum putent, persuaderi aliquando forsitan possint.

2. Ergo in epistola tua posuisti, moveri quosdam, cur hic Deus, qui et veteris Testamenti Deus esse firmatur, spretis veteribus sacrificiis, delectatus sit novis. Nihil enim corrigi posse asserunt, nisi quod ante non recte factum probaretur; vel quod semel recte factum sit, nullatenus immutari debuisse. Recte enim facta dicunt mutari nisi injuste non posse. Haec verba ex litteris tuis in has meas transtuli. Quibus si respondere copiose velim, tempus me citius quam exempla defecerint, quibus rerum ipsa natura et opera humana, certa ratione, pro temporum opportunitate mutentur, nec tamen eadem ratio sit mutabilis qua ista mutantur. Unde pauca commemorem, ut ex his excitata quodammodo jam per plura similia vigil currat intentio. Nonne hiemi aestas, addito sensim calore, succedit? nonne diurnis tempora necturna vertuntur? Quoties nostrae variantur aetates! adolescentiae pueritia non reditura cedit; juventus adolescentiae non mansura succedit; finiens juventutem senectus morte finitur. Haec omnia mutantur, nec mutatur divinae providentiae ratio, qua fit ut ista mutentur. Non autem, opinor, cum agricola aestate aliud jusserit, quam jusserat hieme, ratio mutatur agriculturae. Et cum mane surgit qui nocte quiescebat, vitae consilium non mutavit. Aliud magister adolescenti quam puero solebat, imposuit. Doctrina igitur constans, mutato praecepto non mutata mutavit instructionem.

1. To the illustrious and most eloquent man, and most beloved to us Volusianus, it was not necessary to respond more than to that which he thought must be inquired: but to those things which you yourself sent to me in your epistle to be treated and solved, whether they be suggested or urged by him or even by others, they ought rather to have been sent to you treated and solved according to our strength; not thus as must be done in the business of books, but as it can be enough for an epistolary colloquy, so that if it shall seem good to you, who experience their motions in daily disputations, these letters may be read even to them. But if to their ears less cultivated by the piety of faith, this speech does not suffice, let that which you think enough for them be first performed between us, then at length let that which shall have been performed be carried to them. For there are many things from which if their sense still abhors and recoils, perhaps they may sometime be persuaded either by more abundant or subtler reason, or certainly by authority which they should think it unworthy to resist.

2. Therefore in your epistle you placed, that some are moved, why this God, who is also affirmed to be the God of the old Testament, having spurned the old sacrifices, should have been delighted with new ones. For they assert that nothing can be corrected, unless what before was proved not rightly done; or what once was rightly done, ought by no means to have been changed. For they say that things rightly done cannot be changed except unjustly. These words I have transferred from your letters into these of mine. To which if I should wish to respond copiously, time would fail me sooner than examples, by which the very nature of things and human works, by a certain reason, are changed for the opportunity of times, and yet the same reason by which these are changed is not mutable. Whence I may commemorate a few, so that from these the vigilant intention being excited may now run through more similar things. Does not summer succeed to winter, with heat added gradually? are not nocturnal times turned into diurnal? How often are our ages varied! childhood yields to youth not about to return; youth succeeds to childhood not about to remain; old age finishing youth is finished by death. All these things are changed, nor is the reason of divine providence changed, by which it is brought about that these things are changed. But I do not think, when the farmer has ordered one thing in summer than he had ordered in winter, the reason of agriculture is changed. And when he rises in the morning who was resting at night, he has not changed the counsel of life. The master imposed another thing on the youth than he was wont on the boy. Therefore a constant doctrine, the precept being changed, the instruction not being changed, has changed the instruction.

3. Nam magnus ille nostrorum temporum medicus Vindicianus, consultus a quodam, dolori ejus adhiberi jussit quod in tempore congruere videbatur; adhibitum sanitas consecuta est. Deinde post annos aliquot eadem rursus corporis causa commota, hoc idem ille putavit adhibendum; adhibitum vertit in pejus. Miratus recurrit ad medicum, indicat factum: at ille ut erat acerrimus, ita respondit, Ideo male acceptus es, quia ego non jussi; ut omnes qui audissent, parumque hominem nossent non eum arte medicinali fidere, sed nescio qua illicita potentia putarent. Unde cum esset a quibusdam postea stupentibus interrogatus, aperuit quod non intellexerant, videlicet illi aetati jam non hoc se fuisse jussurum. Tantum igitur valet ratione atque artibus non mutatis, quid secundum eas sit pro temporum varietate mutandum.

4. Non itaque verum est quod dicitur, semel recte factum, nullatenus esse mutandum. Mutata quippe temporis causa, quod recte ante factum fuerat, ita mutari vera ratio plerumque flagitat, ut cum ipsi dicant, recte non fieri si mutetur, contra veritas clamet, recte non fieri nisi mutetur; quia utrumque tunc erit rectum, si erit pro temporum varietate diversum. Quod enim in diversitate personarum uno tempore accidere potest, ut huic liceat aliquid impune facere, non liceat illi; non quod dissimilis res sit, sed quod is qui facit: ita ab una eademque persona diversis temporibus, tunc oportet aliquid fieri, tunc non oportet; non quod sui dissimilis sit qui facit, sed quando facit.

5. Haec quaestio quam late pateat, profecto videt quisquis pulchri aptique distantiam sparsam quodammodo in universitate rerum valet, neque negligit intueri. Pulchrum enim per seipsum consideratur atque laudatur, cui turpe ac deforme contrarium est. Aptum vero, cui ex adverso est ineptum, quasi religatum pendet aliunde, nec ex semetipso, sed ex eo cui connectitur, judicatur: nimirum etiam decens atque indecens, vel hoc idem est, vel perinde habetur. Age nunc, ea quae diximus, refer ad illud unde agitur. Aptum fuit primis temporibus sacrificium quod praeceperat Deus, nunc vero non ita est. Aliud enim praecepit quod huic tempori aptum esset, qui multo magis quam homo novit quid cuique tempori accommodate adhibeatur; quid quando impertiat, addat, auferat, detrahat, augeat, minuatve, immutabilis mutabilium, sicut creator, ita moderator, donec universi saeculi pulchritudo, cujus particulae sunt quae suis quibusque temporibus apta sunt, velut magnum carmen cujusdam ineffabilis modulatoris excurrat, atque inde transeant in aeternam contemplationem speciei qui Deum rite colunt, etiam cum tempus est fidei.

3. For that great physician of our times Vindicianus, being consulted by someone, ordered that to be applied to his pain which seemed to agree in time; health followed the application. Then after some years the same cause of the body being moved again, he thought this same thing was to be applied; the application turned into worse. Wondering he runs back to the physician, indicates the fact: but he as he was most sharp, so responded, For this reason you were ill-received, because I did not order it; so that all who had heard, and knew the man little, should think him not to trust in the medicinal art, but in I know not what illicit power. Whence when he was afterwards interrogated by some wondering, he opened what they had not understood, namely that he would not have ordered this now for that age. So much therefore avails, the reason and arts not being changed, what according to them must be changed for the variety of times.

4. It is not therefore true what is said, that what was once rightly done ought by no means to be changed. For the cause of time being changed, true reason for the most part demands that what had been rightly done before should be so changed, that while they themselves say it is not rightly done if it be changed, truth on the contrary cries out, that it is not rightly done unless it be changed; because each will then be right, if it shall be diverse for the variety of times. For that which in the diversity of persons can happen at one time, that it is lawful for this one to do something with impunity, not lawful for that one; not because the thing is dissimilar, but because he who does it is: so by one and the same person at diverse times, then it behooves something to be done, then it does not behoove; not because he who does it is dissimilar to himself, but when he does it.

5. How far this question lies open, surely he sees whoever is able to intuit the distance of the beautiful and the fitting scattered in a certain way in the university of things, nor neglects to look upon it. For the beautiful is considered and praised through itself, to which the base and deformed is contrary. But the fitting, to which on the opposite is the unfitting, hangs as if bound from elsewhere, nor is judged from itself, but from that to which it is connected: namely even the becoming and unbecoming, either this is the same, or is held similarly. Come now, those things which we have said, refer to that from which the matter is treated. The sacrifice which God had commanded was fitting for the first times, but now it is not thus. For he commanded another thing which would be fitting for this time, who much more than man knows what may be accommodate to each time to be applied; what he may impart, add, take away, detract, increase, or diminish when, the immutable of mutable things, as creator so moderator, until the beauty of the whole age, whose particles are those things which are fitting for their each times, should run out like a great song of a certain ineffable modulator, and thence they should pass into the eternal contemplation of the species who worship God rightly, even when it is the time of faith.

6. Falluntur autem qui existimant haec Deum jubere causa suae utilitatis vel voluptatis: et merito moventur cur Deus ista mutaverit, quasi delectatione mutabili aliud sibi jubens offerri illo prius tempore, aliud isto. Non autem ita est. Nihil Deus jubet quod sibi prosit, sed illi cui jubet. Ideo verus est Dominus, qui servo non indiget, et quo servus indiget. In ea quippe Scriptura quae vetus dicitur Testamentum, et eo tempore quo adhuc illa offerebantur sacrificia quae hoc tempore non offeruntur, dictum est: Dixi Domino, Deus meus es tu, quoniam bonorum meorum non eges (Psal. XV, 2). Nec illorum ergo sacrificiorum egebat Deus, nec cujusquam eget unquam, sed rerum divinitus impartitarum, vel imbuendo virtutibus animo, vel aeternae saluti adipiscendae, quaedam signa sunt, quorum celebratione atque functione, non Deo, sed nobis utilia pietatis officia exercentur.

7. Nimis autem longum est, convenienter disputare de varietate signorum, quae cum ad res divinas pertinent, Sacramenta appellantur. Sicut autem non ideo mutabilis homo, quia mane aliud, aliud vespere; illud hoc mense, illud alio; non hoc isto anno quod illo: ita non ideo mutabilis Deus, quia universi saeculi priore volumine aliud, aliud posteriore sibi jussit offerri, quo convenienter significationes ad doctrinam religionis saluberrimam pertinentes, per mutabilia tempora sine ulla sui mutatione disponeret. Nam ut noverint, quos haec movent, jam hoc fuisse in ratione divina, nec cum ista nova constituerentur, subito priora displicuisse velut mutabili voluntate, sed hoc jam fixum et statutum fuisse in ipsa sapientia Dei, cui de majoribus etiam rerum mutationibus eadem Scriptura dicit; Mutabis ea, et mutabuntur: tu autem idem ipse es (Psal. CI, 27, 28); insinuandum est eis, mutationem istam sacramentorum Testamenti veteris et novi etiam praedictam fuisse propheticis vocibus. Ita enim videbunt, si poterunt, id quod in tempore novum est, non esse novum apud eum qui condidit tempora, et sine tempore habet omnia quae suis quibusque temporibus pro eorum varietate distribuit. Nam et in illo psalmo, unde commemoravi aliquid, quo demonstrarem non egere Deum sacrificiis nostris, cui dicitur: Dixi Domino, Deus meus es tu, quoniam bonorum meorum non eges; paulo post legitur ex persona Christi, Non congregabo conventicula eorum de sanguinibus, hoc est pecorum victimis, quibus prius congregabantur conventicula Judaeorum:

6. But they are deceived who estimate that God commands these things for the sake of his own utility or pleasure: and they are deservedly moved why God changed those things, as if by mutable delight commanding one thing to be offered to himself in that prior time, another in this. But it is not thus. God commands nothing which may profit himself, but him to whom he commands. Therefore he is the true Lord, who does not lack a servant, and whom the servant lacks. For in that Scripture which is called the old Testament, and in that time in which those sacrifices were still offered which are not offered at this time, it was said: I have said to the Lord, you are my God, since you do not lack my goods (Ps. 15:2). Therefore God did not lack those sacrifices, nor does he ever lack anyone's, but of things divinely imparted, either for imbuing the mind with virtues, or for attaining eternal salvation, they are certain signs, by whose celebration and function, not for God, but useful offices of piety are exercised for us.

7. But it is too long to dispute conveniently about the variety of signs, which when they pertain to divine things are called Sacraments. But just as a man is not for that reason mutable, because in the morning one thing, in the evening another; this in this month, that in another; not this in this year which in that: so God is not for that reason mutable, because in the prior volume of the whole age he ordered one thing, in the later another to be offered to himself, by which he might conveniently dispose the significations pertaining to the most wholesome doctrine of religion through mutable times without any mutation of his own. For that they may know, whom these things move, that this was already in the divine reason, nor when these new things were being constituted, did the prior things suddenly displease him as if by a mutable will, but that this had already been fixed and statuted in the very wisdom of God, to whom concerning even greater mutations of things the same Scripture says: You shall change them, and they shall be changed: but you are the same (Ps. 101:27, 28); it is to be insinuated to them, that this mutation of the sacraments of the old and new Testament was even foretold by prophetic voices. For thus they will see, if they shall be able, that that which is new in time is not new with him who founded the times, and has without time all things which he distributed for their each times according to their variety. For even in that psalm, whence I commemorated something by which I might demonstrate that God does not lack our sacrifices, to whom it is said: I have said to the Lord, you are my God, since you do not lack my goods; a little after it is read from the person of Christ: I will not gather their assemblies of blood, that is of the victims of cattle, by which the assemblies of the Jews were formerly gathered:

et alibi dicit, Non accipiam de manu tua vitulos, neque de gregibus tuis hircos (Psal. XLIX, 9): et alius propheta, Ecce, inquit, dies venient, dicit Dominus, et confirmabo super domum Jacob testamentum novum, non sicut testamentum quod disposui patribus eorum, cum eduxi eos de terra Aegypti (Jer. XXXI, 31, 32). Et alia multa sunt de hac re testimonia, quibus hoc Deum facturum esse praedictum est, quae commemorare nunc longum est.

8. Hic jam si satis constitit, quod recte alio tempore constitutum est, idem recte alio tempore posse mutari, mutantis opere, non dispositione mutata, quam dispositionem intelligibilis ratio continet, ubi sine tempore simul sunt quae in temporibus simul fieri non possunt, quia tempora non simul currunt; quispiam fortassis exspectet causas a nobis ipsius mutationis accipere, quod ipse nosti quam prolixi sit negotii. Verumtamen breviter dici potest, quod homini acuto fortasse suffecerit, aliis sacramentis praenuntiari Christum cum venturus esset, aliis cum venisset annuntiari oportuisse; sicut modo nos idipsum loquentes, diversitas rerum compulit etiam verba mutare. Siquidem aliud est praenuntiari, aliud annuntiari; aliud cum venturus esset, aliud cum venisset.

CAPUT II.

9. Nunc deinde videamus quale sit illud quod in epistola tua sequitur. Adjecisti enim eos dicere quod Christi praedicatio atque doctrina reipublicae moribus nulla ex parte conveniat, cujus hoc constet esse praeceptum, ut nulli malum pro malo reddere debeamus (Rom. XII, 17), et percutienti aliam praebere maxillam, et pallium dare ei qui tunicam auferre perstiterit, et cum eo qui nos angariare voluerit, ire debere spatio itineris duplicato (Matth. V, 39-41). Quae omnia reipublicae moribus asseruntur esse contraria: Nam quis, inquiunt, tolli sibi ab hoste aliquid patiatur, vel Romanae provinciae depraedatoribus non mala velit belli jure reponere? Haec atque hujusmodi verba obtrectantium, sive non obtrectando, sed quaerendo talia loquentium, operosius fortasse refellerem, nisi hae disceptationes haberentur cum viris liberaliter institutis. Unde quid opus est ut diutius laboremus, ac non ipsos potius percontemur quomodo poterant gubernare atque augere rempublicam, quam ex parva et inopi magnam opulentamque fecerunt, qui accepta injuria ignoscere quam persequi malebant (Sallustius, Bell. Catil.)? quomodo Caesari administratori utique reipublicae, mores ejus extollens Cicero dicebat, quod nihil oblivisci soleret nisi injurias (Orat. pro Q. Ligario.)?

and elsewhere he says: I will not receive calves from your hand, nor he-goats from your flocks (Ps. 49:9): and another prophet says: Behold, says the Lord, the days shall come, and I will confirm a new testament over the house of Jacob, not according to the testament which I disposed for their fathers, when I led them out from the land of Egypt (Jer. 31:31, 32). And there are many other testimonies about this matter, by which it was foretold that God would do this, which it is now long to commemorate.

8. Here now if it has sufficiently stood, that what was rightly constituted at one time, the same can rightly be changed at another time, by the work of the changer, not by a changed disposition, which disposition the intelligible reason contains, where without time those things are together which cannot be done together in times, because times do not run together; someone perhaps may expect to receive from us the causes of the mutation itself, which you yourself know of how prolix a business it is. Nevertheless it can be said briefly, which perhaps may have sufficed for an acute man, that Christ ought to have been pre-announced by other sacraments when he was about to come, and to have been announced by others when he had come; just as now we speaking of that very thing, the diversity of things compelled us even to change words. Forasmuch as it is one thing to be pre-announced, another to be announced; one thing when he was about to come, another when he had come.

CHAPTER II.

Now then let us see of what kind is that which follows in your epistle. For you added that they say that the preaching and doctrine of Christ in no part agrees with the customs of the republic, of which it stands that this is the precept, that we ought to render evil for evil to no one (Rom. 12:17), and to provide the other cheek to the one striking, and to give the cloak to him who shall persist in taking away the tunic, and with him who shall wish to constrain us, we ought to go a double space of the journey (Matt. 5:39-41). All which things are asserted to be contrary to the customs of the republic: For who, they say, would suffer anything to be taken from himself by an enemy, or would not wish to repay evils by the right of war to the depopulators of the Roman province? These and words of this kind of those detracting, or speaking such things not by detracting but by seeking, I would perhaps refell more laboriously, unless these disceptations were held with men liberally instituted. Whence what need is there that we should labor longer, and not rather interrogate them how they were able to govern and increase the republic, which from small and needy they made great and opulent, who having accepted an injury preferred to forgive than to pursue (Sallust, Bell. Catil.)? how to Caesar an administrator certainly of the republic, Cicero extolling his customs said, that he was wont to forget nothing but injuries (Orat. pro Q. Ligario)?

Dicebat enim hoc tam magnus laudator, aut tam magnus adulator: sed si laudator, talem Caesarem noverat; si autem adulator, talem esse debere ostendebat principem civitatis, qualem illum fallaciter praedicabat. Quid est autem non reddere malum pro malo, nisi abhorrere ab ulciscendi libidine? quod est accepta injuria ignoscere malle quam persequi, et nihil nisi injurias oblivisci.

10. Haec cum in eorum leguntur auctoribus, exclamatur et plauditur; describi atque praedicari mores videntur, quibus dignum esset exsurgere civitatem quae tot gentibus imperaret, quod accepta injuria ignoscere quam persequi malebant. Cum vero legitur praecipiente auctoritate divina, non reddendum malum pro malo; cum haec tam salubris admonitio congregationibus populorum, tanquam publicis utriusque sexus atque omnium aetatum et dignitatum scholis, de superiore loco personat, accusatur religio tanquam inimica reipublicae! Quae si, ut dignum est, audiretur, longe melius Romulo, Numa, Bruto, caeterisque illis Romanae gentis praeclaris viris, constitueret, consecraret, firmaret, augeretque rempublicam. Quid enim est respublica, nisi res populi? Res ergo communis, res utique civitatis. Quid est autem civitas, nisi multitudo hominum in quoddam vinculum redacta concordiae? Apud eos enim ita legitur: Brevi multitudo dispersa atque vaga, concordia civitas facta erat. Quae porro praecepta concordiae in suis templis unquam illi legenda censuerunt? Quandoquidem miseri quaerere cogebantur, quoniam modo sine offensione cujusquam eorum discordes inter se deos suos colere possent: quos si imitari discordando vellent, rupto concordiae vinculo civitas laberetur; quod postea paulatim decoloratis corruptisque moribus agi coepit per bella civilia.

11. Quanta vero praecepta concordiae non humanis disputationibus exquisita, sed divina auctoritate conscripta in Christi ecclesiis lectitentur, quis vel ab illa religione alienus, ita surdus est ut ignoret? Ad hoc enim et illa pertinent, quae malunt exagitare quam discere, alteram percutienti praebendam esse maxillam, volenti auferre tunicam dandum etiam pallium, cum angariante duplicandam viam. Hoc quippe fit ut vincatur bono malus, imo in homine malo vincatur bono malum, et homo liberetur a malo, non exteriore et alieno, sed intimo ac suo, quo gravius et perniciosius quam cujusvis hostis extrinsecus immanitate vastatur.

For so great a praiser, or so great a flatterer said this: but if a praiser, he had known such a Caesar; but if a flatterer, he showed that the prince of a city ought to be such as he was fallaciously preaching him to be. But what is it not to render evil for evil, but to abhor the lust of avenging? which is having accepted an injury to prefer to forgive than to pursue, and to forget nothing but injuries.

When these things are read in their authors, it is exclaimed and applauded; the customs seem to be described and preached, by which it would be worthy that a city should rise up which should command so many nations, because having accepted an injury they preferred to forgive than to pursue. But when it is read the divine authority commanding, that evil is not to be rendered for evil; when this so wholesome admonition sounds forth from a higher place to the congregations of peoples, as if to public schools of each sex and of all ages and dignities, the religion is accused as if an enemy of the republic! Which if it were heard as is worthy, would constitute, consecrate, firm, and increase the republic far better than Romulus, Numa, Brutus, and those other illustrious men of the Roman nation. For what is a republic, but the affair of the people? Therefore a common affair, surely the affair of a city. But what is a city, but a multitude of men brought back into a certain bond of concord? For among them it is read thus: Briefly a multitude dispersed and wandering, by concord had been made a city. Which precepts of concord furthermore did they ever judge to be read in their temples? Forasmuch as the miserable were compelled to seek, in what way without the offense of any of them they might worship their gods discordant among themselves: whom if they wished to imitate by discording, the bond of concord being broken the city would fall; which afterwards little by little the customs being discolored and corrupted began to be done through civil wars.

11. How great are the precepts of concord, not sought out by human disputations, but written by divine authority in the churches of Christ, who is so deaf, even if alien to that religion, as to be ignorant? For to this also those things pertain, which they prefer to toss about rather than to learn, that the other cheek is to be provided to the one striking, that to the one wishing to take away the tunic the cloak is also to be given, that with the one constraining the way is to be doubled. This indeed is done so that the evil man may be conquered by the good, or rather that in the evil man evil may be conquered by the good, and the man may be delivered from evil, not an exterior and alien one, but an intimate and his own, by which he is wasted more heavily and perniciously than by the cruelty of any enemy from without.

Qui ergo vincit bono malum, patienter amittit temporalia commoda, ut doceat quam pro fide atque justitia contemnenda sint, quae ille nimis amando fit malus; ac sic injuriosus ab eo ipso cui fecit injuriam, discat qualia sint propter quae fecit injuriam, atque in concordiam, qua nihil est utilius civitati, poenitens acquiratur, victus non saevientis viribus, sed benevolentia patientis. Tunc enim recte fit, cum videtur ei profuturum esse propter quem fit, ad operandam in eo correctionem atque concordiam. Hoc certe animo faciendum est, etiamsi alius exitus consequatur, nec corrigi velit atque pacari, propter quem corrigendum atque pacandum, velut curandum et sanandum, adhibita est ista medicina.

12. Alioquin si verba attenderimus, eorumque proprietati serviendum putaverimus, non est praebenda maxilla dextera, si sinistra fuerit percussa. Quoniam, Si quis te, inquit, percusserit in maxillam dexteram, praebe illi et sinistram (Matth. V, 39): magis autem sinistra percutitur, quod ad dexteram ferientis facilior ictus est. Sed sic intelligi solet, ac si dictum esset: Si quis in te meliora fuerit persecutus, et inferiora ei praebe, ne vindictae potius quam patientiae studens contemnas aeterna pro temporalibus, cum potius temporalia pro aeternis contemnenda sint, tanquam sinistra pro dextris. Haec semper fuit sanctorum martyrum intentio: vindicta enim ultima juste poscitur, quando nullus jam restat correctionis locus, extremo scilicet summoque judicio. Nunc vero cavendum est, ne vindicandi cupiditate amittatur, ut nihil aliud dicam, ipsa patientia, quae pluris est habenda quam omne quod potest etiam invito inimicus auferre. Namque alius evangelista in eadem sententia nullam fecit dexterae mentionem, sed tantum maxillam et alteram nominavit (Luc. VI, 29), ut aliquanto distinctius intelligeretur in alio, ipse autem simpliciter eamdem patientiam commendaret. Paratus itaque debet esse homo justus et pius, patienter eorum malitiam sustinere, quos fieri bonos quaerit, ut numerus potius crescat bonorum, non ut pari malitia se quoque numero addat malorum.

13. Denique ista praecepta magis ad praeparationem cordis quae intus est, pertinere, quam ad opus quod in aperto fit; ut teneatur in secreto animi patientia cum benevolentia, in manifesto autem id fiat quod eis videtur prodesse posse, quibus bene velle debemus, hinc liquido ostenditur, quod ipse Dominus Jesus exemplum singulare patientiae, cum percuteretur in faciem respondit: Si male dixi, exprobra de malo; si autem bene, quid me caedis (Joan. XVIII, 23)? Nequaquam igitur praeceptum suum, si verba intueamur, implevit.

He, therefore, who conquers evil with good, patiently loses temporal comforts, that he may teach how they are to be contemned for the sake of faith and justice, which he becomes evil by loving too much; and thus the injurious one may learn from him to whom he did the injury what kind of things those are for which he did the injury, and being penitent may be acquired for concord, than which nothing is more useful to a city, conquered not by the forces of the one raging, but by the benevolence of the one suffering. For then it is rightly done, when it is seen to be about to be profitable for him for whose sake it is done, for operating in him correction and concord. This certainly is to be done with the mind, even if another exit should follow, and he should not wish to be corrected and pacified, for whose correction and pacification, as if for curing and healing, that medicine was applied.

12. Otherwise, if we attend to the words, and think that their propriety is to be served, the right cheek is not to be provided if the left has been struck. Since, He says, "If anyone shall strike you on the right cheek, provide to him also the left" (Matt. 5:39): but the left is struck more, because the blow is easier for the right hand of the striker. But it is wont to be so understood, as if it were said: If anyone shall have persecuted the better things in you, provide to him also the inferior things, lest studying vengeance rather than patience you contemn eternal things for temporal, since rather temporal things are to be contemned for eternal, as if the left for the right. This was always the intention of the holy martyrs: for ultimate vengeance is justly demanded, when no place of correction now remains, namely in the extreme and highest judgment. But now it is to be guarded against, lest by the desire of avenging, patience itself be lost, which is to be held of more value than all that an enemy can take away even from the unwilling. For another Evangelist in the same sentence made no mention of the right, but named only the cheek and the other (Luke 6:29), that it might be understood somewhat more distinctly in the other, but he himself simply commended the same patience. Therefore a just and pious man ought to be ready to sustain patiently the malice of those whom he seeks to become good, that the number of the good may rather increase, not that by equal malice he also may add himself to the number of the evil.

13. Finally, that these precepts pertain more to the preparation of the heart which is within, than to the work which is done in the open; so that patience with benevolence is held in the secret of the mind, but in the manifest that is done which seems to be able to profit those to whom we ought to wish well, is clearly shown from this, that the Lord Jesus himself, the singular example of patience, when he was struck on the face, answered: "If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil; but if well, why do you strike me?" (John 18:23). By no means therefore did he fulfill his own precept, if we look at the words.

Neque enim praebuit percutienti alteram partem, sed potius prohibuit, ne qui fecerat injuriam, augeret; et tamen paratus venerat non solum in faciem percuti, verum etiam pro his quoque a quibus haec patiebatur crucifixus occidi, pro quibus ait in cruce pendens: Pater, ignosce illis, quia nesciunt quid faciunt (Luc. XXIII, 34). Nec Paulus apostolus praeceptum Domini et magistri sui videtur implesse, ubi etiam ipse percussus in faciem, dixit principi sacerdotum: Percutiet te Deus, paries dealbate. Sedes judicans me secundum Legem, et contra Legem jubes me percuti! Et cum a circumstantibus diceretur, Injuriam facis principi sacerdotum, irridenter eos admonere voluit quid dixerit, ut qui saperent, intelligerent jam destruendum esse adventu Christi parietem dealbatum, hoc est, hypocrisim sacerdotii Judaeorum: ait quippe, Nescivi, fratres, quia princeps est; scriptum est enim, Principi populi tui non maledices (Act. XXIII, 3-5); cum procul dubio, qui in eodem populo creverat, atque ibi Lege fuerat eruditus, illum principem sacerdotum nescire non posset, nec eos quibus ita notus erat, ullo modo falleret quod nesciret.

14. Sunt ergo ista praecepta patientiae semper in cordis praeparatione retinenda, ipsaque benevolentia, ne reddatur malum pro malo, semper in voluntate complenda est. Agenda sunt autem multa, etiam cum invitis benigna quadam asperitate plectendis, quorum potius utilitati consulendum est quam voluntati; quod in principe civitatis luculentissime illorum litterae laudaverunt. Nam in corripiendo filio quamlibet aspere, nunquam profecto amor paternus amittitur. Fit tamen quod nolit et doleat, qui etiam invitus videtur dolore sanandus. Ac per hoc si terrena ista respublica praecepta christiana custodiat, et ipsa bella sine benevolentia non gerentur, ut ad pietatis justitiaeque pacatam societatem victis facilius consulatur. Nam cui licentia iniquitatis cripitur, utiliter vincitur; quoniam nihil est infelicius felicitate peccantium, qua poenalis nutritur impunitas, et mala voluntas velut hostis interior roboratur. Sed perversa et aversa corda mortalium, felices res humanas putant, cum tectorum splendor attenditur, et labes non attenditur animorum; cum theatrorum moles exstruuntur, et effodiuntur fundamenta virtutum; cum gloriosa est effusionis insania, et opera misericordiae deridentur; cum ex his quae divitibus abundant, luxuriantur histriones, et necessaria vix habent pauperes; cum Deus, qui doctrinae suae publicis vocibus contra hoc malum publicum clamat, ab impiis populis blasphematur, et dii tales requiruntur, in quorum honorem ea ipsa theatrica, corporum et animorum dedecora celebrentur.

For he did not provide the other part to the one striking, but rather prohibited that he who had done the injury should increase it; and yet he had come prepared not only to be struck on the face, but even to be killed by being crucified for these also from whom he was suffering these things, for whom he said while hanging on the cross: "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do" (Luke 23:34). Nor does the apostle Paul seem to have fulfilled the precept of his Lord and master, where even he, having been struck on the face, said to the prince of the priests: "God shall strike you, you whited wall. Do you sit to judge me according to the Law, and against the Law do you command me to be struck?" And when it was said by those standing by, "Do you offer an injury to the prince of the priests?", he wished to admonish them mockingly of what he said, so that those who were wise might understand that the whited wall, that is, the hypocrisy of the priesthood of the Jews, was now to be destroyed by the advent of Christ: for he said, "I knew not, brethren, that he is the prince; for it is written, To the prince of your people you shall not speak evil" (Acts 23:3-5); since without doubt, he who had grown up in the same people, and had there been erudite in the Law, could not be ignorant of that prince of the priests, nor could he in any way deceive those to whom he was so known by saying that he did not know.

14. Therefore these precepts of patience are always to be retained in the preparation of the heart, and benevolence itself, lest evil be rendered for evil, is always to be fulfilled in the will. But many things are to be done, even with a certain benign asperity toward the unwilling who are to be punished, whose utility rather than whose will is to be consulted; which in the prince of a city their letters have most clearly praised. For in correcting a son, however asperity there may be, paternal love is surely never lost. Yet that is done which he may not wish and may grieve at, who even unwillingly seems to be needing to be healed by grief. And by this, if that earthly republic should guard the Christian precepts, even wars themselves will not be waged without benevolence, so that counsel may be taken more easily for the conquered for a pacified society of piety and justice. For to whom the license of iniquity is snatched away, he is usefully conquered; since nothing is more unhappy than the happiness of those sinning, by which a penal impunity is nourished, and an evil will like an interior enemy is strengthened. But the perverse and averse hearts of mortals think human affairs happy when the splendor of roofs is attended to, and the ruin of minds is not attended to; when masses of theaters are constructed, and the foundations of virtues are dug out; when the insanity of effusion is glorious, and the works of mercy are derided; when from those things which abound to the rich, actors luxuriate, and the poor scarcely have necessities; when God, who cries out against this public evil with the public voices of his doctrine, is blaspheld by impious peoples, and such gods are required, in whose honor those same theatrical disgraces of bodies and minds are celebrated.

Haec si Deus pollere permittat, tunc indignatur gravius; haec si impunita dimittat, tunc punit infestius. Cum vero evertit subsidium vitiorum, et copiosas libidines inopes reddit, misericorditer adversatur. Misericorditer enim, si fieri posset, etiam bella gererentur a bonis, ut licentiosis cupiditatibus domitis haec vitia perderentur, quae justo imperio vel exstirpari vel premi debuerunt.

15. Nam si christiana disciplina omnia bella culparet, hoc potius militibus consilium salutis petentibus in Evangelio diceretur, ut abjicerent arma, seque omnino militiae subtraherent. Dictum est autem eis: Neminem concusseritis, nulli calumniam feceritis; sufficiat vobis stipendium vestrum (Luc. III, 14). Quibus proprium stipendium sufficere debere praecepit, militare utique non prohibuit. Proinde qui doctrinam Christi adversam dicunt esse reipublicae, dent exercitum talem quales doctrina Christi esse milites jussit; dent tales provinciales, tales maritos, tales conjuges, tales parentes, tales filios, tales dominos, tales servos, tales reges, tales judices, tales denique debitorum ipsius fisci redditores et exactores, quales esse praecepit doctrina christiana, et audeant eam dicere adversam esse reipublicae; imo vero non dubitent eam confiteri magnam, si obtemperetur, salutem esse reipublicae.

CAPUT III.

16. Utquid autem ad illud respondeam quod dicunt, per quosdam imperatores christianos multa mala imperio accidisse Romano? Haec generalis conquestio calumniosa est. Nam si apertius certe de praeteritis imperatoribus aliqua commemorarent, possem similia vel fortasse etiam graviora de imperatoribus non christianis et ego commemorare, ut intelligerent, vel hominum haec esse vitia, non doctrinae; vel non imperatorum, sed aliorum sine quibus imperatores agere nihil possunt. Ex quo enim tempore pessum ire coeperit Romana respublica, satis liquet; litterae loquuntur ipsorum: longe antequam Christi nomen eluxisset in terris, dictum est: O urbem venalem, et mature perituram, si emptorem invenerit! (Sallustius, Bell. Jugurth.) In libro etiam belli Catilinae, ante adventum utique Christi, idem nobilissimus historicus eorum non tacet quando primum insueverit exercitus populi Romani amare, potare, signa, tabulas pictas, vasa caelata mirari, ea privatim et publice rapere, delubra spoliare, sacra profanaque omnia polluere.

If God permits these things to prevail, then he is more heavily indignant; if he lets these things go unpunished, then he punes more infestly. But when he overturns the support of vices, and renders needy the copious lusts, he mercifully opposes. For mercifully, if it were possible, even wars would be waged by the good, so that licentious desires being tamed, those vices might be lost which by a just command ought to have been either extirpated or pressed down.

15. For if Christian discipline blamed all wars, this counsel of safety would rather have been said to the soldiers seeking it in the Gospel, that they should cast away their arms, and subtract themselves entirely from military service. But it was said to them: "Do violence to no man, neither accuse any falsely; and be content with your wages" (Luke 3:14). To whom he commanded that their own wages ought to suffice, he certainly did not prohibit military service. Proindely let those who say that the doctrine of Christ is adverse to the republic, give such an army as the doctrine of Christ has commanded soldiers to be; let them give such provincials, such husbands, such wives, such parents, such sons, such masters, such servants, such kings, such judges, finally such renderers and exactors of the debts of the fiscus itself, as Christian doctrine has commanded them to be, and let them dare to say that it is adverse to the republic; rather indeed let them not doubt to confess that it is a great safety to the republic, if it be obeyed.

CHAPTER III.

16. But why should I respond to that which they say, that through certain Christian emperors many evils have happened to the Roman empire? This general complaint is calumnious. For if I should certainly commemorate some things more openly concerning past emperors, I also could commemorate similar or perhaps even heavier things concerning non-Christian emperors, so that they might understand either that these are the vices of men, not of doctrine; or not of the emperors, but of others without whom the emperors can do nothing. For from what time the Roman republic began to go to ruin, it is sufficiently clear; their own letters speak: long before the name of Christ had shone on the earth, it was said: "O venal city, and soon to perish, if it shall have found a buyer!" (Sallust, Bell. Jugurth.). In the book also of the Catiline war, certainly before the advent of Christ, the same most noble historian of theirs is not silent when first the army of the Roman people became accustomed to love, to drink, to admire statues, painted tablets, embossed vessels, to seize them privately and publicly, to spoil shrines, to pollute all things sacred and profane.

Quando ergo nec hominibus, nec ipsis etiam quos Deos putabant, morum corruptorum et perditorum avaritia rapacitasque parcebat, tunc coepit perire laudabile illud decus salusque reipublicae. Quos deinde vitia pessima successus habuerint, et quanto humanarum rerum malo illa iniquitas prosperata sit, nunc longum est dicere. Audiant Satyricum suum, garriendo vera dicentem: Servabat castas humilis fortuna Latinas Quondam, nec vitiis contingi parva sinebat Tecta labor, somnique breves, et vellere Thusco Vexatae duraeque manus, ac proximus Urbi Annibal, et stantes Collina in turre mariti. Nunc patimur longae pacis mala; saevior armis Luxuria incubuit, victumque ulciscitur orbem. Nullum crimen abest, facinusque libidinis, ex quo Paupertas Romana perit. (Juvenalis, Sat. 6.) Quid ergo exspectas ut ego exaggerem, quanta mala importaverit successu prospero iniquitas sublevata; quandoquidem et ipsi, qui aliquanto prudentius attenderunt, plus dolendum vederunt paupertatem, quam opulentiam periisse Romanam? In illa enim morum integritas servabatur; per hanc autem non muros urbis, sed mentes ipsius civitatis dira nequitia omni hoste pejor irrupit.

17. Gratias Domino Deo nostro, qui contra ista mala misit nobis adjutorium singulare. Quo enim non tolleret, quem non involveret, in quod profundum non demergeret fluvius iste horrendae nequitiae generis humani, nisi crux Christi in tanta velut mole auctoritatis eminentius firmiusque figeretur; cujus apprehenso robore, stabiles essemus, ne male suadentium, vel in mala impellentium, tam vasto mundi hujus gurgite abrepti sorberemur? In ista enim colluvie morum pessimorum et veteris perditae disciplinae, maxime venire ac subvenire debuit coelestis auctoritas, quae voluntariam paupertatem, quae continentiam, benevolentiam, justitiam, atque concordiam, veramque pietatem persuaderet, caeterasque vitae luminosas validasque virtutes; non tantum propter istam vitam honestissime gerendam, nec tantum propter civitatis terrenae concordissimam societatem; verum etiam propter adipiscendam sempiternam salutem, et sempiterni cujusdam populi coelestem divinamque rempublicam, cui nos cives adsciscit fides, spes, charitas: ut quamdiu inde peregrinamur, feramus eos si corrigere non valemus, qui vitiis impunitis volunt stare rempublicam, quam primi Romani constituerunt auxeruntque virtutibus, etsi non habentes veram pietatem erga Deum verum, quae illos etiam in aeternam civitatem posset salubri religione perducere; custodientes tamen quamdam sui generis probitatem, quae posset terrenae civitati constituendae, augendae, conservandaeque sufficere. Deus enim sic ostendit in opulentissimo et praeclaro imperio Romanorum, quantum valerent civiles etiam sine vera religione virtutes, ut intelligeretur hac addita fieri homines cives alterius civitatis, cujus rex veritas, cujus lex charitas, cujus modus aeternitas.

When therefore neither to men, nor even to those very ones whom they thought to be gods, the avarice and rapacity of corrupted and lost customs spared, then began to perish that laudable grace and safety of the republic. What successes worst vices subsequently had, and with how great an evil of human affairs that iniquity prospered, it is now long to say. Let them hear their own Satyrist, saying true things by prattling: "Humble fortune formerly preserved chaste Latin women, nor did labor permit small roofs to be touched by vices, and short sleeps, and hands worn and hardened by the Tuscan fleece, and Hannibal very near the City, and husbands standing in the Colline tower. Now we suffer the evils of a long peace; luxury more cruel than arms has incubated, and avenges the conquered world. No crime is absent, and no deed of lust, since Roman poverty perished" (Juvenal, Sat. 6). What therefore do you expect that I should exaggerate, how great evils iniquity being lifted up by prosperous success has imported; forasmuch as even they, who attended somewhat more prudently, saw that it was more to be grieved that Roman poverty had perished, than its opulence? For in that the integrity of customs was preserved; but through this, not the walls of the city, but the minds of the city itself a dire iniquity worse than any enemy has burst into.

17. Thanks be to the Lord our God, who against these evils sent us a singular help. For where would it not take, whom would it not involve, into what depth would it not merge that river of the horrendous iniquity of the human race, unless the cross of Christ were fixed more eminently and firmly in so great a mass of authority; whose strength being apprehended, we might be stable, lest being snatched away in so vast a whirlpool of this world we should be swallowed up by those persuading evil, or impelling into evil? For in this filth of worst customs and of ancient lost discipline, most of all the heavenly authority ought to have come and subvened, which would persuade voluntary poverty, which would persuade continence, benevolence, justice, and concord, and true piety, and the other luminous and valid virtues of life; not only for conducting this life most honestly, nor only for the most concordant society of the earthly city; but also for obtaining eternal safety, and the heavenly and divine republic of a certain eternal people, to which faith, hope, charity enrolls us as citizens: so that as long as we are pilgrims from there, we may bear those if we cannot correct them, who wish the republic to stand with unpunished vices, which the first Romans constituted and increased by virtues, even if not having true piety toward the true God, which could lead them also by a wholesome religion into the eternal city; yet guarding a certain probity of their own kind, which could suffice for constituting, increasing, and conserving the earthly city. For God thus showed in the most opulent and illustrious empire of the Romans, how much civil virtues were worth even without true religion, so that it might be understood that with this added men are made citizens of another city, whose king is truth, whose law is charity, whose mode is eternity.

CAPUT IV.

18. Quis autem vel risu dignum non putet, quod Apollonium et Apuleium, caeterosque magicarum artium peritissimos conferre Christo, vel etiam praeferre conantur? Quanquam tolerabilius ferendum sit, quando istos ei potius comparant quam deos suos: multo enim melior, quod fatendum est, Apollonius fuit, quam tot stuprorum auctor et perpetrator, quem Jovem nominant. Ista, inquiunt, fabulosa sunt. Adhuc ergo laudent reipublicae luxuriosam, licentiosam, planeque sacrilegam felicitatem, quae ista deorum probra confinxit, quae non solum in fabulis audienda posuit, verum etiam in theatris spectanda proposuit; ubi crimina plura essent quam numina, quae ipsi dii sibi exhiberi habebant libenter, qui in suos cultores vindicare debuerunt, quod ea saltem viderent patienter. Sed non ipsi, inquiunt, sunt, qui talium fabularum mendacio celebrantur. Qui ergo sunt isti, qui talium turpitudinum celebratione placantur? Horum daemonum perversitatem atque fallaciam, per quos et magicae artes humanas mentes decipiunt, quia prodidit christiana doctrina, quia mundo universo patefecit, quia Angelos sanctos ab eorum malignitate distinxit, quia cavendos potius, et quemadmodum caverentur admonuit, reipublicae dicitur inimica! quasi non si omnino per istos esset temporalis obtinenda felicitas, quaelibet potius fuerat infelicitas eligenda. Sed neque hinc Deus voluit dubitari, qui primum populum unum verum Deum colentem, deos autem falsissimos contemnentem, quamdiu oportuit Vetus Testamentum, ubi velamentum Testamenti Novi est, obumbrari, tanta rerum terrenarum felicitate honestavit, ut quivis intelligat nec ipsam esse in daemonum potestate, sed in illius unius, cui Angeli serviunt, quem daemones contremiscunt.

19. Apuleius enim, ut de illo potissimum loquamur, qui nobis Afris Afer est notior, non dico ad regnum, sed ne ad aliquam quidem judiciariam reipublicae potestatem cum omnibus suis magicis artibus potuit pervenire, honesto patriae suae loco natus, et liberaliter educatus, magnaque praeditus eloquentia. An forte ista, ut philosophus, voluntate contempsit, qui sacerdos provinciae, pro magno fuit ut munera ederet, venatoresque vestiret, et pro statua sibi apud Coenses locanda, ex qua civitate habebat uxorem, adversus contradictionem quorumdam civium litigaret?

CHAPTER IV.

18. But who would not think it worthy even of laughter, that they attempt to compare Christ to Apollonius and Apuleius, and others most skilled in the magic arts, or even to prefer them? Although it might be more tolerably borne when they compare those to him rather than their own gods: for much better, it must be confessed, was Apollonius than the author and perpetrator of so many stupors, whom they name Jove. These things, they say, are fabulous. Still therefore let them praise the luxurious, licentious, and plainly sacrilegious happiness of the republic, which feigned these reproaches of the gods, which not only placed them to be heard in fables, but also proposed them to be seen in theaters; where crimes were more numerous than numina, which the gods themselves were happy to have exhibited to them, who ought to have punished their own worshipers because they at least saw those things patiently. But they are not the ones, they say, who are celebrated by the lie of such fables. Who therefore are those, who are placated by the celebration of such turpitudes? Because Christian doctrine has betrayed the perversity and fallacy of these demons, through whom also magic arts deceive human minds, because it has made them open to the universal world, because it has distinguished holy Angels from their malignancy, because it has admonished that they are rather to be guarded against, and how they should be guarded against, it is said to be an enemy of the republic! as if, if altogether temporal happiness were to be obtained through them, any unhappiness rather had been to be chosen. But neither from this did God wish it to be doubted, who graced the first people worshiping one true God, but contemning most false gods, as long as it was opportune for the Old Testament, where the veil of the New Testament is, to be overshadowed, with so great a happiness of earthly things, so that anyone might understand that neither is it in the power of demons, but in that of Him alone, whom the Angels serve, and whom the demons tremble at.

19. For Apuleius, that we may speak most of all of him, who is better known to us Africans as an African, I do not say to a kingdom, but not even to any judiciary power of the republic was he able to arrive with all his magic arts, born in an honest place of his country, and liberally educated, and endowed with great eloquence. Or perhaps as a philosopher he contemned these things by his will, who as priest of the province held it as great that he should exhibit games, and clothe hunters, and should litigate against the contradiction of certain citizens for a statue to be placed for himself among the Coenses, from which city he had his wife?

quod postera ne lateret, ejusdem litis orationem scriptam memoriae commendavit. Quod ergo ad istam terrenam pertinet felicitatem, fuit magus ille quod potuit. Unde apparet eum nihil amplius fuisse, non quia noluit, sed quia non potuit. Quanquam et adversus quosdam, qui ei magicarum artium crimen intenderant, eloquentissime se defendit. Unde miror laudatores ejus, qui eum nescio quae fecisse miracula illis artibus praedicant, contra ejus defensionem testes esse conari. Sed viderint utrum verum ipsi perhibeant testimonium, et ille falsam defensionem. Illud si sapiunt, attendant, qui magicas artes non utique nisi pro felicitate terrena vel damnabili curiositate conquirunt, vel ab eis innocentes, periculosa tamen eas admiratione collaudant, et videant David nostrum sine ullis talibus artibus, ex pastore ovium pervenisse ad regiam dignitatem; cujus et peccata et merita fidelis Scriptura non tacuit, ut sciremus et quibus modis non offenderetur Deus, et quibus modis placaretur offensus.

20. Quantum autem attinet ad miracula, quae humanis sensibus stupenda monstrantur, multum errant qui Prophetis sanctis, miraculorum magnorum nobilitate praestantibus, magos comparant; quanto magis si eos comparent Christo, quem Prophetae illi, quibus magi quilibet nullo modo sunt comparandi, praenuntiaverunt esse venturum, et secundum carnem, quam sumpsit ex Virgine, et secundum divinitatem, qua nunquam separatur a Patre! Video me fecisse prolixissimam epistolam, nec tamen de Christo dixisse omnia quae vel eis qui tardiore ingenio divina non valent assequi, vel eis quos, licet acute moveantur, contentiosum tamen studium et praeoccupatio diuturni erroris ab intelligendo impedit, sufficere utcumque possint. Verumtamen cognosce quid eos contra moveat, atque rescribe, ut vel epistolis vel libris, si adjuverit Deus, ad omnia respondere curemus. Sis in Domino felix, gratia et misericordia ejus, domine eximie et merito insignis, charissime ac desiderantissime fili.

Epistola CXXXIX.

Ut Gesta quae adversus Donatistas confecta sunt publicentur, utque rei castigentur mitius et citra mortis poenam.

Domino merito insigni, multumque charissimo ac desiderantissime filio MARCELLINO, AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

that this might not be hidden from posterity, he committed the written speech of the same litigation to memory. As much therefore as pertains to that earthly happiness, that magus was what he could be. Whence it appears that he was nothing more, not because he did not wish it, but because he could not. Although even against certain ones, who had intended the crime of magic arts against him, he defended himself most eloquently. Whence I wonder that his praisers, who preach that he did some unknown miracles by those arts, attempt to be witnesses against his defense. But let them see whether they themselves provide a true testimony, and he a false defense. Let them attend to this if they are wise, who seek magic arts certainly not except for earthly happiness or damnable curiosity, or who being innocent of them, yet praise them with dangerous admiration, and let them see our David without any such arts, from a shepherd of sheep having arrived at the royal dignity; whose both sins and merits faithful Scripture was not silent about, so that we might know both in what ways God was not offended, and in what ways he was placated when offended.

20. But as much as pertains to miracles, which are shown stupendous to human senses, they err much who compare magi to the holy Prophets, excelling in the nobility of great miracles; how much more if they compare them to Christ, whom those Prophets, to whom any magi are in no way to be compared, foreannounced about to come, both according to the flesh, which he took from the Virgin, and according to the divinity, by which he is never separated from the Father! I see that I have made a most prolix epistle, yet I have not said all things about Christ which might be able to suffice somehow either for those who by a slower genius are not able to attain divine things, or for those whom, although they may be moved acutely, yet contentious study and the preoccupation of a long-standing error hinders from understanding. Nevertheless, learn what moves them against this, and write back, so that either by epistles or by books, if God shall have helped, we may take care to respond to all things. May you be happy in the Lord, by his grace and mercy, lord excellent and deservedly distinguished, most dear and most longed-for son.

Epistle CXXXIX.

That the Acts which were completed against the Donatists be publicized, and that the guilty be corrected more mildly and without the penalty of death.

To the lord deservedly distinguished, and much most dear and most longed-for son MARCELLINUS, AUGUSTINE, in the Lord greetings.

1. Gesta quae promisit Praestantia tua, vehementer exspecto, et in ecclesia Hipponensi jamjamque cupio recitari, ac, si fieri potuerit, etiam per omnes ecclesias in dioecesi constitutas; ut audiant homines, pleneque agnoscant confessores iniquitatis, non Dei timore extorquente poenitentiam, sed judiciaria diligentia crudelissimorum pectorum aperiente duritiam; sive illorum qui de homicidio et de excaecato ac debilitato presbyteri corpore confessi; sive illorum qui se illa scire potuisse, quamvis sibi dicerent displicere, negare non ausi sunt, refugientes catholicam pacem, velut ne criminibus polluantur alienis, et in illo schismatis sacrilegio inter sceleratorum tam immanium tantam multitudinem perdurantes; sive etiam illorum qui se inde non recessuros, etiam demonstrata sibi catholica veritate et Donatistarum perversitate, dixerunt. Non est leve quod Deus agi voluit per operam tuam. Utinam tales eorum causas crebras sic audias, et facinora eorum atque insana pertinacia sic saepe prodatur, eademque publicata Gesta in omnium notitiam perferantur! Quod autem scripsit Eximietas tua, dubitare te utrum in Theoprepia debeas eadem Gesta jubere proponi; fiat, si potest illuc frequens confluere multitudo: alioquin alius locus celebrior providendus est; non tamen ullo modo praetermittendum.

2. Poena sane illorum, quamvis de tantis sceleribus confessorum, rogo te ut praeter supplicium mortis sit, et propter conscientiam nostram, et propter catholicam mansuetudinem commendandam. Ipse enim fructus ad nos pervenit confessionis illorum, quia invenit Ecclesia catholica ubi suam erga atrocissimos inimicos servet atque exhibeat lenitatem. In tanta quippe crudelitate, quaecumque praeter sanguinem vindicta processerit, magna lenitas apparebit. Quod etsi modo quibusdam nostris, illa atrocitate commotis, videtur indignum, et quasi dissolutionis et negligentiae simile; transactis tamen motibus animorum, qui recentioribus factis solent turbulentius excitari, egregie luculenta bonitas apparebit, et ob hoc magis eadem Gesta legere atque ostendere delectabit, domine merito insignis, multumque charissime ac desiderantissime fili. Ibi est sanctus frater et coepiscopus meus Bonifacius, et per diaconum Peregrinum qui cum illo perrexit, commonitorium direxi; quod sic habe tanquam praesentiam meam.

1. The Acts which your Excellence promised, I vehemently expect, and in the church of Hippo I desire right now to be recited, and, if it shall have been able to be done, even through all the churches constituted in the diocese; so that men may hear, and fully recognize the confessors of iniquity, not the fear of God extorting penitence, but judiciary diligence opening the hardness of most cruel hearts; whether of those who confessed concerning homicide and concerning the blinded and debilitated body of a presbyter; or of those who were not brave enough to deny that they could have known those things, although they said they displeased them, fleeing Catholic peace, as if lest they be polluted by alien crimes, and perduring in that sacrilege of schism among so great a multitude of such horrendous criminals; or even of those who said they would not recede from there, even the Catholic truth and the perversity of the Donatists having been demonstrated to them. It is not light what God has willed to be done through your labor. Would that you might hear such causes of theirs frequently, and their crimes and insane pertinacity be so often betrayed, and the same publicized Acts be brought to the notice of all! But as to what your Excellence wrote, that you doubt whether you ought to command the same Acts to be proposed in Theoprepia; let it be done, if a frequent multitude can flow together thither: otherwise another more celebrated place is to be provided; nevertheless by no means is it to be omitted.

2. As for the punishment of those men, although they have confessed to such great crimes, I ask you that it be without the penalty of death, both for the sake of our conscience and for the sake of commending Catholic mildness. For the fruit itself of their confession has reached us, because the Catholic Church finds where she may preserve and exhibit her own lenity toward most atrocious enemies. For in so great a cruelty, whatever vengeance shall have proceeded besides blood, will appear as great lenity. Which although it may seem unworthy now to some of our people, moved by that atrocity, and like a certain dissolution and negligence; yet the motions of minds having passed away, which are wont to be more turbulently excited by more recent deeds, an excellently luminous goodness will appear, and for this reason it will delight more to read and show the same Acts, lord deservedly distinguished, and much most dear and most longed-for son. There is my holy brother and fellow-bishop Boniface, and through the deacon Peregrinus who proceeded with him, I have directed a commonitory; which hold thus as if my presence.

Et quod vobis in commune pro Ecclesiae utilitate placuerit, hoc adjuvante Domino fiat, qui potens est misericorditer opitulari in tantis malis. Modo Macrobius episcopus eorum, stipatus cuneis perditorum utriusque sexus, hac atque illac circumit, aperuitque sibi basilicas, quas possessorum quantuluscumque timor clauserat. Praesente autem procuratore viri clarissimi Celeris Spondeo, quem tuae dilectioni commendavi multumque commendo, utcumque eorum frangebatur audacia: nunc vero posteaquam Carthaginem profectus est, etiam in fundis ipsius basilicas aperuit, populos congregat. Cum ipso etiam est ille Donatus diaconus rebaptizatus, cum fuerit colonus ecclesiae, qui versatus est in illa caede praecipuus. Qui tales non cum eo sunt, quando et ille cum ipso est? Si Proconsul vel simul ambo in illos estis sententiam prolaturi, et forte ille persistit velle gladio vindicare, quanquam sit christianus, et quantum advertere potuimus, non sit ad haec cruciamenta proclivis; tamen si necesse fuerit, etiam Gestis jubete allegari epistolas meas, quas de hac re singulas vobis mittendas putavi. Soleo enim audire in potestate esse judicis mollire sententiam, et mitius vindicare quam jubeant leges. Si autem nec litteris meis ad hoc consenserit, hoc saltem praestet ut in custodiam recipiantur, atque hoc de clementia Imperatorum impetrare curabimus, ne passiones servorum Dei, quae debent esse in Ecclesia gloriosae, inimicorum sanguine dehonestentur. Scio enim in causa clericorum Anaunensium, qui occisi a Gentilibus, nunc martyres honorantur, Imperatorem rogatum facile concessisse ne illi qui eos occiderant et capti jam tenebantur, poena simili punirentur.

3. Libros de Baptismo parvulorum, cum jam codicem ipsum Praestantiae tuae misissem, cur abs te rursus acceperim, oblitus sum: nisi forte cum inspicerem, mendosos eos reperi, et emendare volui, quod mirabiliter impeditus, adhuc usque non feci. Epistolam quoque ad te scribendam et his adjungendam, quam cum ibi essem jam dictare coeperam, paulo addito sic esse imperfectam scias. Si autem rationem omnium dierum et lucubrationum aliis necessitatibus impensarum tibi possem reddere, graviter contristatus mirareris quanta me distendant, quae differri omnino non possunt, nec agere illa permittant in quae me, petendo et admonendo, urges volentem, et ineffabiliter (quia non possum) dolentem. Cum enim ab eorum hominum necessitatibus aliquantulum vaco, qui me sic angariant, ut eos nullo modo liceat evitare, nec contemnere oporteat; non desunt quae dictanda praepono, sic in articulis temporum constituta, ut dilationem non ferant.

And what shall have pleased you in common for the utility of the Church, let this be done with the Lord helping, who is able to help mercifully in such great evils. Now Macrobius, their bishop, accompanied by wedges of lost men of each sex, goes around here and there, and has opened for himself basilicas, which a very small fear of the owners had closed. But with Spondeus, the procurator of the most illustrious man Celer, present, whom I have commended and much commend to your love, their audacity was somehow broken: now indeed after he has set out for Carthage, he has opened basilicas even in the same estates, and congregates peoples. With him also is that rebaptized deacon Donatus, although he had been a tenant of the church, who was chief in that slaughter. Who are not with him, when even he is with him? If the Proconsul or both of you together are about to bring forth sentence against them, and perhaps he persists in wishing to avenge by the sword, although he be a Christian, and as much as we have been able to attend, he be not prone to these torments; yet if it shall be necessary, command even my epistles, which I thought were to be sent individually to you concerning this matter, to be alleged in the Acts. For I am wont to hear that it is in the power of the judge to soften the sentence, and to avenge more mildly than the laws command. But if he shall not have consented to this even by my letters, let him at least provide this, that they be received into custody, and we shall take care to impetrate this from the clemency of the Emperors, lest the passions of the servants of God, which ought to be glorious in the Church, be dishonored by the blood of enemies. For I know in the cause of the clerics of Anaunia, who being killed by Gentiles, are now honored as martyrs, the Emperor being asked easily conceded that those who had killed them and were already held captured, should not be punished by a similar penalty.

3. As for the books on the Baptism of infants, since I had already sent the codex itself to your Excellence, why I received them back from you I have forgotten: unless perhaps when I inspected them, I found them faulty, and I wished to emend them, which being wonderfully hindered, I have not done until now. Also know that the epistle to be written to you and added to these, which I had already begun to dictate when I was there, is so imperfect with a little added. But if I could render to you an account of all the days and lucubrations spent on other necessities, you would wonder, being heavily saddened, how great things distend me, which can in no way be deferred, nor permit me to do those things in which you urge me, willing but ineffably (because I cannot) grieving, by asking and admonishing. For when I am somewhat vacant from the necessities of those men who so constrain me that it is in no way permitted to avoid them, nor is it opportune to contemn them; there are not wanting things which I prefer to be dictated, so constituted in the articles of times that they bear no delay.

Sicut mihi fuit breviatio Gestorum collationis nostrae satis operosa, cum viderem neminem se velle tanto aggeri litterarum legendo committere: sicut mihi fuit etiam epistola ad ipsos laicos donatistas, de hac eadem collatione nostra, quam modo aliquot lucubrationibus terminavi: sicut epistolae duae non breves; una ad Dilectionem tuam, altera ad virum illustrem Volusianum, quas vos accepisse jam credo: sicut nunc in manibus habeo librum ad Honoratum nostrum de quaestionibus quibusdam quinque, quas mihi proposuit, et per litteras intimavit; cui non continuo respondere vides quam minime oporteat. Charitas enim quae tanquam nutrix fovet filios suos, non ordine amandi, sed ordine subveniendi, infirmiores fortioribus anteponit, quos tales vult esse, quales jam illi sunt, quos non contemnendo, sed de his confidendo interim praeterit. Tales ergo mihi necessitates dictandi aliquid, quod me ab eis dictationibus impediat quibus magis inardesco, deesse non possunt, cum paululum spatii vix datur inter acervos occupationum, quibus nos alienae vel cupiditates vel necessitates angariatos trahunt: et quid faciam prorsus nescio.

4. Audisti unde mecum Dominum depreceris: sed etiam quod tam instanter et tam crebro me admones, nolo cesses, non nihil agens. Commendo etiam ego Excellentiae tuae Ecclesiam in Numidia constitutam, propter cujus necessitates sanctus frater et coepiscopus meus Delphinus a fratribus et coepiscopis meis, ibi collaborantibus et compericlitantibus, missus est. Nec de hac re plura scribo, cum ipsum praesentem sis auditurus. Caetera in Commonitoriis invenies quae ad presbyterum misi, sive modo, sive per diaconum Peregrinum, ne mihi ea toties iterare necesse sit. Semper in Christo cor tuum vigeat, domine merito insignis, multumque charissime ac desiderantissime fili. Filium nostrum Ruffinum Cirtensem principalem commendo Eximietati tuae.

DE SEQUENTE EPISTOLA. (LIB. II RETRACT., CAP. XXXVI.)

Eo ipso tempore, quo contra Donatistas vehementer exercebamur, et contra Pelagianos exerceri jam coeperamus, amicus quidam mihi misit quinque a Carthagine quaestiones, et rogavit ut eas illi scribendo exponerem; quae sunt: Quid sibi velit vox illa Domini, «Deus meus, Deus meus, utquid me dereliquisti» (Matth. XXVII, 46)? et quid sit quod ait Apostolus, «Ut in charitate radicati et fundati, praevaleatis comprehendere cum omnibus sanctis quae sit latitudo, et longitudo, et altitudo, et profundum (Eph. III, 17, 18):»

Just as the abbreviation of the Acts of our conference was for me laborious enough, when I saw that no one wished to commit himself to reading so great a heap of letters: just as also the epistle to the Donatist laics themselves, concerning this same conference of ours, which I have just finished in some lucubrations: just as the two not short epistles; one to your Love, the other to the illustrious man Volusianus, which I believe you have already received: just as I now have in my hands the book to our Honoratus concerning five certain questions, which he proposed to me and intimated through letters; to whom you see how very little it is opportune not to respond continually. For Charity, which as a nurse cherishes her own sons, not in the order of loving but in the order of subvening, prefers the weaker to the stronger, whom she wishes to be such as those already are, whom she passes over for the time not by contemning but by trusting in them. Such necessities therefore of dictating something, which may hinder me from those dictations for which I burn more, cannot be wanting, when a little space is scarcely given between heaps of occupations, by which the lusts or necessities of others draw us constrained: and what I should do I altogether know not.

4. You have heard whence you may depreciate the Lord with me: but also because you admonish me so instantly and so frequently, I do not wish you to cease, doing not nothing. I also commend to your Excellence the Church constituted in Numidia, for whose necessities my holy brother and fellow-bishop Delphinus was sent by my brothers and fellow-bishops, collaborating and co-endangering there. Nor do I write more concerning this matter, since you are about to hear him present. Other things you will find in the Commonitories which I sent to the presbyter, whether now or through the deacon Peregrinus, lest it be necessary for me to iterate them so many times. May your heart always flourish in Christ, lord deservedly distinguished, and much most dear and most longed-for son. I commend to your Excellence our son Ruffinus the principal of Cirta.

CONCERNING THE FOLLOWING EPISTLE. (BOOK II RETRACT., CHAP. XXXVI.)

At that very time in which we were vehemently exercised against the Donatists, and had already begun to be exercised against the Pelagians, a certain friend sent to me five questions from Carthage, and asked that I should expose them to him by writing; which are: What that voice of the Lord means, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" (Matt. 27:46); and what it is that the Apostle says, "That being rooted and grounded in charity, you may be able to comprehend with all saints what is the breadth, and length, and height, and depth" (Eph. 3:17, 18);

et quae sint quinque virgines stultae, quaeve sapientes (Matth. XXV, 2): et quae sint tenebrae exteriores (Id. XXII, 13): et quomodo intelligendum sit, «Verbum caro factum est» (Joan. I, 14). Ego autem intuens supradictam haeresim, novam inimicam gratiae Dei, sextam mihi proposui quaestionem de gratia Testamenti Novi. De qua disputans, interposita expositione psalmi vicesimi primi, in cujus capite scriptum est quod Dominus exclamavit in cruce, quod ille amicus in primis mihi proposuit exponendum; omnia illa quinque dissolvi, non hoc ordine quo erant proposita, sed sicut mihi disserenti de gratia Novi Testamenti, tanquam suis locis congruenter occurrere potuerunt. Hic liber sic incipit: «Quinque mihi proposuisti tractandas quaestiones.»

DE GRATIA NOVI TESTAMENTI LIBER, SEU EPISTOLA CXL.

Augustinus Honorato, respondens ad illius quinque quaestiones: praeter quas, sextam sibi ipse proponit, de gratia Novi Testamenti, adversus Pelagianos tractandam; et psalmum vicesimum primum ad eam rem totum interpretatur.

1. Quinque mihi proposuisti pertractandas quaestiones atque solvendas, dilectissime mi frater Honorate, hinc inde raptas, sicut te vel legentem movere, vel cogitanti tibi in mentem venire potuerunt, et in conspectum meum fusas quodam modo. Quarum solutionem si velim disserendo ordinare, non ut carptim, sicut propositae sunt, de singulis disseram, sed uno quodam tenore sermonis eas inter se connectam atque contexam, difficile opus videtur; et tamen puto facilius eas solvi, si hoc fecero. Invicem quippe adjuvabunt, si altera pendebit ex altera, donec omnes veniant in seriem disputationis, non singillatim separatis locis, quasi unaquaeque in sua privata intentione habitet, sed unum aliquid intuentes, et unum collaborantes sociali ratione, et individua veritate.

CAP. PRIMUM.

2. Voluisti ergo et scripto commonuisti exponi atque aperiri tibi, quid sibi velit vox illa Domini, Deus meus, Deus meus, ut quid me dereliquisti? et quid sit quod Apostolus ait, Ut in charitate radicati et fundati, praevaleatis comprehendere cum omnibus sanctis quae sit latitudo, longitudo, altitudo et profundum (Ephes. III, 17): et quae sint virgines quinque stultae, quaeve sapientes (Matth. XXV, 2): et quae sint tenebrae exteriores (Matth. XXII, 15): et quomodo intelligendum sit, Verbum caro factum est (Joan. I, 14).

and which are the five foolish virgins, and which the wise (Matt. 25:2); and what are the exterior darknesses (Id. 22:13); and how it is to be understood, "The Word was made flesh" (John 1:14). But I, looking at the aforementioned heresy, the new enemy of the grace of God, proposed to myself a sixth question concerning the grace of the New Testament. Disputing about which, the exposition of the twenty-first psalm being interposed, in whose head it is written what the Lord exclaimed on the cross, which that friend in the first place proposed to me to be exposed; I dissolved all those five, not in this order in which they had been proposed, but as they were able to occur congruently in their places to me discoursing concerning the grace of the New Testament. This book begins thus: "Five questions you have proposed to me to be treated."

BOOK ON THE GRACE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT, OR EPISTLE CXL.

Augustine to Honoratus, responding to his five questions: besides which, he proposes a sixth to himself, concerning the grace of the New Testament, to be treated against the Pelagians; and he interprets the whole twenty-first psalm for that matter.

1. Five questions you have proposed to me to be thoroughly treated and solved, my most dear brother Honoratus, snatched from here and there, as they were able to move you reading, or to come into your mind while thinking, and poured into my sight in a certain way. Whose solution if I should wish to order by discoursing, not that I should discourse about each one separately as they were proposed, but that I should connect and weave them together in one certain tenor of speech, it seems a difficult work; and yet I think they are more easily solved if I shall have done this. For indeed they will help each other, if one shall depend on the other, until all come into the series of the disputation, not singly in separate places, as if each one inhabited in its own private intention, but looking at one thing, and collaborating as one by a social reason and individual truth.

CAP. PRIMUM.

2. You wished therefore and admonished in writing that it be exposed and opened to you, what that voice of the Lord means, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" and what it is that the Apostle says, "That being rooted and grounded in charity, you may be able to comprehend with all saints what is the breadth, length, height and depth" (Ephes. 3:17); and which are the five foolish virgins, and which the wise (Matt. 25:2); and what are the exterior darknesses (Matt. 22:13); and how it is to be understood, "The Word was made flesh" (John 1:14).

Hae sunt certe quinque tam breviter a me commemoratae, quam abs te propositae quaestiones. Proinde si placet, addamus et sextam, et illud potissimum requiramus, quae sit gratia Novi Testamenti. Hanc omnes illae intueantur, et in hanc, ut opportune quaeque potuerit, opus suum conferat nobis; non eo scilicet ordine, quo eas ut tu proposuisti, et ego recolui, sed unaquaeque cum fuerit necessaria, velut vocata respondeat, et officium sui operis impleat. Ergo ita nascatur exordium.

CAPUT II.

3. Est quaedam vita hominis carnalibus sensibus implicata, gaudiis carnalibus dedita, carnalem fugitans offensionem, voluptatemque consectans. Hujus vitae felicitas temporalis est: ab hac vita incipere necessitatis est, in ea persistere voluntatis. In hac quippe ex utero matris infans funditur, hujus offensiones quantum potest refugit, hujus appetit voluptates; nihil amplius valet. Sed posteaquam venerit in aetatem qua in eo rationis usus evigilet, poterit adjuta divinitus voluntate eligere alteram vitam, cujus in mente gaudium est, cujus interna atque aeterna felicitas. Inest quippe homini anima rationalis, sed interest ejusdem rationis usu quonam potius voluntatem convertat; utrum ad bona exterioris et inferioris, an ad bona interioris superiorisque naturae; id est, utrum ut fruatur corpore et tempore, an ut fruatur divinitate atque aeternitate. In quadam quippe medietate posita est, infra se habens corporalem creaturam, supra se autem sui et corporis Creatorem.

4. Potest igitur anima rationalis etiam temporali et corporali felicitate bene uti, si non se dederit creaturae, Creatore neglecto, sed eam potius felicitatem fecerit servire Creatori, qui et ipsam suae bonitatis abundantissima largitate donavit. Sicut enim bona sunt omnia quae creavit Deus, ab ipsa rationali creatura usque ad infimum corpus: ita bene agit in his anima rationalis, si ordinem servet, et distinguendo, eligendo, pendendo subdat minora majoribus, corporalia spiritualibus, inferiora superioribus, temporalia sempiternis; ne superiorum neglectu et appetitu inferiorum (quoniam hinc fit ipsa deterior) et se et corpus suum mittat in pejus, sed potius ordinata charitate se et corpus suum convertat in melius. Cum enim sint omnes substantiae naturaliter bonae, ordo in eis laudatus honoratur, perversitas culpata damnatur. Nec efficit anima perverse utens creaturis, ut ordinationem effugiat Creatoris; quoniam si illa male utitur bonis, ille bene utitur etiam malis: ac per hoc illa perverse bonis utendo fit mala, ille ordinate etiam malis utendo permanet bonus. Qui enim injuste se ordinat in peccatis, juste ordinatur in poenis.

These are certainly the five questions as briefly commemorated by me as proposed by you. Proindely if it pleases, let us add also a sixth, and let us seek that most of all, what is the grace of the New Testament. Let all those look at this, and into this, as each one shall have been able opportunely, let it confer its own work to us; not in that order, namely, in which you proposed them and I recollected them, but as each one shall have been necessary, let it respond as if called, and fulfill the office of its own work. Therefore let the exordium be born thus.

CAPUT II.

3. There is a certain life of man entangled in carnal senses, dedicated to carnal joys, fleeing carnal offense, and following pleasure. The happiness of this life is temporal: to begin from this life is of necessity, to persist in it is of the will. For in this the infant is poured from the womb of the mother, it flees the offenses of this as much as it can, it appetites the pleasures of this; it is capable of nothing more. But after it shall have come into the age in which the use of reason may awake in it, it will be able, with the will aided divinely, to choose another life, whose joy is in the mind, whose happiness is internal and eternal. For there is in man a rational soul, but it interests the use of the same reason whither it should rather convert the will; whether to the goods of the exterior and inferior nature, or to the goods of the interior and superior nature; that is, whether that it may enjoy body and time, or that it may enjoy divinity and eternity. For it is placed in a certain mediocrity, having below itself the corporal creature, but above itself the Creator of itself and of the body.

4. The rational soul can therefore also use temporal and corporal happiness well, if it does not give itself to the creature, the Creator being neglected, but rather makes that happiness serve the Creator, who also gave it by the most abundant largesse of his goodness. For just as all things are good which God created, from the rational creature itself down to the lowest body: so the rational soul acts well in these, if it keeps order, and by distinguishing, choosing, and weighing subjects the lesser to the greater, corporal things to spiritual, inferior things to superior, temporal things to eternal; lest by the neglect of superior things and the appetite for inferior things (since from this it becomes itself worse) it should send itself and its body into worse, but rather by ordered charity convert itself and its body into better. For since all substances are naturally good, the order praised in them is honored, and the perversity blamed is damned. Nor does the soul using creatures perversely effect that it escapes the ordination of the Creator; since if it uses good things badly, he uses even evil things well: and by this it by using good things perversely becomes evil, while he by using even evil things ordinately remains good. For he who unjustly orders himself in sins, is justly ordered in punishments.

5. Volens itaque Deus ostendere etiam terrenam temporalemque felicitatem suum donum esse, nec aliunde nisi ab ipso sperari oportere, prioribus saeculi temporibus dispensandum judicavit Testamentum Vetus, quod pertineret ad hominem veterem, a quo ista vita necesse est incipiat. Sed illae felicitates patrum, Dei beneficio concessae praedicantur, quamvis ad istam vitam transitoriam pertinentes. Illa quippe terrena munera in manifesto promittebantur et tribuebantur; in occulto autem illis omnibus rebus Novum Testamentum figurate praenuntiabatur, et capiebatur intelligentia paucorum, quos eadem gratia prophetico munere dignos fecerat. Dispensabant ergo illi sancti pro congruentia temporis Testamentum Vetus, pertinebant vero ad Testamentum Novum. Nam et quando temporalem felicitatem agebant, aeternam veram et praeferendam intelligebant; et istam ministrabant in mysterio, ut illam consequerentur in praemio. Et si quando patiebantur adversa, ad hoc patiebantur, ut evidentissimo divino adjutorio liberati, glorificarent Deum, omnium bonorum largitorem, non solum sempiternorum quae pie sperabant, verum etiam temporalium quae prophetice gubernabant.

CAPUT III.

6. Cum autem venit plenitudo temporis, ut gratia quae occultabatur in Veteri Testamento, jam revelaretur in Novo, misit Deus Filium suum, factum ex muliere (Gal. IV, 4); quo nomine, proprietate hebraicae linguae, omnis femina nuncupatur, sive viro intacta, sive jam mixta. Quem autem Filium miserit, fierique ex muliere voluerit, quantus ille Deus sit qui hanc humilitatem pro salute fidelium suscipere dignatus fuerit, ut agnoscas, nunc attende Evangelium: In principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum: hoc erat in principio apud Deum. Omnia per ipsum facta sunt, et sine ipso factum est nihil. Quod factum est in ipso vita erat, et vita erat lux hominum, et lux in tenebris lucet, et tenebrae eam non comprehenderunt (Joan. I, 1-5). Hic ergo Deus, Verbum Dei per quod facta sunt omnia, Filius Dei est, incommutabiliter manens, ubique praesens, nullo clausus loco, nec partiliter per cuncta diffusus, tanquam minorem partem habeat in minori loco, et in majori majorem, sed ubique totus, atque ita non absens etiam mentibus impiorum, quamvis eum non videant, sicut nec ista lux videtur oculis praesentata caecorum. Lucet ergo et in tenebris talibus, quales Apostolus significat ubi dicit, Fuistis aliquando tenebrae, nunc autem lux in Domino (Eph. V, 8): sed eam tales tenebrae non comprehenderunt.

Wishing therefore God to show that even earthly and temporal happiness is his gift, and that it ought to be hoped for from nowhere else except from himself, he judged that in the prior times of the world the Old Testament should be dispensed, which would pertain to the old man, from whom it is necessary that this life begin. But those happinesses of the fathers are preached as conceded by the benefit of God, although pertaining to this transitory life. For those earthly gifts were promised and attributed in the manifest; but in the secret the New Testament was foreannounced figuratively in all those things, and was taken by the intelligence of a few, whom the same grace had made worthy by a prophetic gift. Those saints therefore dispensed the Old Testament for the congruence of the time, but they pertained to the New Testament. For even when they were acting in temporal happiness, they understood the eternal, true and to be preferred; and they administered the former in mystery, so that they might follow the latter in reward. And if ever they suffered adverse things, they suffered for this, that being liberated by the most evident divine help, they might glorify God, the giver of all good things, not only of the eternal things which they piously hoped for, but even of the temporal things which they prophetically governed.

CHAPTER III.

6. But when the fullness of time came, so that the grace which was hidden in the Old Testament might now be revealed in the New, God sent his Son, made of a woman (Gal. IV, 4); by which name, according to the property of the Hebrew language, every female is called, whether untouched by man or already joined. But as to which Son he sent, and willed to be made of a woman, and how great that God is who deigned to take up this humility for the salvation of the faithful, so that you may recognize it, now attend to the Gospel: In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God: this was in the beginning with God. All things were made through him, and without him was made nothing. That which was made in him was life, and the life was the light of men, and the light shines in the darkness, and the darkness did not comprehend it (John I, 1-5). This God therefore, the Word of God through which all things were made, is the Son of God, remaining incommutable, present everywhere, closed in no place, nor diffused partitively through all things, as if he had a smaller part in a smaller place, and a larger in a larger, but everywhere whole, and thus not absent even from the minds of the impious, although they do not see him, just as this light is not seen by the eyes of the blind presented to it. It shines therefore even in such darkness as the Apostle signifies where he says, You were once darkness, but now light in the Lord (Eph. V, 8): but such darkness did not comprehend it.

7. Suscepit itaque hominem quem videre homines poterant, ut sanati per fidem, postea viderent quod tunc viderent non poterant. Sed ne homo Christus eo ipso quo visibiliter apparebat, non crederetur et Deus, tantumque illi tribueretur quantum homini excellentissimae gratiae atque sapientiae, ideo fuit homo missus a Deo, cui nomen erat Joannes. Hic venit in testimonium, ut testimonium perhiberet de lumine, ut omnes crederent per illum. Non erat ille lumen, sed ut testimonium perhiberet de lumine (Joan. I, 6-8). Tantus enim homo debuit perhibere testimonium de illo qui non tantum homo, verum etiam Deus erat, ut de illo diceretur quod in natis mulierum nemo exsurgeret major Joanne Baptista (Matth. XI, 11): sic enim ille cui majori Joannes testimonium perhibebat, intelligeretur noc esse major, quo non tantum homo, sed etiam Deus erat. Lumen ergo et Joannes, sed tale lumen quali testimonium perhibet ipse Dominus, dicens. Ille erat lucerna ardens et lucens (Joan. V, 35); quod et discipulis suis dixit, Vos estis lumen mundi: atque ut ostenderet quale lumen, secutus adjunxit. Nemo accendit lucernam, et ponit eam sub modio, sed super candelabrum, ut luceat omnibus qui in domo sunt: sic luceat lumen vestrum coram hominibus (Matth. V, 14-16). Istae similitudines datae sunt, ut quantum possumus intelligamus, vel si hoc nondum possumus, sine ulla dubitatione credamus animam rationalem non esse naturam Dei; illa quippe incommutabilis est: sed tamen eam posse participando illuminari; lucernae quippe accendi indigent, et exstingui possunt. Ideo quod dicitur de Joanne, Non erat ille lumen, ad illud respicit lumen quod non participando illuminatur, sed ejus participatione illuminantur quae ab illo illuminantur.

8. Denique sequitur, Erat lumen verum (Joan. I, 9): et tanquam quaereremus quomodo discerneretur lumen verum a lumine illuminato, id est Christus a Joanne, Erat, inquit, lumen verum, quod illuminat omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum. Si omnem hominem, ergo et Joannem. Atque ut magis ostendat hujus divinitatem longe praestantiore distantia, In hoc mundo, inquit, erat, et mundus per eum factus est, et mundus eum non cognovit. Non mundus, qui per eum factus est, eum non cognovit: neque enim habet vim cognoscendi eum, nisi rationalis creatura; quamvis etiam mundus iste visibilis per eum factus sit, hoc est coelum et terra: sed mundum non cognoscentem increpando, significavit infideles constitutos in mundo.

7. He therefore took up man whom men could see, so that being healed through faith, they might afterwards see what they then could not see. But lest the man Christ, by that very fact by which he appeared visibly, should not be believed to be also God, and only as much should be attributed to him as to a man of most excellent grace and wisdom, therefore there was a man sent from God, whose name was John. This man came for a testimony, that he might bear testimony of the light, that all might believe through him. He was not the light, but that he might bear testimony of the light (John I, 6-8). For so great a man ought to bear testimony of him who was not only man, but also God, so that it might be said of him that among those born of women none rose greater than John the Baptist (Matt. XI, 11): for thus he to whom the greater John bore testimony would be understood to be so much greater, by which he was not only man, but also God. John therefore was also light, but such a light as the Lord himself bears testimony of, saying: He was a burning and a shining lamp (John V, 35); which he also said to his disciples, You are the light of the world: and that he might show what kind of light, he added following: No one lights a lamp, and puts it under a bushel, but upon a candlestick, so that it may shine to all who are in the house: so let your light shine before men (Matt. V, 14-16). These similitudes are given, so that we may understand as much as we can, or if we cannot yet do this, we may believe without any doubt that the rational soul is not the nature of God; for that is incommutable: but yet that it can be illuminated by participating; for lamps need to be lit, and can be extinguished. Therefore what is said of John, He was not the light, refers to that light which is not illuminated by participating, but by whose participation those things are illuminated which are illuminated by it.

8. Finally there follows, It was the true light (John I, 9): and as if we were asking how the true light was discerned from the illuminated light, that is, Christ from John, It was, he says, the true light, which illuminates every man coming into this world. If every man, then also John. And so that he may show the divinity of this one by a far more excellent distance, In this world, he says, he was, and the world was made through him, and the world did not know him. Not the world, which was made through him, did not know him: for it has no power of knowing him, except the rational creature; although even this visible world was made through him, that is heaven and earth: but by rebuking the world not knowing him, he signified the infidels constituted in the world.

9. Deinde adjungit, In sua propria venit, et sui eum non receperunt: sive quia et ipsi infideles, in quantum homines sunt, ejus sunt per quem creati sunt: sive suos proprie Judaeos intelligi voluit, ex quibus naturam carnis assumpsit; nec tamen omnes eum non receperunt. Sequitur enim et dicit, Quotquot autem receperunt eum, dedit eis potestatem filios Dei fieri, credentibus in nomine ejus, qui non ex sanguinibus, neque ex voluntate carnis, neque ex voluntate viri, sed ex Deo nati sunt (Joan. I, 9-13). Haec est gratia Novi Testamenti, quod in Vetere latuit, nec tamen figuris obumbrantibus prophetari pronuntiarique cessavit, ut intelligat anima Deum suum, et gratia ejus renascatur illi. Haec quippe nativitas spiritualis est, ideo non ex sanguinibus, non ex voluntate viri, neque ex voluntate carnis, sed ex Deo.

CAPUT IV.

10. Haec etiam adoptio vocatur. Eramus enim aliquid antequam essemus filii Dei, et accepimus beneficium, ut fieremus quod non eramus; sicut qui adoptatur, antequam adoptaretur nondum erat filius ejus a quo adoptatur, jam tamen erat qui adoptaretur. Et ab hac generatione gratiae discernitur ille Filius, qui cum esset Filius Dei, venit ut fieret filius hominis, donaretque nobis qui eramus filii hominum, filios Dei fieri. Factus est quippe ille quod non erat, sed tamen aliquid aliud erat; et hoc ipsum aliquid Verbum Dei erat, per quod facta sunt omnia, et lu en verum quod illuminat omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum, et Deus apud Deum. Nos quoque per ejus gratiam facti sumus quod non eramus, id est filii Dei: sed tamen aliquid eramus, et hoc ipsum aliquid multo inferius, hoc est filii hominum. Descendit ergo ille ut nos ascenderemus, et manens in natura sua factus est particeps naturae nostrae, ut nos manentes in natura nostra efficeremur participes naturae ipsius. Non tamen sic: nam illum naturae nostrae participatio non fecit deteriorem; nos autem facit naturae illius participatio meliores.

11. Misit itaque Deus Filium suum factum ex muliere, factum sub Lege (Gal. IV, 4). Nam Legis sacramenta percepit, ut eos qui sub lege erant, redimeret, id est quos Lex reos tenebat occidente littera, dum praeceptum non impleretur, antequam vivificaret spiritus; quia charitas Dei quae praeceptum implet, diffunditur in cordibus nostris per Spiritum sanctum qui datus est nobis (Rom. V, 5).

9. Then he adds, He came unto his own, and his own received him not: whether because they also, as infidels, in so far as they are men, are his through whom they were created: or he willed his own Jews specifically to be understood, from whom he assumed the nature of flesh; yet not all did not receive him. For he follows and says, But as many as received him, he gave them power to become the sons of God, to those believing in his name, who were born not of bloods, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God (John I, 9-13). This is the grace of the New Testament, which was hidden in the Old, yet did not cease to be prophesied and pronounced by overshadowing figures, so that the soul may understand its God, and by his grace be reborn to him. For this birth is spiritual, therefore not of bloods, nor of the will of man, nor of the will of the flesh, but of God.

CHAPTER IV.

10. This is also called adoption. For we were something before we were the sons of God, and we received a benefit, so that we might become what we were not; just as he who is adopted, before he was adopted was not yet the son of him by whom he is adopted, yet he was already one who might be adopted. And from this generation of grace is discerned that Son, who although he was the Son of God, came that he might become the son of man, and give to us who were the sons of men, to become the sons of God. For that one was made what he was not, but yet he was something else; and this something else was the Word of God, through which all things were made, and the true light which illuminates every man coming into this world, and God with God. We also through his grace have become what we were not, that is, sons of God: but yet we were something, and this something much inferior, that is, sons of men. He therefore descended that we might ascend, and remaining in his nature was made a partaker of our nature, so that we remaining in our nature might be made partakers of his nature. Yet not in the same way: for the participation of our nature did not make him worse; but the participation of that nature makes us better.

11. God therefore sent his Son made of a woman, made under the Law (Gal. IV, 4). For he received the sacraments of the Law, so that he might redeem those who were under the law, that is, whom the Law held guilty by the killing letter, while the precept was not fulfilled, before the spirit gave life; because the charity of God which fulfills the precept, is shed abroad in our hearts through the Holy Spirit who is given to us (Rom. V, 5).

Proinde cum dixisset, Ut eos qui sub Lege erant redimeret, continuo subjunxit, Ut adoptionem filiorum reciperemus (Ibid. 5); ut videlicet hujus gratiam beneficii discerneret ab illa Filii natura, qui missus est Filius, non per adoptionem factus, sed semper genitus Filius, ut participata natura filiorum hominum, ad participandam etiam suam naturam adoptil filios hominum. Quapropter etiam cum dixisset, Dedit eis potestatem filios Dei fieri, modumque adjunxisset, ne carnalis intelligeretur nativitas, quod scilicet eis id praestiterit, qui credunt in nomine ejus, et per gratiam renascuntur spiritualem, non ex sanguinibus, neque ex voluntate viri, neque ex voluntate carnis, sed ex Deo; mox commendavit quasi hujus vicissitudinis sacramentum. Tanquam enim mirati tantum bonum non auderemus optare, statim subjunxit, Et Verbum caro factum est, et habitavit in nobis (Joan. I, 14) (quod unum est ex quinque illis, quae tibi exponi voluisti); tanquam diceret: O homines! nolite desperare vos fieri posse filios Dei; quia et ipse Filius Dei, hoc est, Verbum Dei, caro factum est, et habitavit in nobis. Reddite vicem; efficimini spiritus, et habitate in illo qui caro factus est, et habitavit in vobis. Neque enim jam desperandum est participatione Verbi fieri posse homines filios Dei, quando Filius Dei participatione carnis factus est filius hominis.

12. Nos itaque mutabiles in melius commutati, participes efficimur Verbi: Verbum autem incommutabile nihil in deterius commutatum, particeps carnis effectum est rationali anima mediante. Neque enim homo Christus, ut Apollinaristae haeretici putaverunt, aut non habuit animam, aut non habuit rationalem; sed more suo Scriptura, ut Christi humilitatem magis ostenderet, ne carnis nomen quasi indignum aliquid refugisse videretur, carnem pro homine posuit: neque enim quia scriptum est, Videbit omnis caro salutare Dei (Isai. LII, 10), animae ibi non sunt intelligendae. Nihil proinde aliud dictum est, Verbum caro factum est, quam si diceretur, Filius Dei filius hominis factus est. Qui cum in forma Dei esset, sicut dicit Apostolus, non rapinam arbitratus est esse aequalis Deo; neque enim usurpationis erat, ut rapina diceretur, sed naturae inerat, ut esset aequalis: semetipsum tamen exinanivit, non formam Dei amittens, sed formam servi suscipiens; humiliavit semetipsum, factus obediens usque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis (Philipp. II, 6-8). Vides quemadmodum eumdem hominem, quem Deum, commendat, ut persona una sit; ne, non Trinitas, sed quaternitas inducatur.

Therefore when he had said, That he might redeem those who were under the Law, he immediately subjoined, That we might receive the adoption of sons (Ibid. 5); that clearly he might discern the grace of this benefit from that nature of the Son, who was sent as the Son, not made by adoption, but always begotten as the Son, so that having participated in the nature of the sons of men, he might adopt the sons of men to participate also in his nature. Wherefore also when he had said, He gave them power to become the sons of God, and had added the manner, lest a carnal birth should be understood, namely that he provided this to them, who believe in his name, and are reborn through spiritual grace, not of bloods, nor of the will of man, nor of the will of the flesh, but of God; he soon commended as it were the sacrament of this exchange. For as if wondering at so great a good we did not dare to hope for it, he immediately subjoined, And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us (John I, 14) (which is one of those five things which you wished to be explained to you); as if he were saying: O men! do not despair that you can become sons of God; because even the Son of God himself, that is, the Word of God, was made flesh, and dwelt among us. Give in return; become spirits, and dwell in him who was made flesh, and dwelt in you. For it is no longer to be despaired of that by participation of the Word men can become sons of God, when the Son of God by participation of the flesh was made the son of man.

12. We therefore, being mutable and changed for the better, are made partakers of the Word: but the incommutable Word, not being changed for the worse in anything, was made a partaker of flesh by means of a rational soul. For neither did the man Christ, as the Apollinarist heretics thought, either not have a soul, or not have a rational one; but according to its custom, Scripture, so that it might show the humility of Christ more, lest the name of flesh should seem to have been avoided as something unworthy, put flesh for man: for neither because it is written, All flesh shall see the salvation of God (Isaiah LII, 10), are souls not to be understood there. Therefore nothing else was said by The Word was made flesh, than if it were said, The Son of God was made the son of man. Who although he was in the form of God, as the Apostle says, thought it not robbery to be equal with God; for it was not of usurpation, so that it might be called robbery, but it was inherent in his nature, that he should be equal: yet he emptied himself, not losing the form of God, but taking the form of a servant; he humbled himself, becoming obedient unto death, even the death of the cross (Philipp. II, 6-8). You see how he commends the same one as man, whom he commends as God, so that there may be one person; lest, not a Trinity, but a quaternary should be induced.

Sicut enim non augetur numerus personarum, cum accedit caro animae, ut sit unus homo; sic non augetur numerus personarum, cum accedit homo Verbo, ut sit unus Christus. Legitur itaque, Verbum caro factum est, ut intelligamus hujus personae singularitatem, non ut suspicemur in carnem mutatam divinitatem.

CAPUT V.

13. Itaque Christus homo, ut per eum revelaretur Novi gratia Testamenti, quae non ad temporalem, sed ad aeternam vitam pertinet, non utique terrena felicitate commendandus fuit. Inde subjectio, inde passio, inde flagella, sputa, contumeliae, crux, vulnera, et tanquam superato subjectoque mors ipsa, ut fideles ejus discerent quale pietatis praemium ab illo cujus filii facti essent, petere atque sperare deberent; ne ad hoc pro magno serviretur Deo, ut terrenam felicitatem adipisci quaererent qui servirent ipsi, abjicientes et conculcantes fidem suam, aestimando eam mercede vilissima: unde beneficentissima providentia omnipotens Deus terrenam felicitatem concessit et impiis, ne pro magno quaereretur a bonis. Hinc ille psalmus septuagesimus et secundus inducit hominem poenitentem, quod aliquando corde non recto, Deo pro hac mercede servierit, qua cum pollere atque excellere impios videret, turbatus coeperat cogitare quod Deus humana non curet. Et cum ab ista cogitatione eum sanctorum ad Deum pertinentium revocaret auctoritas, suscepit atque intendit agnoscere tam grande secretum, quod ei laboranti non patefactum est, donec intraret sanctuarium Dei, et intelligeret in novissima; hoc est, donec accepto Spiritu sancto disceret desiderare potiora, et prospiceret quae poena futura sit impiis, etiam qui fenea quadam felicitate temporaliter floruissent. Hunc psalmum septuagesimum secundum, nocte qua illucescebat solemnitas beatissimi Cypriani per ministerium nostrum expositum, lege et diligenter adverte.

14. Proinde homo Christus idemque Deus Christus, cujus misericordissima humanitate, atque in cujus forma servili discere deberemus quid in hac vita contemnendum, et quid in alia sperandum esset, in ipsa passione, in qua sibi ejus inimici magni victoresque videbantur, suscepit vocem infirmitatis nostrae, qua simul crucifigebatur vetus homo noster, ut evacuaretur corpus peccati (Rom. VI, 6), et dixit: Deus meus, Deus meus, ut quid me dereliquisti (Psal. XXI 2)? Et hoc unum de quinque propositis tuis. Sic incipit psalmus vicesimus primus, qui de passione ipsius, et revelatione gratiae quam fidelibus faciendis liberandisque attulit, in prophetia tanto ante cantatus est.

For just as the number of persons is not increased when flesh is added to a soul, so that there may be one man; so the number of persons is not increased when man is added to the Word, so that there may be one Christ. Therefore it is read, The Word was made flesh, so that we may understand the singularity of this person, not so that we may suspect the divinity changed into flesh.

CHAPTER V.

Therefore Christ the man, so that through him the grace of the New Testament might be revealed, which pertains not to temporal but to eternal life, was certainly not to be commended by earthly happiness. Hence subjection, hence passion, hence scourgings, spittings, insults, the cross, wounds, and as if overcome and subjected, death itself, so that his faithful might learn what reward of piety they ought to seek and hope for from him whose sons they had become; lest God should be served for this as if for a great thing, so that they who served him should seek to obtain earthly happiness, casting away and trampling their faith, estimating it by a most vile price: whence by a most beneficent providence almighty God granted earthly happiness even to the impious, lest it should be sought as a great thing by the good. Hence that seventy-second psalm introduces a man repenting, that once with a heart not right, he served God for this reward, which when he saw the impious flourish and excel in, being troubled he began to think that God does not care for human things. And when the authority of the saints pertaining to God recalled him from that thought, he took up and intended to recognize so great a secret, which was not opened to him as he labored, until he entered the sanctuary of God, and understood in the last things; that is, until having received the Holy Spirit he learned to desire better things, and foresaw what the future punishment would be for the impious, even those who had flourished temporally with a certain grassy happiness. Read and diligently note this seventy-second psalm, explained through our ministry on the night on which the solemnity of the most blessed Cyprian was dawning.

Therefore the man Christ and the same God Christ, from whose most merciful humanity and in whose form of a servant we ought to learn what in this life is to be contemned, and what in the other is to be hoped for, in the passion itself, in which his enemies seemed to themselves to be great and victors, took up the voice of our infirmity, by which at the same time our old man was crucified, so that the body of sin might be evacuated (Rom. VI, 6), and said: My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me (Psalm XXI, 2)? And this is one of your five proposed things. Thus begins the twenty-first psalm, which was sung in prophecy so long before concerning his passion, and the revelation of grace which he brought for the making and liberating of the faithful.

CAPUT VI.

15. Proinde eumdem psalmum, cujus prophetiam Dominus ad se pertinere demonstrans, ejus primum versum exclamavit, cum penderet in ligno, commemorando exponendoque percurram, ut ex hoc intelligas quemadmodum gratia Testamenti Novi nec eo tempore tacebatur, quando in Vetere velabatur. Dicitur enim ex persona Christi, quod ad formam servi attinet, in qua portabatur nostra infirmitas. Dixit enim et de illo Isaias: Ille infirmitates nostras portat, et pro nobis in doloribus est (Isai. LIII, 4). Ex hujus igitur infirmitatis voce, de qua Paulus in eo quod petebat non exauditus, et ideo quodam modo derelictus, audit tamen a Domino, Sufficit tibi gratia mea; nam virtus in infirmitate perficitur (II Cor. XII, 9): ex voce ergo hujus infirmitatis nostrae, quam in se transfiguravit caput nostrum, dicitur in hoc psalmo, Deus meus, Deus meus, respice in me; quare me dereliquisti? In eo quippe derelinquitur deprecans, in quo non exauditur. Hanc in se vocem transfiguravit Jesus, vocem scilicet corporis sui, hoc est Ecclesiae suae a vetere homine in novum reformandae; vocem scilicet infirmitatis suae humanae, cui deneganda fuerant bona Veteris Testamenti, ut bona Novi Testamenti optare atque sperare jam disceret.

16. In illis autem Veteris Testamenti bonis, ad veterem hominem pertinentibus, praecipue concupiscitur vitae hujus productio temporalis, ut aliquanto diutius teneatur, quia semper non potest. Ideo diem mortis omnes quidem affuturum sciunt, et eum tamen omnes aut pene omnes differre conantur, etiam qui post mortem se beatius credunt esse victuros: tantam habet vim carnis et animae dulce consortium. Nemo enim unquam carnem suam odio habuit (Eph. V, 29): et propterea non vult anima vel ad tempus ab ejus etiam infirmitate discedere, quamvis eam se in fine sine infirmitate in aeternum recepturam esse confidat. Proinde mente serviens legi Dei, carne autem trahens desideria peccati (Rom. VII, 25), quibus obedire vetat Apostolus, mentis quidem ratione concupiscit homo pius dissolvi, et esse cum Christo (Philipp. I, 23); sed id sensu carnis recusat et refugit, et si fieri possit, non vult exspoliari, sed supervestini, ut absorbeatur quod mortale est a vita (II Cor. V, 4), id est, ut ab infirmitate ad immortalitatem etiam ipsum corpus sine morte media transferatur.

CHAPTER VI.

15. Therefore, I shall run through the same psalm, whose prophecy the Lord showed to pertain to Himself by crying out its first verse while hanging on the wood, by commemorating and expounding it, so that from this you may understand how the grace of the New Testament was not silent even at that time when it was veiled in the Old. For it is spoken from the person of Christ, as pertains to the form of a servant, in which our infirmity was carried. For Isaiah also said of Him: He carries our infirmities, and is in sorrows for us (Is. 53:4). From the voice of this infirmity, therefore—concerning which Paul was not heard in that which he asked, and thus was in a certain way forsaken, yet heard from the Lord: My grace is sufficient for thee; for power is made perfect in infirmity (2 Cor. 12:9)—from the voice, therefore, of this our infirmity, which our Head transfigured in Himself, it is said in this psalm: My God, my God, look upon me; why hast thou forsaken me? For in that is one forsaken while praying, in which he is not heard. This voice Jesus transfigured in Himself, namely the voice of His body, which is His Church to be reformed from the old man into the new; namely the voice of His human infirmity, to which the goods of the Old Testament were to be denied, so that it might now learn to desire and hope for the goods of the New Testament.

16. Moreover, in those goods of the Old Testament pertaining to the old man, the temporal prolongation of this life is especially lusted after, so that it may be held somewhat longer, since it cannot be held forever. Therefore all indeed know that the day of death will come, and yet all or almost all strive to defer it, even those who believe they will live more blessedly after death: such great power does the sweet fellowship of flesh and soul possess. For no one ever hated his own flesh (Eph. 5:29): and for that reason the soul does not wish to depart, even for a time, from its very infirmity, although it trusts that it will receive it at the end without infirmity for eternity. Therefore, serving the law of God with the mind, but drawing the desires of sin with the flesh (Rom. 7:25), which the Apostle forbids to obey, the pious man indeed desires in the reason of the mind to be dissolved and to be with Christ (Phil. 1:23); but in the sense of the flesh he refuses and shrinks from it, and if it were possible, he does not wish to be unclothed, but to be clothed upon, that what is mortal may be swallowed up by life (2 Cor. 5:4), that is, that the body itself might be transferred from infirmity to immortality without intervening death.

17. Sed haec verba, quibus humanus dies et vitae hujus prolixitas concupiscitur, verba sunt delictorum, et longe sunt ab ea salute cujus nondum rem, sed jam spem gerimus; de qua scriptum est, Quia spe salvi facti sumus: spes autem quae videtur non est spes (Rom. VIII, 24). Ideoque et in isto psalmo cum dixisset, Deus meus, Deus meus, respice in me; quare me dereliquisti? continuo subjungit, Longe a salute mea verba delictorum meorum; id est, haec verba delictorum meorum sunt, et longe ab illa salute mea sunt, quam mihi non Veteris, sed Novi Testamenti gratia pollicetur. Quanquam etiam sic distingui potest, Deus meus, Deus meus, respice in me; quare me dereliquisti longe a salute mea? tanquam diceret, Relinquendo me, hoc est, non me exaudiendo, longe factus es a salute mea, praesenti scilicet salute hujus vitae: ut alius sensus sit, verba delictorum meorum, id est, ista quae dixi, verba sunt delictorum meorum, quia verba sunt carnalium desideriorum.

18. Haec ex persona sui corporis Christus dicit, quod est Ecclesia. Haec ex persona dicit infirmitatis carnis peccati, quam transfiguravit in eam quam sumpsit ex Virgine, similitudinem carnis peccati. Haec Sponsus ex persona sponsae loquitur, quia univit eam sibi quodam modo. Et apud Isaiam, ubi dicit, Sicut sponso alligavit mihi mitram, et sicut sponsam ornavit me ornamento (Isai. LXI, 10): alligavit mihi, et ornavit me, tanquam unius vox est, et tamen sponsum et sponsam Christum intelligimus et Ecclesiam. Sed, erunt duo in carne una; sacramentum magnum, dicit Apostolus, in Christo et in Ecclesia (Eph. V, 31, 32): igitur non jam duo, sed una caro (Matth. XIX, 6). Si ergo caro una, profecto competenter etiam vox una. Quid hic quaeris, humana infirmitas, vocem Verbi per quod facta sunt omnia? Audi potius vocem carnis quae facta est inter omnia; quoniam Verbum caro factum est, et habitavit in nobis. Audi potius medicinae vocem, qua sanaris ut videas Deum, quem tibi videndum distulit; hominem autem videndum attulit, occidendum obtulit, imitandum contulit, credendum transtulit, ut ista fide ad videndum Deum mentis oculus sanaretur. Quid ergo dedignamur audire vocem corporis ex ore capitis? Ecclesia in illo patiebatur, quando pro Ecclesia patiebatur: sicut etiam in Ecclesia patiebatur ipse, quando pro illo Ecclesia patiebatur. Nam sicut audivimus Ecclesiae vocem in Christo patientis, Deus, Deus meus, respice, etc., sic etiam audivimus Christi vocem in Ecclesia patientis, Saule, Saule, quid me persequeris (Act. IX, 4).

CAPUT VII.

17. But these words, by which a human day and the prolongation of this life are lusted after, are words of sins (verba delictorum), and are far from that salvation of which we do not yet possess the thing, but already bear the hope; concerning which it is written: For we are saved by hope: but hope that is seen is not hope (Rom. 8:24). And therefore in that psalm also, when he had said: My God, my God, look upon me; why hast thou forsaken me? he immediately adds: Far from my salvation are the words of my sins; that is, these are the words of my sins, and are far from that salvation of mine which the grace of not the Old, but the New Testament promises me. Although it can also be distinguished thus: My God, my God, look upon me; why hast thou forsaken me far from my salvation? as if he were saying: By forsaking me, that is, by not hearing me, thou art made far from my salvation, namely the present salvation of this life: so that there is another sense, the words of my sins, that is, those things which I have said are the words of my sins, because they are words of carnal desires.

18. Christ says these things from the person of His body, which is the Church. He says these things from the person of the infirmity of the flesh of sin, which He transfigured into that likeness of the flesh of sin which He took from the Virgin. The Bridegroom speaks these things from the person of the bride, because He has in a certain way united her to Himself. And in Isaiah, where he says: As a bridegroom he hath bound a miter on me, and as a bride he hath adorned me with an ornament (Is. 61:10): he hath bound on me, and he hath adorned me, are as the voice of one, and yet we understand Christ as the bridegroom and the Church as the bride. But, they shall be two in one flesh; a great sacrament, says the Apostle, in Christ and in the Church (Eph. 5:31, 32): therefore now not two, but one flesh (Matth. 19:6). If, therefore, there is one flesh, surely one voice is also fitting. Why do you seek here, human infirmity, the voice of the Word through whom all things were made? Hear rather the voice of the flesh which was made among all things; since the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us. Hear rather the voice of the medicine, by which you are healed so that you may see God, whom He deferred for you to see; but He brought man to be seen, offered Him to be slain, bestowed Him to be imitated, transferred Him to be believed, so that by this faith the eye of the mind might be healed to see God. Why, then, do we disdain to hear the voice of the body from the mouth of the head? The Church suffered in Him, when He suffered for the Church: just as He Himself suffered in the Church, when the Church suffered for Him. For just as we have heard the voice of the Church suffering in Christ, God, my God, look upon, etc., so also we have heard the voice of Christ suffering in the Church, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me (Acts 9:4).

CHAPTER VII.

19. Cum itaque non exaudimur ad temporalia bona retinenda vel adipiscenda, quando pro his deprecamur Deum, in eo quod nos non exaudit, derelinquit nos: sed ad potiora, quae vult ut intelligamus, et praeferamus, et concupiscamus, non nos derelinquit. Unde sequitur Psalmus, et dicit, Clamavi ad te per diem, nec exaudies (Psal. XXI, 3); et nocte: etiam hic subauditur, nec exaudies. Sed vide quid adjungit: et non ad insipientiam mihi. Hoc ergo dicit: Non me quidem exaudies clamantem per diem, id est in rebus prosperis, ut eas non amittam; et nocte, id est in rebus adversis, ut prospera quae amissa sunt, redeant: verum hoc mihi non ad insipientiam facies; sed potius ut sapiam quid jam per Novi Testamenti gratiam a te exspectare, quid desiderare, quid poscere debeam. Clamo quippe ego ut mihi bona temporalia non auferantur: Tu autem in sancto habitas, laus Israel (Ibid. 4). Nolo ut derelinquas concupiscentiam meam, qua carnalem felicitatem requiro. Verum haec est in sordibus vetustatis, tu autem quaeris munditiam novitatis; non exaudiendo istam cupiditatem relinquis, quia charitatem in qua habites, requiris: charitas autem Dei diffunditur in cordibus nostris, sed per Spiritum sanctum qui datus est nobis (Rom. V, 5). Ideo in sancto habitas, laus Israel; laus videntium te, quia non in se laudantur, sed in te. Quid enim habent quod non acceperunt (I Cor. IV, 7)? ut qui gloriatur, in Domino glorietur (Id. I, 31).

20. Haec est gratia Novi Testamenti: nam in Veteri Testamento, quando commendabas nonnisi a te peti sperarique debere etiam ipsam terrenam temporalemque felicitatem, In te speraverunt patres nostri; speraverunt, eteruisti eos. Ad te clamaverunt, et salvi facti sunt; in te speraverunt, et non sunt confusi (Psal. XXI, 5, 6). Illos quippe patres inter inimicos suos viventes, et divitiis implesti, et ab hostibus eruisti, gloriosasque victorias reportare fecisti, et de diversis eos mortibus liberasti. Pro alio subjecisti, ne feriretur, arietem (Gen. XXII, 13). Alium de putredine sanum, et ei dupla quae amiserat reddidisti (Job. XLII, 10). Alium inter leones esurientes illaesum integrumque servasti (Dan. XIV, 30-40). Alio rum inter flammas deambulantium grata voce laudatus es (Id. III, 23-90). Tale aliquid in Christo exspectabant fieri Judaei, unde probarent si vere Filius Dei esset. Ex eorum persona et in libro Sapientiae dicitur: Morte turpissima condemnemus illum: erit enim respectus in sermonibus ipsius. Si enim verus Dei Filius est, suscipiet eum et liberabit eum de manibus contrariorum.

19. And so, when we are not heard for the retaining or attaining of temporal goods, when we pray to God for these things, in that He does not hear us, He forsakes us: but for better things, which He wishes us to understand, and prefer, and lust after, He does not forsake us. Whence the Psalm follows and says: I have cried to thee by day, and thou wilt not hear (Psalm 21:3); and by night: here also is understood, and thou wilt not hear. But see what he adds: and not to my foolishness. This, therefore, he says: Thou wilt indeed not hear me crying by day, that is, in prosperous things, that I may not lose them; and by night, that is, in adverse things, that the prosperous things which were lost may return: but this Thou wilt do to me not to my foolishness; but rather that I may be wise as to what I ought now to expect from Thee through the grace of the New Testament, what to desire, what to ask. For I indeed cry that temporal goods may not be taken away from me: But thou dwellest in the holy place, the praise of Israel (Ibid. 4). I do not want Thee to forsake my lust, by which I seek carnal happiness. But this is in the filth of oldness, while Thou seekest the cleanliness of newness; by not hearing that desire, Thou forsakest it, because Thou seekest the charity in which Thou mayest dwell: for the charity of God is poured forth in our hearts, but by the Holy Spirit who is given to us (Rom. 5:5). Therefore thou dwellest in the holy place, the praise of Israel; the praise of those who see Thee, because they are not praised in themselves, but in Thee. For what have they that they have not received (1 Cor. 4:7)? that he who glorieth, may glory in the Lord (Id. 1:31).

20. This is the grace of the New Testament: for in the Old Testament, when Thou didst commend that even earthly and temporal happiness ought to be asked for and hoped for from Thee alone: In thee our fathers hoped; they hoped, and thou didst deliver them. To thee they cried, and they were saved; in thee they hoped, and they were not confounded (Psalm 21:5, 6). For those fathers living among their enemies, Thou didst both fill with riches, and deliver from hosts, and make to bring back glorious victories, and liberate them from diverse deaths. For one Thou didst substitute, lest he be struck, a ram (Gen. 22:13). Another from rottenness Thou didst restore to health, and gavest back to him double what he had lost (Job 42:10). Another among hungry lions Thou didst preserve unhurt and whole (Dan. 14:30-40). By others walking among flames Thou wast praised with a grateful voice (Id. 3:23-90). The Jews expected something of this sort to be done in Christ, whence they might prove if He were truly the Son of God. From their person it is also said in the book of Wisdom: Let us condemn him with a most shameful death: for there shall be respect had to his words. For if he be the true Son of God, he will defend him and deliver him from the hands of his enemies.

Haec, inquit, cogitaverunt et erraverunt: excaecavit enim eos malitia eorum (Sap. II, 18 21). Attendentes quippe tempus Veteris Testamenti, et illam patrum etiam temporalem felicitatem, in qua illis exhibenda demonstravit Deus etiam talia dona sua esse, non viderunt jam esse tempus quo revelaretur in Christo bona aeterna proprie Deum praestare justis, qui bona temporalia praestat et impiis.

CAPUT VIII.

21. Denique cum dixisset, In te speraverunt patres nostri; speraverunt, et eruisti eos. Ad te clamaverunt, et salvi facti sunt; in te speraverunt, et non sunt confusi; vide quid adjunxerit: Ego autem sum vermis et non homo. Quod videtur quidem ad commendandam humilitatem simpliciter dictum, ut se in oculis persequentium, abjectissimum quiddam et contemptissimum demonstraret: sed non est contemnenda altitudo secreti profunditasque mysterii, praesertim in eis verbis, quae tanto Salvatori in praedicatione prophetiae coaptantur. Dictus est hinc sensus elegantissimus a prioribus, ideo se hoc nomine Christum praenuntiari voluisse, quia vermis de carne sine concubitu nascitur, sicut ille natus est de virgine. Sed in libro suo Job, cum de creaturis coelestibus loqueretur quod in Dei conspectu etiam vix ipsae mundae sint, Quanto magis, inquit, homo putredo et filius hominis vermis (Job. XXV, 5, 6)! Putredinem pro mortalitate posuit, quae jam velut conceptam gerit moriendi necessitatem, in quam peccando contrusus est homo; et filium hominis vermem natum de putredine quasi putrem, hoc est de mortalitate mortalem. Ac per hoc in his verbis Psalmi, alium sensum nos quaerere admonuit, illo quidem salvo neque reprobato: ut non solum scrutemur quod ait, Ego autem sum vermis, sed etiam illud quod addidit, et non homo; secundum illud quod de libro Job commemoravi, tanquam diceret, Ego autem sum filius hominis, et non homo: non quod homo non sit Christus, de quo dicit Apostolus, Unus est mediator Dei et hominum, homo Christus Jesus (I Tim. II, 5); omnis enim filius hominis, homo est; sed ad quemdam respicit sensus iste, qui sic homo fuerit, ut non esset filius hominis, id est Adam. Forte ergo sic est dictum, Ego autem sum vermis, et non homo, id est, ego autem sum filius hominis, et non homo: tanquam diceretur, Ego autem sum Christus, in quo omnes vivificantur; non Adam, in quo omnes moriuntur (I Cor. XV, 22).

These things, he says, they thought and were deceived: for their own malice blinded them (Wisd. 2:18-21). For attending to the time of the Old Testament, and that temporal happiness of the fathers also, in which God demonstrated in its exhibition to them that even such things are His gifts, they did not see that it was already the time in which it should be revealed in Christ that God properly bestows eternal goods on the just, who bestows temporal goods even on the impious.

CHAPTER VIII.

21. Finally, when he had said: In thee our fathers hoped; they hoped, and thou didst deliver them. To thee they cried, and they were saved; in thee they hoped, and they were not confounded; see what he added: But I am a worm and no man. This indeed seems to be said simply to commend humility, so that he might show himself as something most abject and most contemptible in the eyes of his pursuers: but the height of the secret and the depth of the mystery are not to be contemned, especially in those words which are coapted to such a Savior in the preaching of prophecy. A most elegant sense has been stated here by our predecessors: that Christ wished Himself to be foretold by this name for this reason, because a worm is born from flesh without coition, just as He was born of a virgin. But in his book, Job, when he spoke of the celestial creatures, that in the sight of God even they themselves are scarcely clean: How much more, he says, is man rottenness, and the son of man a worm (Job 25:5, 6)! He put rottenness for mortality, which already bears, as it were, a conceived necessity of dying, into which man was thrust by sinning; and the son of man a worm born of rottenness as if rotten, that is, mortal from mortality. And by this, in these words of the Psalm, he admonished us to seek another sense, while that one remains saved and not rejected: so that we may not only scrutinize what he says, But I am a worm, but also that which he added, and no man; according to that which I commemorated from the book of Job, as if he were saying: But I am a son of man, and no man: not that Christ is not a man, of whom the Apostle says: There is one mediator of God and men, the man Christ Jesus (1 Tim. 2:5); for every son of man is a man; but this sense looks back to a certain one who was so a man that he was not a son of man, that is, Adam. Perhaps, therefore, it was said thus: But I am a worm, and no man, that is, But I am a son of man, and no man: as if it were said: But I am Christ, in whom all are made alive; not Adam, in whom all die (1 Cor. 15:22).

22. Ac per hoc, homines, discite per gratiam Novi Testamenti jam vitam concupiscere sempiternam. Quid pro magno ita vos vultis a Domino de morte liberari, sicut liberati sunt patres vestri, quando commendabat Deus etiam terrenae felicitatis praeter se non esse alium largitorem? Illa felicitas ad veterem hominem pertinet, quae vetustas ab Adam coepit: Ego autem sum vermis, et non homo; Christus, non Adam. A veteri veteres fuistis, a novo novi estote: ab Adam homines, a Christo filii hominum. Non enim sine causa familiarissime Dominus in Evangelio se filium hominis (Matth. XVII, 9, 12) dicit magis quam hominem: nec sine causa in alio psalmo, Homines, inquit, et jumenta salvos facies, Domine; sicut multiplicata est misericordia tua, Deus. Abs te quippe etiam ista salus hominibus jumentisque communis. Sed habent aliam homines novi propriam quamdam et a jumentorum consortio separatam, quae ad Novum pertinet Testamentum: habent omnino; nam de illa ibidem sequitur et dicit, Filii autem hominum sub tegmine alarum tuarum sperabunt. Inebriabuntur ab ubertate domus tuae, et torrente voluptatis tuae potabis eos. Quoniam apud te est fons vitae, et in lumine tuo videbimus lumen (Psal. XXXV, 7-10); posterius dixit, Filii autem hominum, tanquam distinguens ab hominibus filios hominum. In illa quippe felicitate ejus salutis quae communis est hominibus et jumentis, eo nomine illos appellare voluit, quo demonstrarentur ad illum primum hominem pertinere, quo vetustas coepit et mors, qui sic fuit homo, ut non esset filius hominis. Istis autem posterioribus, qui sperant aliam felicitatem, et fontis vitae ineffabilem voluptatem, et sempiterni luminis lumen, hoc nomen imposuit, quo se familiarius appellari voluit Dominus eorum in quos talis gratia revelata est, eo que filios hominum potius quam homines appellavit.

23. Non autem existimes quasi locutionis regulam figi perpetua lege servandam, ut ubicumque legeris homines, aut filios hominum, secundum hanc distinctionem semper intelligas: sed ut se habuerit circumstantia lectionis, unde sensus, si patet, hauritur; si latet, eruitur. Sicut in hoc loco psalmi hujus, quem non moveat distinctionis intentio? cum ille qui dixerat, In te speraverunt patres nostri, et eruisti eos. Ad te clamaverunt, et salvi facti sunt; in te speraverunt, et non sunt confusi, subjungit, Ego autem: non enim ait sic, Et ego; sed, Ego autem. Quid ergo iste qui se ita distinguit? Ego autem sum vermis, inquit, et non homo; tanquam illis quos exaudisti, et eruisti, eam commendares felicitatem quae ad Vetus pertinens Testamentum, homini veteri tribuenda esset, qui coepit ab Adam, Ego autem sum vermis; hoc est filius hominis, non homo, sicut ille homo qui non fuit filius hominis.

CAPUT IX.

22. And by this, O men, learn now through the grace of the New Testament to desire everlasting life. Why do you wish it as a great thing to be so delivered from death by the Lord as your fathers were delivered, when God was commending that there is no other bestower of even earthly happiness besides Himself? That happiness pertains to the old man, which oldness began from Adam: But I am a worm, and no man; Christ, not Adam. From the old you were old, from the new be new: from Adam men, from Christ sons of men. For not without cause does the Lord most familiarly call Himself in the Gospel the son of man (Matth. 17:9, 12) rather than man: nor without cause in another psalm does he say: Men and beasts thou wilt save, O Lord; as thy mercy is multiplied, O God. From Thee indeed is also this salvation common to men and beasts. But the new men have another certain proper salvation and separated from the fellowship of beasts, which pertains to the New Testament: they have it indeed; for concerning it follows there and says: But the sons of men shall hope under the cover of thy wings. They shall be inebriated from the fatness of thy house, and thou shalt make them drink of the torrent of thy pleasure. For with thee is the fount of life, and in thy light we shall see light (Psalm 35:7-10); later he said: But the sons of men, as if distinguishing the sons of men from men. For in that happiness of His salvation which is common to men and beasts, he wished to call them by that name by which they might be shown to pertain to that first man, by whom oldness and death began, who was so a man that he was not a son of man. But upon these later ones, who hope for another happiness, and the ineffable pleasure of the fount of life, and the light of eternal light, he imposed this name by which the Lord wished Himself to be more familiarly called, in whom such grace was revealed, and thus he called them sons of men rather than men.

23. But do not think that a rule of speech is fixed by a perpetual law, so that wherever you read men or sons of men, you must always understand them according to this distinction: but as the circumstance of the reading provides, from which the sense, if it is open, is drawn; if it is hidden, it is extracted. As in this place of this psalm, whom would the intention of the distinction not move? since he who had said: In thee our fathers hoped, and thou didst deliver them. To thee they cried, and they were saved; in thee they hoped, and they were not confounded, subjoins: But I: for he does not say: And I; but, But I. What then is he who thus distinguishes himself? But I am a worm, he says, and no man; as if to those whom Thou heardest and deliveredst, Thou didst commend that happiness which, pertaining to the Old Testament, was to be attributed to the old man who began from Adam; But I am a worm; that is, a son of man, not a man, like that man who was not a son of man.

CHAPTER IX.

24. Ac per hoc et quod sequitur, Opprobrium hominum, et abjectio plebis. Omnes qui conspiciebant me, subsannabant me, et locuti sunt labiis, et moverunt caput. Speravit in Deum, eruat eum, salvum faciat eum, quoniam vult eum. Hoc in labiis, non in corde dixerunt, insultando quod non fieret, non credendo quod futurum esset. Factum est autem et hoc, sed sicut fieri oportebat in filio hominis, in quo spes aeternae vitae fuerat revelanda ad Novum pertinens Testamentum, non sicut illi exspectabant; et quia fieri non videbant, tanquam superato insultabant, pertinentes ad Testamentum Vetus et hominem in quo omnes moriuntur, non ad filium hominis in quo omnes vivificabuntur. Mortem quippe intulit homo sibi filioque hominis: vitam vero attulit homini moriens et resurgens Filius hominis, opprobrium hominum et abjectio plebis usque ad mortem. Hoc enim voluit pati in conspectu inimicorum, quo eum tanquam derelictum putarent, ut gratia commendaretur Novi Testamenti, qua disceremus aliam quaerere felicitatem, quae nunc est in fide, postea vero erit in specie. Quamdiu enim sumus in corpore, ait Apostolus, peregrinamur a Domino; per fidem enim ambulamus, non per speciem (II Cor. V, 6, 7): et ideo nunc in spe, tunc in re.

25. Denique resurrectionem suam, quam non sicut nostram in longum differri oportebat, ut in exemplo carnis ejus disceremus quid in nostra sperare deberemus, noluit alienis demonstrare, sed suis: alienis dico, non natura, sed vitio, quod semper est contra naturam. Mortuus est ergo in conspectu hominum, resurrexit autem in conspectu filiorum hominum; quia mors ad hominem pertinebat, resurrectio ad filium hominis: sicut enim in Adam omnes moriuntur, sic et in Christo omnes vivificabuntur. Ut igitur exemplo suae carnis exhortaretur fideles suos temporalem pro aeterna felicitatem contemnere, usque ad mortem pertulit persequentes atque saevientes, et quasi victo et oppresso superbe illudentes. Quod autem carnem suam resuscitavit, et discipulorum conspectibus et contactibus reddidit, eisque videntibus ascendit in coelum, ipsos aedificavit, et quid exspectare, quid praedicare deberent, evidentissima veritate demonstravit. Illos autem a quibus tanta mala usque ad mortem pertulerat, quasi de illo superato et exstincto gloriantes, in ea opinione dereliquit, ut quisquis eorum salute aeterna salvus fieri vellet, hoc de illius mortui resurrectione crederet, quod ii qui viderunt, signis contestantibus praedicaverunt, et pro ea praedicatione similia perpeti non dubitaverunt.

CAPUT X.

24. And by this also what follows: The reproach of men, and the abjection of the people. All they that saw me, laughed me to scorn, and they have spoken with their lips, and wagged the head. He hoped in God, let him deliver him, let him save him, because he willeth him. This they said with their lips, not in their heart, insulting because it was not being done, not believing what was to come. But this also was done, but as it behooved to be done in the Son of man, in whom the hope of eternal life was to be revealed pertaining to the New Testament, not as they were expecting; and because they did not see it being done, they insulted Him as if overcome, pertaining as they did to the Old Testament and to the man in whom all die, not to the Son of man in whom all shall be made alive. For man brought death upon himself and the son of man: but the Son of man brought life to man by dying and rising again, the reproach of men and the abjection of the people even unto death. For He willed to suffer this in the sight of His enemies, by which they might think Him as if forsaken, so that the grace of the New Testament might be commended, by which we might learn to seek another happiness, which now is in faith, but afterwards shall be in sight (species). For as long as we are in the body, says the Apostle, we are pilgrims from the Lord; for we walk by faith, not by sight (2 Cor. 5:6, 7): and therefore now in hope, then in reality.

25. Finally, He willed to show His resurrection—which behooved not to be deferred for a long time as ours is, so that in the example of His flesh we might learn what we ought to hope for in ours—not to strangers, but to His own: I say strangers, not by nature, but by vice, which is always against nature. He died, therefore, in the sight of men, but He rose again in the sight of the sons of men; because death pertained to man, resurrection to the Son of man: for as in Adam all die, so also in Christ shall all be made alive. That therefore by the example of His own flesh He might exhort His faithful ones to contemn temporal happiness for the sake of eternal, He bore even unto death those who pursued and raged, and who proudly mocked Him as if overcome and oppressed. But that He raised His own flesh, and restored it to the sights and touches of the disciples, and while they saw it He ascended into heaven, He edified them, and demonstrated with the most evident truth what they ought to expect and what they ought to preach. But those from whom He had borne such great evils even unto death, glorying as it were in Him as overcome and extinguished, He left in that opinion, so that whoever of them wished to be saved by eternal salvation, should believe this concerning the resurrection of Him who was dead, which those who saw it preached with attesting signs, and did not hesitate to suffer similar things for that preaching.

CHAPTER X.

26. Quapropter etiam Jacobus unus ex Apostolis ejus, in Epistola sua, cum hortaretur fideles qui post passionem et resurrectionem Christi adhuc in ista vita tenebantur, dispensationem Veteris Testamenti Novique distinguens, Sustinentiam, inquit, Job audistis, et finem Domini vidistis (Jacobi V, 11): ne ideo patienter sustinerent temporalia mala, ut sibi hoc restitueretur quod recepisse legimus Job (XLII, 10). Nam et ab illo vulnere atque putredine salvus factus est, et ei cuncta quae amiserat, duplicia sunt restituta: ubi etiam commendata est resurrectionis fides. Nam filii non dupli, sed totidem redditi, etiam illos quos amiserat resurrecturos significarunt; ut sic ipsi quoque illis prioribus juncti, a restitutione dupli non invenirentur alieni. Ut ergo non talem remunerationem speraremus, quando mala temporalia pateremur, non ait, Sustinentiam et finem Job audistis; sed ait, Sustinentiam Job audistis, et finem Domini vidistis: tanquam diceret, Mala temporalia sicut Job sustinete; sed pro hac sustinentia non temporalia bona sperate, quae illi aucta redierunt, sed aeterna potius, quae in Domino praecesserunt. Job ergo de illis patribus erat, qui exclamaverunt, et salvi facti sunt. Cum enim dicit, Ego autem, satis insinuat qua salute illos salvos esse factos velit intelligi; in qua ipse utique derelictus est: non quod illi a salute aeterna fuerint alieni; sed in occulto tunc erat quod in Christo fuerat revelandum. In Veteri quippe Testamento velamen est quod tunc auferetur, cum ad Christum quisque inde transierit: quo crucifixo velamen etiam templi scissum est (Matth. XXVII, 51), ut significaretur quod Apostolus de velamine Veteris Testamenti dixit, quoniam in Christo evacuatur (II Cor. III, 14).

27. Nam et in illis patribus quamvis rarissima, tamen fuerunt, et usque ad mortem exempla patientiae, a sanguine Abel usque ad sanguinem Zachariae (Luc. XI, 51); quorum sanguinem dicit Dominus Jesus et ab eis exigendum qui in patrum suorum, a quibus illi occisi sunt, iniquitate persisterent: et in Novo Testamento nec defuit, nec deest bonorum fidelium multitudo, qui etiam ista temporali felicitate praepolleant, et in ea largitoris Dei bonitatem misericordiamque experiantur, tenentes tamen quod dispensator Novi Testamenti divitibus hujus saeculi Apostolus praecepit, non superbe sapere, neque sperare in incerto divitiarum, sed in Deo vivo qui praestat nobis omnia abundanter ad fruendum; ut bene faciant, divites sint in operibus bonis, facile tribuant, communicent, thesaurizent sibi fundamentum bonum in futurum, ut apprehendant veram vitam (I Tim. VI, 17-19): qualis in Christi non tantum spiritu, verum etiam carne manifestata est, cum resurrexit a mortuis, non qualem Judaei in illo peremerunt, quando eum de manibus eorum Deus non eruit, eumque dereliquisse visus est exclamantem, Deus meus, Deus meus; utquid me dereliquisti?

26. Wherefore also James, one of His Apostles, in his Epistle, when he exhorted the faithful who after the passion and resurrection of Christ were still held in this life, distinguishing the dispensation of the Old and New Testament, said: You have heard of the patience of Job, and you have seen the end of the Lord (James 5:11): lest they should patiently sustain temporal evils for this reason, that there might be restored to them what we read that Job received (Job 42:10). For he was both made whole from that wound and rottenness, and all things which he had lost were restored to him double: where also the faith of the resurrection was commended. For children were not given back double, but the same number, signifying that those also whom he had lost were to rise again; so that thus they themselves also being joined to those former ones, might not be found strangers to the restoration of the double. That therefore we might not hope for such a remuneration when we suffer temporal evils, he did not say: You have heard of the patience and the end of Job; but he said: You have heard of the patience of Job, and you have seen the end of the Lord: as if he were saying: Sustain temporal evils like Job; but for this sustenance do not hope for temporal goods, which returned to him increased, but rather eternal ones, which preceded in the Lord. Job therefore was of those fathers who cried out and were saved. For when he says: But I, he sufficiently insinuates by what salvation he wishes it to be understood that they were made safe; in which He Himself was certainly forsaken: not that they were strangers to eternal salvation; but that was then in secret which was to be revealed in Christ. For in the Old Testament there is a veil which is then taken away, when anyone passes from there to Christ: upon whose crucifixion the veil of the temple also was rent (Matth. 27:51), that it might be signified what the Apostle said concerning the veil of the Old Testament, that in Christ it is evacuated (2 Cor. 3:14).

27. For even in those fathers, although most rare, yet there were examples of patience even unto death, from the blood of Abel unto the blood of Zacharias (Luke 11:51); whose blood the Lord Jesus says is to be required even of those who should persist in the iniquity of their fathers, by whom they were slain: and in the New Testament there neither was lacking, nor is lacking a multitude of good faithful ones, who even excel in this temporal happiness, and in it experience the goodness and mercy of God the giver, yet holding what the Apostle, the dispenser of the New Testament, commanded to the rich of this world: not to be high-minded, nor to hope in the uncertainty of riches, but in the living God, who giveth us all things abundantly to enjoy; that they do well, be rich in good works, give easily, communicate, lay up in store for themselves a good foundation for the time to come, that they may lay hold on true life (1 Tim. 6:17-19): such as was manifested not only in Christ's spirit, but truly also in His flesh, when He rose from the dead, not such as the Jews destroyed in Him, when God did not deliver Him from their hands, and seemed to have forsaken Him crying out: My God, my God; why hast thou forsaken me?

ut eo modo in se transfiguraret martyres suos, qui etsi mori nollent, quod etiam Petro dixit, Alter te cinget, et feret quo tu non vis; significans qua morte clarificaturus erat Deum (Joan. XXI, 18), et ob hoc a Deo suo derelicti viderentur ad tempus, cum eis praestare nollet quod vellent, illam vocem cordis emitterent, iilumque adhiberent pietatis affectum, quem passione impendente ore proprio Dominus expressit, eos in se identidem transfigurans, Verum non quod ego volo, sed quod tu vis, Pater (Matth. XXVI, 39).

CAPUT XI.

28. In quo enim primitus, nisi in ipso capite nostro apparere debuit, propter quam vitam christiani sumus? Propterea non ait, Deus meus, Deus meus, dereliquisti me; sed causam commonuit requirendam, cum addidit, utquid dereliquisti me? id est, quare, propter quid, quam ob causam? Profecto enim erat aliqua causa, eaque non parva, ut Noe liberaret de diluvio, Loth de coelesti incendio, Isaac de imminenti gladio, Joseph de calumnia mulieris et custodia carceris, Moysen ab Aegyptiis, Raab ab excidio civitatis, Susannam a testibus falsis, Danielem a leonibus, tres viros ab ignibus, aliosque patres qui exclamaverunt, et salvi facti sunt; et Christum de manibus Judaeorum non liberaret, eumque in potestate saevientium usque ad mortis exitum derelinqueret. Utquid hoc? propter quid hoc, nisi propter illud quod paulo post in eodem psalmo dicit, non ad insipientiam mihi; hoc est, corpori meo, Ecclesiae meae, minimis meis? Nam et in Evangelio, Quando uni ex minimis meis fecistis, inquit, mihi fecistis (Matth. XXV, 40). Sic itaque dictum est, et non ad insipientiam mihi, quomodo dictum est, mihi fecistis, et sic dictum est, quare me dereliquisti, quomodo dictum est, Qui vos recipit, me recipit; et qui vos spernit, et me spernit (Luc. X, 16). Non ergo ad insipientiam nobis, sed ut sapiamus: non propter istam vitam, in qua nos Deus aliquando usque ad mortem persequentium manibus derelinquit, sed propter illam sempiternam nos debere esse christianos; quia hoc in illo praecessisse intuemur, ex cujus nomine sic vocamur.

29. Ecce ita factum est: tamen tam multi non ob aliud volunt esse christiani, nisi ut hujus vitae felicitate perfruantur; ideoque illa deficiente deficiunt. Quid, si non in ipso nostro capite tam insigne constitueretur exemplum, quo disceremus pro coelestibus terrena rontemnere, non respicientes quae videntur, sed quae non videntur? quae enim videntur, temporalia sunt; quae autem non videntur, aeterna (II Cor. IV, 18). Quos in se vocibus illis transfigurare dignatus est.

so that in that way He might transfigure in Himself His martyrs, who even if they should be unwilling to die—which He also said to Peter: Another shall gird thee, and carry thee whither thou wouldst not; signifying by what death he should glorify God (John 21:18)—and for this reason should seem to be forsaken by their God for a time, when He would not bestow on them what they willed, they might emit that voice of the heart, and apply that affect of piety, which with the passion impending the Lord expressed with His own mouth, transfiguring them in Himself repeatedly: Nevertheless not as I will, but as thou wilt, Father (Matth. 26:39).

CHAPTER XI.

28. For in whom first, if not in our Head Himself, ought it to have appeared for the sake of what life we are Christians? Therefore He did not say, "My God, my God, thou hast forsaken me"; but He suggested a cause to be sought when He added, "why hast thou forsaken me?" (utquid dereliquisti me?); that is, why, for what reason, on what account? For certainly there was some cause, and that not a small one, that He should deliver Noah from the flood, Lot from the heavenly fire, Isaac from the imminent sword, Joseph from the calumny of a woman and the custody of prison, Moses from the Egyptians, Rahab from the destruction of the city, Susanna from the false witnesses, Daniel from the lions, the three men from the fires, and other fathers who cried out and were made safe; and yet He should not deliver Christ from the hands of the Jews, and should leave Him in the power of the raging ones even unto the end of death. Why this? on what account this, if not for that which He says a little later in the same psalm, "not for my folly" (non ad insipientiam mihi); that is, for my body, for my Church, for my least ones? For also in the Gospel He says, "When you did it to one of my least ones, you did it to me" (Matth. 25:40). Thus, therefore, it was said, "and not for my folly," just as it was said, "you did it to me"; and thus it was said, "why hast thou forsaken me," just as it was said, "He who receives you receives me; and he who despises you despises me" (Luke 10:16). Not, therefore, for our folly, but that we may be wise: not for this life, in which God sometimes leaves us even unto death in the hands of persecutors, but for that everlasting life we ought to be Christians; because we perceive that this preceded in Him, from whose name we are so called.

29. Behold, so it has happened: yet so many do not want to be Christians for any other reason than that they may enjoy the happiness of this life; and therefore when that fails, they fail. What if such a distinguished example were not established in our Head Himself, by which we might learn to despise earthly things for heavenly ones, not looking at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen? for the things which are seen are temporal; but the things which are not seen are eternal (2 Cor. 4:18). Those whom He deigned to transfigure in Himself with those voices.

Nam quantum ad ipsum attinet, quomodo vellet liberari ab illa hora, qui propterea venerat in illam horam (Joan. XII, 27.)? aut quomodo sic loquebatur, quasi quod nollet ei accideret, cum potestatem habuerit ponendi animam suam, et iterum sumendi eam, nec eam quisquam tolleret ab illo, sed eam ipse poneret et resumeret, sicut in Evangelio dicit (Id. X, 18)? Sed procul dubio nos in illis vocibus eramus, et caput pro suo corpore loquebatur, non disjuncta significatione vocis, ubi connexio non disjungitur unitatis.

CAPUT XII.

30. Denique in Psalmo sequitur, et orans adverte quid dicat: Quoniam, inquit, extraxisti me de ventre, spes mea ab uberibus matris meae. In te jactatus sum ex utero; de ventre matris meae Deus meus es tu: (Psal. XXI, 10, 11) tanquam diceret, De alia re, et ab alia aliam rem me trajecisti, ut tu sis mihi bonum pro terrenis bonis mortalitatis hujus, quam in matris ventre sortitus sum, cujus ubera suxi. Haec enim vetustas est, de qua me tu extraxisti; et illa carnalis nativitatis bona sunt, a quibus tu spes mea es: inde enim ad te conversus sum. Et ex utero, id est, qui ex his in utero inchoavi, in te jactatus sum; ad te scilicet transiens, totum me tibi committens. Ideoque de ventre matris meae, id est de bonis carnis quam sumpsi in ventre matris meae, Deus meus es tu, ut de his tu sis bonum meum: ea locutione dictum est, ac si diceretur, verbi gratia, De terra coelum habito, hoc est, hinc illo emigravi; et ista nostra in illum transfiguratio est, qui per gratiam Testamenti Novi mutamus vitam, transeuntes de vetere ad novam. Nam ille hanc rem sacramento suae passionis resurrectionisque significans, carnem mutavit de mortalitate ad immortalitatem: vitam vero non mutavit de vetustate in novitatem, qui nunquam fuit in impietate, unde transiret ad pietatem.

31. Quanquam non defuerunt qui hoc quod dictum est, De ventre matris meae Deus meus es tu, ideo ad ipsum caput nostrum pertinere sentirent, quoniam Pater in tantum est Deus ejus, in quantum homo est in forma servi, non in quantum illi aequalis in forma Dei est ; ideo De ventre matris meae Deus meus es tu, ac si diceret, Ex eo quod homo factus sum, Deus meus es tu. Sed quid est, Tu extraxisti me de ventre, si ad ipsum Jesum de Virgine procreatum refertur? quasi alios Deus non extrahat, in cujus providentia est omnis ordo nascendi: an inde significare voluit partum Virginis servata virginitatis integritate mirabili, cum ait, Tu extraxisti me de ventre matris meae; ut quod illic mirabiliter factum est, cum Deus fecisse dicitur, nemini incredibile videatur?

For as far as He Himself is concerned, how would He wish to be delivered from that hour, who for that reason had come into that hour (John 12:27)? or how was He speaking thus, as if what He did not will happened to Him, when He had power to lay down His life and to take it up again, nor did anyone take it from Him, but He Himself laid it down and resumed it, as He says in the Gospel (John 10:18)? But without a doubt we were in those voices, and the Head was speaking for His body, with no disjunction in the significance of the voice where the connection of unity is not disjoined.

CHAPTER XII.

30. Finally, in the Psalm it follows, and while praying observe what it says: "For," it says, "thou hast drawn me out of the belly, my hope from the breasts of my mother. Upon thee I was cast from the womb; from the belly of my mother thou art my God" (Psalm 21:10, 11). As if it were saying: From one thing, and from another to another thing thou hast transferred me, that thou mayest be my good instead of the earthly goods of this mortality, which I obtained in my mother's belly, whose breasts I sucked. For this is the oldness from which thou hast drawn me; and those are the goods of carnal nativity from which thou art my hope: for thence I was converted to thee. And "from the womb," that is, I who from these began in the womb, "was cast upon thee"; passing over to thee, namely, committing my whole self to thee. And therefore "from the belly of my mother," that is, from the goods of the flesh which I took in the belly of my mother, "thou art my God," so that instead of these thou mayest be my good: it was said in that manner of speaking, as if it were said, for example, "From the earth I inhabit heaven," that is, from here I emigrated thither; and this is our transfiguration into Him, who by the grace of the New Testament change our life, passing from the old to the new. For He, signifying this thing by the sacrament of His passion and resurrection, changed the flesh from mortality to immortality: but He did not change life from oldness into newness, who was never in impiety whence He might pass to piety.

31. Although there have not been wanting those who felt that this which was said, "From the belly of my mother thou art my God," pertained to our Head Himself, since the Father is His God in so far as He is man in the form of a servant, not in so far as He is equal to Him in the form of God; therefore "From the belly of my mother thou art my God," as if He were saying, "From the fact that I was made man, thou art my God." But what is, "Thou hast drawn me out of the belly," if it is referred to Jesus Himself procreated of the Virgin? as if God did not draw out others, in whose providence is the whole order of being born: or did He wish to signify thereby the birth from the Virgin while the integrity of virginity was preserved in a wonderful manner, when He says, "Thou hast drawn me out of the belly of my mother"; so that what was done there wonderfully, when God is said to have done it, should seem incredible to no one?

Quid ergo est et illud, Spes mea ab uberibus matris meae? Quomodo et hoc ad ipsum caput Ecclesiae referri potest, quasi spes ejus quae in Deo est, a matris uberibus ei coeperit, non et ante in ipso utero? Neque enim spes alia intelligenda est, nisi qua futurum erat ut Deus eum exaltaret a mortuis: totum hoc quippe, secundum id quod homo factus est, dicitur. An forte quia ubera feminarum ab ipso conceptu in ubertatem promoveri prohibentur, sic intelligi voluit, ab uberibus; tanquam diceret, Ex quo carnem sumpsi, cui carni fuerat speranda immortalitas: ut non ante spes ei esset, cum in forma Dei esset, in qua nihil in melius mutandum esset; sed ab uberibus matris, id est ab ipsa susceptione carnis, quae concipiebatur in spe, cujus spei res futura erat, cum ad immortalitatem de morte transiret?

32. Sed quod dictum est, In te jactatus sum ex utero, quomodo coaptari capiti possit, ignoro: quasi in utero cum esset, non in Deo fuerit, in quo vivimus, movemur, et sumus (Act. XVII, 28); aut illius infantis anima rationalis, ex quo caro processit ex utero, Deum sperare coeperit. Nisi forte credendum est, jam nato animam rationalem accessisse, quae intra viscera matris adhuc ei defuisset: et quoniam eadem anima, quae carni jam natae addita est, Deo inhaerebat, ideo secundum eamdem carnem dictum esse existimandum est, In te jactatus sum ex utero; tanquam diceret, Eam sortitus sum animam ex utero, quae tibi cohaereret. Sed quis audeat in hanc se temere praecipitare sententiam, cum ratio de adventu vel exortu animae in tanto naturae profundo sic lateat, ut satius sit eam semper quaerere quamdiu in hac vita sumus, quam aliquando invenisse praesumere? Ex illa vero in seipsum transfiguratione nostra quemadmodum possent haec accipi, dictum est. Si quid autem dici potuit convenientius, vel potuerit, nullius praejudicamus ingenio, doctrinae nullius invidemus.

CAPUT XIII.

33. Jam illud quod sequitur, Ne discedas a me, quoniam tribulatio proxima est, vide ut illuminet quemadmodum dictum sit, Quare me dereliquisti. Quomodo enim dereliquit, cui dicitur, Ne discedas a me, nisi quia dereliquit vitae veteris temporalem felicitatem? Rogatur autem ne discedat et deserat spem vitae aeternae. Sed quid est, quoniam tribulatio proxima est? quasi ei passio adhuc immineret, cum in ipsa media passione ista dicere intelligatur, quae de illo in hoc psalmo prophetata sunt.

What then is also that, "My hope from the breasts of my mother"? How can this also be referred to the Head of the Church Himself, as if His hope which is in God began for Him from His mother's breasts, and not also before in the womb itself? For no other hope is to be understood, except that by which it was to be that God should exalt Him from the dead: all this, indeed, is said according to that which He was made man. Or perhaps because the breasts of women are prohibited from advancing into abundance from the very conception, did He wish it to be understood thus, "from the breasts"; as if He were saying, "From the time I took flesh," to which flesh immortality was to be hoped for: so that hope was not in Him before, when He was in the form of God, in which nothing was to be changed for the better; but "from the breasts of my mother," that is, from the very taking of the flesh, which was conceived in hope, of which hope the reality was to be in the future, when He should pass from death to immortality?

32. But how that which was said, "Upon thee I was cast from the womb," can be adapted to the Head, I know not: as if when He was in the womb, He were not in God, in whom we live, move, and have our being (Acts 17:28); or the rational soul of that infant, from the time the flesh proceeded from the womb, began to hope in God. Unless perhaps it is to be believed that the rational soul came to Him already born, which had been lacking to Him while yet within the mother's bowels: and because the same soul, which was added to the flesh already born, was adhering to God, therefore according to the same flesh it is to be thought it was said, "Upon thee I was cast from the womb"; as if He were saying, "I obtained that soul from the womb which should cleave to thee." But who would dare to precipitate himself rashly into this opinion, when the reason concerning the arrival or origin of the soul lies so hidden in such a depth of nature, that it is better always to seek it as long as we are in this life, than to presume to have found it at some time? But from that transfiguration of ourselves into Him, how these things could be received, has been said. If, however, anything more suitable could be said, or shall have been said, we prejudice the talent of no one, we envy the doctrine of no one.

CHAPTER XIII.

33. Now see how that which follows, "Be not far from me, for trouble is near," illuminates the way it was said, "Why hast thou forsaken me." For how did He forsake Him, to whom it is said, "Be not far from me," unless because He forsook the temporal happiness of the old life? But He is asked not to depart and desert the hope of eternal life. But what is, "for trouble is near"? as if the passion were still imminent for Him, when He is understood to speak these things in the very midst of the passion, which were prophesied of Him in this psalm.

Hic enim dicturus est etiam, quae in Evangelio apertissime scripta sunt, Diviserunt sibi vestimenta mea, et super vestem meam miserunt sortem (Matth. XXVII, 35); quod factum est cum jam penderet in ligno. Quid est ergo, tribulatio proxima est, in qua media loquebatur? Sed nimirum illud vult intelligi, quia cum caro in dolores est et in poenis, profecto anima tunc habet magnum agonem patientiae, in quo ne deficiat, laborandum et orandum est. Nihil est autem animae sua carne propinquius: ideo mundi hujus quilibet magnus perfectusque contemptor, cum alibi patitur, nihil patitur. Potest enim adhibere vigilem rationem, cum amittit bona quae extrinsecus sunt, et ab animo sapientis, qui ex cupiditate non haeret, sine dubio longe sunt; et non curare quod patitur, quia nec patitur. Cum vero amittit praecipua corporis bona, id est corporis vitam ac salutem, jam tribulatio proxima est animi bonis, quibus ipse intus tanquam corporis dominus est: quid faciet qualibet ratione, ut non doleat cum corpus vulneratur aut uritur, cui tanto implicatur consortio, ut pati possit, non dolere non possit?

34. Ideo et diabolus hunc nocendi ordinem tenens, illius magni viri quem postulaverat tentandum, prius externa bona accepit in potestatem: quibus ablatis et perditis, cum illum inconcussum videret; dixerat enim, Dominus dedit, Dominus abstulit; sicut Domino placuit, ita factum est: sit nomen Domini benedictum (Job. I, 21); etiam carnem cruciandam vulnere postulavit, tali cum eo confligens certamine, ut bona proxima invaderet, hoc est corporis bona; quibus ille perditis si forte succumberet, atque ad impietatem cor inclinaret, etiam bona animi deperirent, quibus perdendis jam in corpore saeviens vicinius tentator instabat. Denique ille vir in tanta tentatione, ubi erat animi bonis proxima tribulatio, quamvis multa prophetice loquatur, longe tamen loquitur aliter quam cum illa externa bona deperissent (Id. I, 11), in quibus filios non amiserat, sed praemiserat.

35. Clamat ergo martyris anima transfigurata in Christum, cum jam in carne tribulari coeperit, et dicit Deo, a quo derelicta est in terrena felicitate, sed quae cum illo est in spe vitae aeternae, Ne discedas a me, quoniam tribulatio proxima est: non est in agro meo, non in auro, non in pecore, non in tectis atque parietibus, non in meorum orbitatibus; sed in carne mea est, cui copulor, cui connector, cujus sensum non habere non possum; unde me de proximo urget, ut a patientiae virtute deficiam.

For here He will also say what are most clearly written in the Gospel, "They divided my garments among them, and upon my vesture they cast lots" (Matth. 27:35); which was done when He was already hanging on the wood. What is it then, "trouble is near," in the midst of which He was speaking? But undoubtedly He wishes it to be understood that when the flesh is in pains and in punishments, the soul then certainly has a great agony of patience, in which it must labor and pray lest it fail. Now nothing is nearer to the soul than its own flesh: therefore any great and perfect despiser of this world, when he suffers elsewhere, suffers nothing. For he can employ watchful reason when he loses goods which are without, and which are without doubt far from the mind of the wise man who does not cleave to them out of desire; and he can not care for what he suffers, because he does not even suffer. But when he loses the principal goods of the body, that is, the life and health of the body, then trouble is near to the goods of the soul, of which the soul itself within is as it were the master of the body: what shall it do by any reason, so that it may not grieve when the body is wounded or burned, with which it is involved in such a close fellowship that it can suffer, but cannot not grieve?

34. Therefore also the devil, holding this order of hurting, first received power over the external goods of that great man whom he had asked to be tempted: which being taken away and lost, when he saw him unshaken—for he had said, "The Lord gave, the Lord hath taken away; as it pleased the Lord, so it is done: blessed be the name of the Lord" (Job 1:21); he even asked for the flesh to be tortured with a wound, contending with him in such a struggle that he might invade the nearest goods, that is, the goods of the body; which if he should perhaps succumb when they were lost, and should incline his heart to impiety, even the goods of the soul would perish, for the destruction of which the tempter was now pressing closer, raging in the body. Finally, that man in so great a temptation, where trouble was near to the goods of the soul, although he speaks many things prophetically, yet speaks far differently than when those external goods had perished (Job 1:11), in which he had not lost his children, but had sent them on before.

35. The soul of the martyr, therefore, transfigured into Christ, cries out when it has already begun to be troubled in the flesh, and says to God, by whom it is forsaken in earthly happiness, but who is with it in the hope of eternal life: "Be not far from me, for trouble is near": it is not in my field, not in my gold, not in my cattle, not in my roofs and walls, not in the bereavements of my own; but it is in my flesh, to which I am coupled, to which I am connected, whose sensation I cannot not have; whence it urges me from very near, that I may fail from the virtue of patience.

Ne discedas a me; quoniam non est qui adjuvet: neque amicus, neque propinquus, neque humana laus, neque praeteritae recordatio voluptatis, neque aliquid eorum quo terrenae felicitatis ruina fulcitur, neque ipsa quae in animo est meo humana virtus; quia si tu deseris, quae hominis virtus?

CAPUT XIV.

Quid est enim homo, nisi quod memor es ejus?

36. Circumdederunt me vituli multi: hoc est minores in plebe. Tauri pingues obsederunt me: hoc est superbi ac divites, principes plebis. Aperuerunt in me os suum: clamantes, Crucifige, crucifige (Luc. XXIII, 21). Quasi leo rapiens et rugiens: rapuerunt enim comprehensum adducentes ad praesidem, et rugierunt petendo ejus mortem. Sicut aqua effusus sum: tanquam ut in me lapsi caderent persecutores mei. Dispersa sunt omnia ossa mea: quid sunt ossa, nisi corporis firmamenta? Corpus autem Christi, Ecclesia: firmamenta autem Ecclesiae qui, nisi Apostoli, qui etiam columnae alibi nuncupantur? Hi utique dispersi sunt, cum ad passionem ipse duceretur, vel cum esset passus et mortuus. Factum est ergo cor meum tanquam cera liquescens in medio ventris mei. Hoc sane quemadmodum capiti nostro, ipsius corporis salvatori coaptetur, invenire difficile est. Neque enim nisi magno pavore contingit, ut cor velut cera liquescat humanum: quod unde in illo fieri posset, qui potestatem habebat ponendi et recipiendi animam suam? Sed profecto aut infirmorum suorum in se transtulit causam; sive illorum qui metu mortis pavescunt, sicut ipse Petrus ex egregio praesumptore tam creber negator effectus; sive illorum qui tristitia salubri contabescunt, sicut idem ipse Petrus cum amare flevit. Nam et tristitia quasi solvit cor: unde dicitur etiam graece quod appellata sit λύπη. Aut certe profundum sacramentum nos intelligere voluit, ut cordis sui nomine significaret Scripturas suas, ubi ejus utique latebat consilium, quod tunc apertum est, cum ea quae de illo prophetata fuerunt, passus implevit. Solutae sunt ergo Scripturae ejus in iis quae perfecta sunt adventu ejus, nativitate, passione, resurrectione, glorificatione Quis enim jam ea non intelligit in Prophetis, quando usque ad intellectum etiam carnalis multitudinis pervenerunt? quam fortasse significavit medio ventris sui, ut in ejus corpore quod est Ecclesia, quasi ventris locum habeat carnalis et infirmior multitudo.

"Be not far from me; for there is none to help": neither friend, nor kinsman, nor human praise, nor the recollection of past pleasure, nor anything of those things by which the ruin of earthly happiness is supported, nor even human virtue itself which is in my soul; because if thou desertest, what is the virtue of man?

CHAPTER XIV.

For what is man, but that thou art mindful of him?

36. "Many calves have surrounded me": that is, the lesser ones among the people. "Fat bulls have besieged me": that is, the proud and wealthy, the princes of the people. "They have opened their mouth against me": crying out, "Crucify him, crucify him" (Luke 23:21). "As a ravening and a roaring lion": for they seized Him when apprehended, leading Him to the governor, and they roared by seeking His death. "I am poured out like water": as it were so that my persecutors, having slipped, might fall upon me. "All my bones are scattered": what are bones, if not the supports of the body? But the body of Christ is the Church: and the supports of the Church, who are they if not the Apostles, who are also called columns elsewhere? These were certainly scattered when He was led to His passion, or when He had suffered and died. "My heart is therefore become like melting wax in the midst of my belly." How this indeed may be adapted to our Head, the Savior of His own body, is difficult to find. For it does not happen except by great fear that the human heart melts like wax: whence could that happen in Him, who had power to lay down and to receive His life? But undoubtedly He either transferred into Himself the cause of His weak ones; whether of those who tremble with fear of death, as Peter himself from an egregious presumer became so frequent a denier; or of those who pine away with a salutary sadness, as the same Peter when he wept bitterly. For sadness also as it were dissolves the heart: whence it is even said in Greek that it was called *lype* (λύπη). Or certainly He wished us to understand a profound sacrament, so that by the name of His heart He might signify His Scriptures, where His counsel indeed lay hidden, which was then opened when He fulfilled by suffering those things which were prophesied of Him. His Scriptures were therefore dissolved in those things which were perfected by His coming, birth, passion, resurrection, and glorification. For who now does not understand those things in the Prophets, when they have reached even to the understanding of the carnal multitude? whom perhaps He signified by the midst of His belly, so that in His body which is the Church, the carnal and weaker multitude should have as it were the place of the belly.

Aut si ventris nomen magis interioribus competit, ad eos potius qui perfectiores sunt, Scripturarum intellectum pertinere monstratum est, cum cor ejus, id est Scripturae ejus quae continent consilium ejus, in medio eorum, hoc est in cogitatione eorum, tanquam cera dissolvitur, hoc est, fervore spiritus aperitur, disputatur, exponitur.

CAPUT XV.

37. Exaruit velut testa virtus mea. Testa igne firmata est: sic et virtus corporis Christi non sicut fenum igne consumitur, sed sicut testa passione velut igne firmatur. Vasa enim figuli probat fornax, sicut alio loco Scriptura dicit, et homines justos tentatio tribulationis (Eccli. XXVII, 6). Et lingua mea adhaesit faucibus meis. Potest quidem silentium ejus significatum videri, quod et alius propheta commendat, cum dicit, Sicut agnus coram tondente fuit sine voce (Isai. LIII, 7). Sed si linguam ejus, eos in ejus corpore, quod est Ecclesia, intelligamus, per quos suum loquitur Evangelium; tunc ejus faucibus adhaerent, cum a praeceptis ejus non recedunt.

38. Quod vero sequitur, Et in pulverem mortis deduxisti me, quomodo capiti coaptabitur; quandoquidem corpus ejus, quod tertia die resurrexit, non est utique in pulverem dissolutum? nec aliter exposuerunt Apostoli quod in alio psalmo positum est, Neque dabis sanctum tuum videre corruptionem, nisi quia ejus caro non est corrupta, quae tam celeriter resurrexit (Psal. XV, 10; Act. II, 24-32). Unde item in alio psalmo dicit, Quae utilitas in sanguine meo, dum descendo in corruptionem? Numquid confitebitur tibi pulvis, aut annuntiabit veritatem tuam (Psal. XXIX, 10)? hoc scilicet dicens, quod si eo modo, quo et caeteri, mortuus dimitteretur in pulverem, et caro ejus resurrectioni ultimae servaretur, nulla esset utilitas in sanguine ejus; quia nihil prodesset mors ejus, nec annuntiaretur veritas Dei, quae illum continuo resurrecturum esse praedixerat. Quid sibi vult ergo quod hoc loco ait, Et in pulverem mortis deduxisti me? Nisi corpus ejus accipiamus Ecclesiam, in qua illi qui pro ejus nomine passi sunt, vel patiuntur, non ita ut ipse cito resurgunt, sed in mortis pulverem deducuntur, tum resurrecturi, cum illud tempus venerit de quo in Evangelio dicit, Veniet hora quando omnes qui in monumentis sunt, audient vocem ejus, et procedent (Joan. V, 28, 29). Aut certe tropice pulverem mortis ipsos Judaeos intelligi voluit, in quorum manus deductus est: scriptum est enim, Non sic impii, non sic; sed tanquam pulvis quem projicit ventus a facie terrae (Psal. I, 4).

CAPUT XVI.

Or if the name of the belly is more suitable for the inner parts, it is shown that the understanding of the Scriptures pertains rather to those who are more perfect, when His heart, that is, His Scriptures which contain His counsel, in the midst of them, that is, in their thought, is dissolved like wax, that is, is opened, discussed, and expounded by the fervor of the spirit.

CHAPTER XV.

37. "My strength is dried up like a potsherd." A potsherd is hardened by fire: thus also the strength of the body of Christ is not consumed like grass by fire, but like a potsherd it is hardened by the passion as if by fire. "For the furnace trieth the potter's vessels," as the Scripture says in another place, "and the trial of affliction trieth just men" (Sirach 27:6). "And my tongue hath cleaved to my jaws." Indeed His silence can be seen to be signified, which also another prophet commends when he says, "As a lamb before his shearer was without voice" (Isaiah 53:7). But if by His tongue we understand those in His body, which is the Church, through whom He speaks His Gospel; then they cleave to His jaws when they do not depart from His precepts.

38. But as to that which follows, "And thou hast led me into the dust of death," how shall it be adapted to the Head; since His body, which rose on the third day, was certainly not dissolved into dust? nor did the Apostles otherwise expound what is placed in another psalm, "Neither wilt thou suffer thy Holy One to see corruption," except because His flesh was not corrupted, which rose so quickly (Psalm 15:10; Acts 2:24-32). Whence also in another psalm He says, "What profit is there in my blood, whilst I go down to corruption? Shall dust confess to thee, or declare thy truth?" (Psalm 29:10); saying this, namely, that if in that manner as others He were left dead in the dust, and His flesh were reserved for the final resurrection, there would be no profit in His blood; because His death would be of no use, nor would the truth of God be declared, which had foretold that He would rise immediately. What then does He mean when He says in this place, "And thou hast led me into the dust of death"? Unless we take His body to be the Church, in which those who have suffered or are suffering for His name do not rise quickly as He did, but are led into the dust of death, being then about to rise when that time shall come of which He says in the Gospel, "The hour shall come when all that are in the monuments shall hear his voice, and shall come forth" (John 5:28, 29). Or certainly He wished the Jews themselves to be understood tropically as the dust of death, into whose hands He was led: for it is written, "Not so the wicked, not so; but as the dust which the wind driveth from the face of the earth" (Psalm 1:4).

CHAPTER XVI.

39. Denique sequitur, Quoniam circumdederunt me canes multi; concilium malignantium obsedit me: tanquam ipsos dixerit pulverem mortis in quem deductus est, quos dixit canes multos et concilium malignantium; canes eos videlicet appellans, qui plerumque contra innocentes latrant, cum quibus non habent consuetudinem. Jam vero in iis quae subjungit, tanquam Evangelium recitatur. Crucifixio quippe ejus exprimitur in eo quod dicit, Foderunt manus meas et pedes meos, dinumeraverunt omnia ossa mea. Ipsi vero consideraverunt et conspexerunt me. Fossae sunt enim clavis manus et pedes ejus, et cum extenderetur in ligno, quodammodo numerata sunt ossa ejus. Consideratus est autem atque conspectus quid illi futurum esset, et utrum veniret Elias et liberaret eum. (Matth. XXVII, 49).

40. Jam illud quod sequitur, nullius expositionis indiget: Diviserunt sibi vestimenta mea, et super vestem meam miserunt sortem. Verba deinde quae subtexuntur, orantis sunt, tam ex persona capitis, id est hominis mediatoris, quam ex persona corporis, quod est Ecclesia, quam dicit etiam unicam suam. Tu autem, Domine, inquit, ne longe facias auxilium tuum: hoc ad ejus carnem pertinet, cujus resurrectio non in longum est missa, ut aliorum. In defensionem meam aspice: ne quid noceant inimici, qui sibi videntur aliquid potuisse carnem perimendo mortalem. Non autem nocent, si defendente gratia Dei, non eis ad malum anima superata consentiat: sic enim et alibi prophetatum est, Terra tradita est in manus impii; hoc est caro terrena.

41. Erue a framea animam meam. Framea gladius est; nec utique tali ferro Christus occisus est, sed cruce, nec latus ejus gladio, sed lancea percusserunt. Translato ergo verbo, frameam linguam dixit persequentium, sicut in alio psalmo dicitur, Et lingua eorum gladius acutus (Psal. LVI, 5). Unde, quia in ejus carne lingua praevaluit malignorum, orat ut animae nihil noceat, cum dicit, Erue a framea animam meam: ut haec in prophetia oratio, si ad caput corporis referas, non videatur velut indigentis petitio, sed potius rei futurae figurata praedictio. Aut certe, quia corpus ejus, hoc est Ecclesia, graves persecutiones fuerat perpessura, frameam dixit, qua maxime trucidati sunt martyres; unde vult eorum animas erui, ne timeant eos qui corpus occidunt, animam autem occidere non possunt (Matth. X, 28), et consentiant ad illicita. Aut etiam in ipsorum passionibus inimicorum linguam frameam dicit, unde animam suam, hoc est animam corporis sui, animam sanctorum suorum vult erui.

39. Finally it follows: "For many dogs have surrounded me; the council of the malignant hath besieged me": as if He had called those same ones the dust of death into which He was led, whom He called many dogs and the council of the malignant; calling those dogs, namely, who for the most part bark against the innocent, with whom they have no acquaintance. Now indeed in those things which He subjoins, it is recited as if from the Gospel. For His crucifixion is expressed in that which He says: "They pierced my hands and my feet, they numbered all my bones. But they considered and gazed upon me." For His hands and feet were pierced with nails, and when He was stretched out on the wood, His bones were in a certain way numbered. But He was considered and gazed upon as to what would happen to Him, and whether Elias would come and deliver Him (Matth. 27:49).

40. Now that which follows needs no exposition: "They divided my garments among them, and upon my vesture they cast lots." Then the words which are subjoined are those of one praying, both from the person of the Head, that is, the man the mediator, and from the person of the body, which is the Church, which He also calls His only one. "But thou, O Lord," He says, "remove not thy help far from me": this pertains to His flesh, whose resurrection was not put off for a long time, as that of others. "Look toward my defense": lest the enemies should do any harm, who think they have been able to do something by destroying the mortal flesh. But they do not harm, if by the defense of the grace of God, the soul, being overcome, does not consent to them for evil: for thus also it is prophesied elsewhere, "The earth is delivered into the hands of the impious"; that is, the earthly flesh.

41. "Deliver my soul from the sword" (*framea*). A *framea* is a sword; nor indeed was Christ killed by such an instrument, but by the cross, nor did they strike His side with a sword, but with a lance. Therefore, the word being transferred, He called the tongue of the persecutors a sword, as it is said in another psalm, "And their tongue is a sharp sword" (Psalm 56:5). Whence, because in His flesh the tongue of the malignant prevailed, He prays that it may not harm His soul, when He says, "Deliver my soul from the sword": so that this prayer in prophecy, if you refer it to the Head of the body, should not seem like the petition of one in need, but rather a figured prediction of a future thing. Or certainly, because His body, that is the Church, was to suffer grave persecutions, He said "sword," by which the martyrs were chiefly slaughtered; whence He wishes their souls to be delivered, lest they fear those who kill the body, but cannot kill the soul (Matth. 10:28), and consent to unlawful things. Or even in their own passions He calls the tongue of the enemies a sword, whence He wishes His soul, that is the soul of His body, the soul of His saints, to be delivered.

42. Quod autem sequitur, Et de manu canis unicam meam, nihil aptius quam unica Ecclesia mihi videtur intelligi. Canem vero appellavit mundum, non ratione sed consuetudine contra insolitam veritatem latrantem. Haec est enim canum natura, ut cum quibus habent consuetudinem, sive illi boni, sive mali sint, non ad eos latrent; insolitorum autem personis visis, etiam innocentibus, irritentur. Manu autem canis, potestatem mundi significavit. Cujus etiam regnum infestum futurum corpori suo, id est Ecclesiae suae, leonis nomine figuravit in eo quod adjunxit: Salvum me fac de ore leonis. Unde est scriptum, Nihil interest inter minas regis et iram leonis (Prov. XIX, 12): quanquam et diabolum apostolus Petrus leoni comparet rugienti, et quaerenti circumeundo quem devoret (I Petr. V, 8). Superbosque hujus mundi Christianis humilibus adversaturos ostendens, consequenter dicit: Et a cornibus unicornium humilitatem meam. Ideo quippe in unicornibus superbi intelliguntur, quia superbia odit consortium, et quantum in ipso est, solus cupit eminere omnis superbus.

CAPUT XVII.

43. Jam nunc attende ubi sit fructus: vel quod derelictus est, ne exaudiretur pro terrena felicitate, non ad insipientiam, sed ut saperemus quid Novi gratia Testamenti desiderare debeamus; vel quod non est derelictus sed exauditus in eo quod ait, Ne discedas a me, qui dixerat, Quare me dereliquisti; quod utique contrarium est, nisi illud ad aliud, hoc ad aliud referatur. Attende et audi quantum sapis, hauri quantum capis, quantumque ipse rem tantam eloqui valeo, imo quantum tribuit ille qui nos exaudit, et in Christo, in quantum homo mediator est inter nos et Deum, et cum Christo, in quantum Deus est aequalis Deo, et potens est facere, ut ait Apostolus, supra quam petimus aut intelligimus (Ephes. III, 20): vide in hoc psalmo Testamenti Novi gratiam; vide illius derelictionis, tribulationis, deprecationis fructu quid agatur, quid insinuetur, quid commendetur, quid iliustretur. Intuere quid legamus tanto ante prophetatum, quid jam cernamus impletum: Narrabo nomen tuum, inquit, fratribus meis; in medio Ecclesiae cantabo te. Fratres illi sunt, de quibus in Evangelio ait: Vade, et dic fratribus meis (Joan. XX, 17). Ecclesia illa est, quam modo dixit unicam suam; haec est unica Catholica, quae toto orbe copiosa diffunditur, quae usque ad ultimas gentes crescendo porrigitur: unde in Evangelio dicit, Et praedicabitur hoc Evangelium in universo orbe, in testimonium omnibus gentibus; et tunc veniet finis (Matth. XXIV, 14).

42. But as to what follows, "And from the hand of the dog my only one," nothing more suitable than the only Church seems to me to be understood. But He called the world a dog, barking not by reason but by custom against an unaccustomed truth. For this is the nature of dogs, that toward those with whom they have acquaintance, whether they be good or bad, they do not bark; but at the sight of unaccustomed persons, even innocent ones, they are provoked. But by the "hand of the dog," He signified the power of the world. Whose kingdom also about to be hostile to His body, that is His Church, He figured by the name of a lion in that which He added: "Save me from the lion's mouth." Whence it is written, "There is no difference between the threats of a king and the wrath of a lion" (Prov. 19:12): although the apostle Peter also compares the devil to a roaring lion, going about and seeking whom he may devour (1 Peter 5:8). And showing that the proud of this world would oppose humble Christians, He says consequently: "And my humility from the horns of the unicorns." For therefore the proud are understood in the unicorns, because pride hates fellowship, and as much as in itself lies, every proud man desires to stand out alone.

CHAPTER XVII.

43. Now attend to where the fruit is: either that He was forsaken, that He might not be heard for earthly happiness, not for folly, but that we might know what we ought to desire by the grace of the New Testament; or that He was not forsaken but heard in that which He says, "Be not far from me," who had said, "Why hast thou forsaken me"; which is certainly contrary, unless the former be referred to one thing, and the latter to another. Attend and hear as much as you are wise, draw as much as you can take in, and as much as I myself am able to speak of so great a matter, or rather as much as He bestows who hears us, both in Christ, in so far as He is man the mediator between us and God, and with Christ, in so far as He is God equal to God, and "is able to do," as the Apostle says, "above that which we ask or understand" (Ephes. 3:20): see in this psalm the grace of the New Testament; see what is done, what is insinuated, what is commended, what is illustrated by the fruit of that forsaking, tribulation, and prayer. Behold what we read prophesied so long before, what we now see fulfilled: "I will declare thy name," He says, "to my brethren; in the midst of the Church will I sing to thee." Those brethren are they of whom He says in the Gospel: "Go, and tell my brethren" (John 20:17). That Church is she which He just now called His only one; this is the only Catholic Church, which is spread copiously through the whole world, which is extended by growing even to the furthest nations: whence He says in the Gospel, "And this Gospel shall be preached in the whole world, for a testimony to all nations; and then shall the end come" (Matth. 24:14).

44. Quod autem ait, Cantabo, hoc est illud canticum novum, de quo in alio psalmo dicitur: Cantate Domino canticum novum, cantate Domino omnis terra (Psal. XCV, 1). Habes hic utraque; et quo cantico cantaturum se dixerit, et in cujus Ecclesiae medio: illud pertinet ad novum canticum, haec ad omnem terram. Ipse quippe cantat in nobis, cujus gratia cantamus, sicut dicit Apostolus: An vultis experimentum ejus accipere, qui in me loquitur Christus (II Cor. XIII, 3)? Medium vero Ecclesiae ad eminentiam scilicet referas, et ad ipsam manifestationem, quia omnia quanto clarius nota sunt, tanto magis in medio esse dicuntur; vel certe ad interiores Ecclesiae, quia interiora sunt media. Neque enim omnis qui labiis personat, cantat canticum novum, sed qui eo modo cantat ut Apostolus admonet, dicens: Cantantes et psallentes in cordibus vestris Domino (Ephes. V, 19). Intus enim est hoc gaudium, ubi vox laudis et canitur et auditur; qua voce laudatur qui gratis amandus est toto corde, tota anima, tota mente, amatoremque suum accendit in se gratia Spiritus sui sancti: quid enim aliud est canticum novum, quam laus Dei?

CAPUT XVIII.

45. Denique sequitur, et hoc evidentius demonstrat. Cum enim dixisset, Narrabo nomen tuum fratribus meis, quia Deum nemo vidit unquam, sed unigenitus Filius qui est in sinu Patris, ipse enarravit (Joan. I, 18); atque adjunxisset, in medio Ecclesiae cantabo te: quomodo cantavit, id est, quia in nobis cantavit, cum proficimus in nomine quod narravit fratribus suis; et quia laudem Dei cantavit in nobis, continuo manifestavit, dicens, Qui timetis Dominum, laudate eum. Quis autem veraciter laudat, nisi qui sinceriter amat? Tantumdem ergo est ac si diceret: Qui timetis Dominum, amate eum. Dixit enim homini, sicut scriptum est. Ecce pietas est sapientia (Job XXVIII, 28, sec. LXX). Porro pietas cultus Dei est, nec colitur ille nisi amando. Summa igitur et vera sapientia est in praecepto illo primo, Diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo, et ex tota anima tua (Matth. XXII, 37): ac per hoc sapientia est charitas Dei; nec diffunditur in cordibus nostris, nisi per Spiritum sanctum qui datus est nobis (Rom. V, 5). Initium autem sapientiae timor Domini (Psal. CX, 10): et timor non est in charitate, sed perfecta charitas foras mittit timorem (I Joan. IV, 18). Proinde praemissus timor in cor nostrum, pellit inde consuetudinem malorum operum, et servat charitati locum, qua tanquam domina veniente, ut illa insidat, abscedit.

44. But as to what He says, "I will sing," this is that new song, of which it is said in another psalm: "Sing ye to the Lord a new song, sing to the Lord, all the earth" (Psalm 95:1). You have here both; both by what song He said He would sing, and in the midst of what Church: the former pertains to the new song, the latter to all the earth. For He Himself sings in us, by whose grace we sing, as the Apostle says: "Do you seek a proof of Christ who speaketh in me?" (2 Cor. 13:3). But the "midst of the Church" you may refer to eminence namely, and to manifestation itself, because all things by how much the more clearly they are known, by so much the more are they said to be in the midst; or certainly to the interior ones of the Church, because the interior parts are the middle. For not everyone who sounds with his lips sings the new song, but he who sings in that manner as the Apostle admonishes, saying: "Singing and making melody in your hearts to the Lord" (Ephes. 5:19). For within is this joy, where the voice of praise is both sung and heard; by which voice He is praised who is to be loved freely with the whole heart, with the whole soul, with the whole mind, and who enkindles His lover in Himself by the grace of His Holy Spirit: for what else is the new song, but the praise of God?

CHAPTER XVIII.

45. Finally it follows, and demonstrates this more evidently. For when He had said, "I will declare thy name to my brethren," because no one has ever seen God, but the only-begotten Son who is in the bosom of the Father, He Himself hath declared Him (John 1:18); and when He had added, "in the midst of the Church will I sing to thee": how He sang, that is, because He sang in us, when we profit in the name which He declared to His brethren; and because He sang the praise of God in us, He immediately manifested it, saying, "Ye that fear the Lord, praise him." But who praises truly, unless he who loves sincerely? It is just the same, therefore, as if He were saying: "Ye that fear the Lord, love him." For He said to man, as it is written: "Beheld, piety is wisdom" (Job 28:28, sec. LXX). Furthermore, piety is the worship of God, nor is He worshipped except by loving. The highest and true wisdom, therefore, is in that first precept: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul" (Matth. 22:37): and by this, wisdom is the charity of God; nor is it shed abroad in our hearts, except by the Holy Spirit who is given to us (Rom. 5:5). But "the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom" (Psalm 110:10): and fear is not in charity, but perfect charity casteth out fear (1 John 4:18). Accordingly, fear sent before into our heart drives out thence the custom of evil works, and keeps a place for charity, which, when it comes as mistress, that she may take her seat, fear departs.

46. Ergo qui timetis Dominum, laudate eum: ut Deum non serviliter sed libere colatis, eum amare discite quem timetis, et poteritis laudare quod amatis. Timentes enim Deum homines Veteris Testamenti, propter litteram terrentem et occidentem, nondum habentes Spiritum vivificantem (II Cor III, 6), currebant cum sacrificiis ad templum; et quamvis in figuram futuri sanguinis quo redempti sumus, tamen nescientes quid per eas praefiguraretur, cruentas victimas immolabant. Nunc vero in gratia Novi Testamenti, qui timetis Dominum, laudate eum. Ipse quippe in alio psalmo, illa mutanda praenuntians quae tunc in umbra futuri offerebantur, Non accipiam, inquit, de manu tua vitulos, neque de gregibus tuis hircos. Et paulo post, ut ostenderet sacrificium Novi Testamenti, quando illa fuerant cessatura, Immola, inquit, Deo sacrificium laudis, et redde Altissimo vota tua. Et in fine ejusdem psalmi, Sacrificium, inquit, laudis glorificabit me; et illic via est, qua ostendam illi salutare meum (Psal. XLIX, 9, 14, 23). Salutare Dei Christus est, quem infantem Simeon senex cum agnovisset in spiritu, eumque sumspisset in manus. Nunc dimittis, inquit, Domine, servum tuum, secundam verbum tuum in pace; quoniam viderunt oculi mei salutare tuum. (Luc. II, 29, 30).

CAPUT XIX.

47. Qui timetis ergo Dominum, laudate eum; universum semen Jacob, magnificate eum. Non vacat quod ei non sufficit dicere, semen Jacob, nisi adderet universum; ne in solis eis intelligeretur, qui ex Israelitis fuerant crediturí. Semen enim Jacob ipsum est semen Abrahae; omnibus autem in Christum credentibus, non solis qui ex Israel fideles erant, Apostolus dicit: Ergo Abrahae semen estis, secundum promissionem haeredes (Galat. III, 29). Ibi namque commemoravit praefigurationem Novi Testamenti, in eo quod scriptum est, In Isaac vocabitur tibi semen (Rom. IX, 7); non utique in Ismael, ancillae filio. In quibus duobus filiis Abrahae, servo, et libero, et duabus mulieribus, ancilla, et libera, scribens ad Galatas, duo Testamenta dicit in allegoria praefigurata (Galat. IV, 22-24). Unde dicit, Non qui filii carnis, ii sunt filii Dei; sed filii promissionis deputantur in semine. Promissionis enim verbum hoc est: Ad hoc tempus veniam, et erit Sarae filius (Rom. IX, 8, Gen. XVIII, 10).

46. Therefore "ye that fear the Lord, praise him": that you may worship God not servilely but freely, learn to love Him whom you fear, and you will be able to praise what you love. For the men of the Old Testament, fearing God because of the letter that terrifies and kills, not yet having the life-giving Spirit (2 Cor. 3:6), used to run with sacrifices to the temple; and although in figure of the future blood by which we are redeemed, yet being ignorant of what was prefigured by them, they used to immolate bloody victims. But now in the grace of the New Testament, "ye that fear the Lord, praise him." For He Himself in another psalm, foretelling that those things were to be changed which were then offered in the shadow of the future, says: "I will not accept calves from thy hand, nor he-goats from thy flocks." And a little after, that He might show the sacrifice of the New Testament, when those things were about to cease, He says: "Offer to God the sacrifice of praise, and pay thy vows to the Most High." And at the end of the same psalm He says: "The sacrifice of praise shall glorify me; and there is the way by which I will show him my salvation" (Psalm 49:9, 14, 23). The salvation of God is Christ, whom when the old man Simeon had recognized in spirit as an infant, and had taken Him into his hands: "Now lettest thou, Lord," he says, "thy servant depart according to thy word in peace; because mine eyes have seen thy salvation" (Luke 2:29, 30).

CHAPTER XIX.

47. "You, therefore, who fear the Lord, praise him; all the seed of Jacob, magnify him." It is not for nothing that it is not enough for Him to say, "the seed of Jacob," unless He adds "all"; lest it should be understood only of those among the Israelites who were to believe. For the seed of Jacob is the very seed of Abraham; but to all who believe in Christ, and not only to those who were faithful from Israel, the Apostle says: "Therefore you are the seed of Abraham, heirs according to the promise" (Galat. 3:29). For there he mentioned the prefiguration of the New Testament, in that which is written: "In Isaac shall thy seed be called" (Rom. 9:7); certainly not in Ishmael, the son of the handmaid. In which two sons of Abraham, the slave and the free, and the two women, the handmaid and the free woman, writing to the Galatians, he says two Testaments were prefigured in allegory (Galat. 4:22-24). Whence he says: "Not they who are the children of the flesh, these are the children of God; but the children of the promise are counted for the seed. For this is the word of promise: At this time I will come, and Sarah shall have a son" (Rom. 9:8; Gen. 18:10).

48. Multum est et nimis longum diligenter enucleare cur filii promissionis pertinentes ad Isaac, Novi Testamenti gratiae deputentur. Breviter tamen attingam, unde tanto fructuosius cogitabis, quanto magis pie cogitaveris. Non omnia Deus quae praedicit, promittit; praedicit enim etiam illa quae non ipse facit, quia est omnium praescius futurorum. Praedicit ergo et peccata hominum; quae potuit praescire, non facere. Promittit autem quae ipse facturus est; nec ea mala, sed bona. Quis enim promittit mala? Quamvis itaque mala inferat malis, non peccata, sed supplicia; minatur tamen ea potius quam promittit. Omnia largitur et praescit; sed peccata praedicit, supplicia minatur, beneficia pollicetur. Filii ergo promissionis, filii sunt beneficii. Haec est gratia, quae gratis datur, non meritis operantis, sed miseratione donantis. Hinc gratias agimus Domino Deo nostro, quod est magnum sacramentum in sacrificio Novi Testamenti, quod ubi, et quando, et quomodo offeratur, cum fueris baptizatus, invenies.

CAPUT XX.

49. Deinde sequitur et dicit: Timeat eum omne semen Israel. Qui Jacob ipse et Israel, unus homo erat, habens duo nomina, non in parvo sacramento: sed uno libro non possunt dici omnia, in quo jam multum progressi sumus, et nondum de aliis tribus quaestionibus aliquid diximus; hoc est de tenebris exterioribus; et latitudine et longitudine, altitudine et profundo; et de quinque et quinque virginibus. Quod ergo dixit supra, universum semen Jacob, hic consequenter ait, omne semen Israel. Sed quare superius, magnificate eum, et posterius, timeat eum? Magnificatio laudi congruit; de qua dixerat, Qui timetis Dominum, laudate eum: unde jam multa disserui. Ibi quippe amor vel charitas Dei, quae perfecta foras mittit timorem. Cur ergo iterum, Timeat eum omne Israel? Non enim accepistis, inquit Apostolus, spiritum servitutis iterum in timore (Rom. VIII, 15). Sed idem apostolus oleastro inserto in olivam timorem praecipit, hoc est Gentibus additis radici Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, ut et ipsae fierent Israel, id est, pertinerent ad semen Abrahae (Rom. XI, 17-20).

50. Quam insertionem oleastri, jam amputatis propter infidelitatis superbiam naturalibus ramis, etiam ipse Dominus in Evangelio praedixit, occasione illius Centurionis qui in eum ex Gentibus credidit.

48. It is a great matter and too long to carefully explain why the children of the promise belonging to Isaac are assigned to the grace of the New Testament. Nevertheless, I will briefly touch upon it, whence you will think all the more fruitfully, the more piously you think. God does not promise all things that He predicts; for He predicts even those things which He Himself does not do, because He is the foreknower of all future things. Therefore He predicts also the sins of men; which He could foreknow, but not do. But He promises what He Himself is going to do; and those things are not evil, but good. For who promises evil things? Although, therefore, He inflicts evils upon the evil—not sins, but punishments—yet He rather threatens them than promises them. He bestows and foreknows all things; but He predicts sins, He threatens punishments, He promises benefits. Therefore, the children of the promise are the children of benefit. This is grace, which is given freely, not by the merits of the worker, but by the mercy of the giver. Hence we give thanks to the Lord our God, because there is a great sacrament in the sacrifice of the New Testament, which you will find out where, and when, and how it is offered when you have been baptized.

CHAPTER XX.

49. Then follows and says: "Let all the seed of Israel fear him." For Jacob himself and Israel were one man, having two names, not in a small sacrament: but in one book all things cannot be said, in which we have already made much progress, and have not yet said anything about the other three questions; that is, about the outer darkness; and the breadth and length, height and depth; and about the five and five virgins. Therefore, what he said above, "all the seed of Jacob," here he says consequently, "all the seed of Israel." But why earlier, "magnify him," and later, "fear him"? Magnifying agrees with praise; of which he had said, "You who fear the Lord, praise him": whence I have already discussed much. For there is the love or charity of God, which perfect casteth out fear. Why then again, "Let all Israel fear him"? "For you have not received," says the Apostle, "the spirit of servitude again in fear" (Rom. 8:15). But the same apostle, when the wild olive was grafted into the olive tree, commands fear, that is, to the Gentiles added to the root of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, so that they themselves might become Israel, that is, belong to the seed of Abraham (Rom. 11:17-20).

50. Which grafting of the wild olive, the natural branches having already been cut off because of the pride of unbelief, even the Lord Himself foretold in the Gospel, on the occasion of that Centurion who believed in Him from the Gentiles.

Tunc enim ait, Amen dico vobis, non inveni tantam fidem in Israel: et adjunxit, Ideo dico vobis quia multi ab oriente et occidente venient, et recumbent cum Abraham, Isaac et Jacob in regno coelorum: filii autem regni ibunt in tenebras exteriores; illic erit ploratio et stridor dentium: ita significans inseri oleastrum propter humilitatem; dixerat quippe ille Centurio, Non sum dignus ut sub tectum meum intres; sed tantum dic verbo, et sanabitur puer meus (Matth. VIII, 8-12); confractionem autem ramorum naturalium propter superbiam, scilicet eorum qui ignorantes Dei justitiam, et suam volentes constituere, justitiae Dei non sunt subjecti (Rom. X, 3). De iis quippe vana elatione tumentibus dictum est quod ibunt in tenebras exteriores, qui jactantes se de semine Abrahae, semen Abrahae fieri noluerunt, ut essent filii promissionis: quia fidem Novi Testamenti non receperunt, ubi Dei justitia commendatur, suam constituere volentes; id est, tanquam de suis meritis et operibus praefidentes spreverunt esse filii promissionis, hoc est filii gratiae, filii misericordiae, ut qui gloriatur, in Domino glorietur (I Cor. I, 31), credens in eum qui justificat impium, hoc est qui ex impio facit pium; ut deputetur fides ejus ad justitiam (Rom. IV, 5), et impleatur in eo, non quod postulabat ejus meritum, sed quod a Domino promissum est beneficium.

51. Cum iis igitur agens Apostolus, qui olivae per gratiam inserebantur, Dicis, inquit, fracti sunt rami, ut ego inserar. Bene; propter incredulitatem fracti sunt. Tu autem, fide sta; noli altum sapere, sed time (Rom. XI, 19, 20). Dei est enim beneficium, non meritum tuum; quod et alibi dicit: Gratia salvi facti estis per fidem; et hoc non ex vobis, sed Dei donum est, non ex operibus, ne forte quis extollatur. Ipsius enim sumus figmentum, creati in Jesu Christo in operibus bonis, quae praeparavit Deus ut in illis ambulemus (Eph. II, 8-10). In hoc itaque intellectu gratiae inest timor, de quo dicitur: Noli altum sapere, sed time (Rom. XI, 20). Timor autem iste alius est; non est ille servilis quem charitas foras mittit. Illo enim timetur ne incidatur in tormentum supplicii; isto autem, ne amittatur gratia beneficii.

CAPUT XXI.

For then He said: "Amen I say to you, I have not found so great faith in Israel": and He added, "Therefore I say to you that many shall come from the east and the west, and shall sit down with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven: but the children of the kingdom shall go into outer darkness; there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth": thus signifying that the wild olive is grafted in because of humility; for that Centurion had said: "I am not worthy that thou shouldst enter under my roof; but only say the word, and my boy shall be healed" (Matt. 8:8-12); but the breaking off of the natural branches because of pride, namely of those who, being ignorant of God's justice, and wanting to establish their own, have not submitted themselves to the justice of God (Rom. 10:3). For of those swelling with vain elation it was said that they shall go into outer darkness, who, boasting of the seed of Abraham, refused to become the seed of Abraham, that they might be children of promise: because they did not receive the faith of the New Testament, where God's justice is commended, wanting to establish their own; that is, as if over-trusting in their own merits and works, they disdained to be children of promise, that is, children of grace, children of mercy, so that he who glorieth, may glory in the Lord (1 Cor. 1:31), believing in Him who justifieth the ungodly, that is, who makes a godly man out of an ungodly one; so that his faith may be accounted to justice (Rom. 4:5), and there may be fulfilled in him, not what his merit demanded, but the benefit which was promised by the Lord.

51. Dealing therefore with those who were grafted into the olive tree through grace, "Thou sayest," he says, "the branches were broken off, that I might be grafted in. Well; because of unbelief they were broken off. But thou, stand by faith; be not high-minded, but fear" (Rom. 11:19, 20). For it is God's benefit, not your merit; which he says also elsewhere: "By grace you are saved through faith; and that not of yourselves, but it is the gift of God, not of works, lest perhaps anyone should be extolled. For we are his workmanship, created in Jesus Christ in good works, which God hath prepared that we should walk in them" (Eph. 2:8-10). In this understanding of grace, therefore, there is fear, of which it is said: "Be not high-minded, but fear" (Rom. 11:20). But this fear is different; it is not that servile fear which charity casteth out. For by that it is feared lest one fall into the torment of punishment; but by this, lest the grace of the benefit be lost.

CHAPTER XXI.

52. Quapropter quamvis fidelibus ad Novum Testamentum pertinentibus dicat Apostolus quod paulo ante commemoravi, Non enim accepistis spiritum servitutis iterum in timore; sed accepistis spiritum adoptionis filiorum, in quo clamamus, Abba, pater (Rom. VIII, 15); id est ut fides in nobis sit, quae per dilectionem operatur (Gal. V, 6), non tam timendo poenam quam amando justitiam: tamen quia non fit anima justa nisi participatione melioris qui justificat impium (quid enim habet quod non accepit?), non debet sibi tribuendo quod Dei est, ita gloriari tanquam non acceperit (I Cor. IV, 7). Ob hoc ei dictum est: Noli altum sapere, sed time. Et timor iste praecipitur iis etiam qui ex fide viventes, haeredes sunt Novi Testamenti, atque in libertatem vocati. Altum enim sapere, dictum est, superbire: quod alio loco, e contrario satis ostendit, ubi ait, Non alta sapientes, sed humilibus consentientes (Rom. XII, 16). Ex hoc quod ait, humilibus consentientes, utique aperuit nihil aliud se dixisse, alta sapientes, quam superbientes.

53. Timor ergo non est in charitate, quia perfecta charitas foras mittit timorem; sed illum servilem, illum quo cum se quisque ab opere malo abstinet, poena terretur, non justitia delectatur; hunc charitas foras mittit, quam non delectat iniquitas, etiamsi proponatur impunitas: non illum quo timet anima ne amittat ipsam gratiam, qua in illa factum est ut eam non peccare delectet; quo timet ne Deus eam deserat, etiamsi nullis dolorum cruciatibus puniat. Hic timor castus est; non eum charitas ejicit, sed adsciscit. De illo quippe scriptum est, Timor Domini castus, permanens in saeculum saeculi (Psal. XVIII, 10): nequaquam istum diceret permanentem, nisi sciret alium qui non permaneret. Et bene istum castum dixit; hoc enim non caret amor quo anima inhaeret Deo, quae dicit in alio psalmo: Perdidisti omnem qui fornicatur abs te; mihi autem adhaerere Deo bonum est (Psal. LXXII, 27, 28). Nam et conjux quae adulterinum animum gerit, etiamsi timore viri non adulterium perpetrat, tamen quod deest operi, inest voluntati: casta vero aliter timet; nam et ipsa timet virum, sed caste. Denique timet illa ne vir infestus adveniat; ista, ne offensus abscedat: non amanti enim praesentia viri molesta est; amanti autem, absentia. Timore itaque casto, permanenti in saeculum saeculi, timeat Deum omne semen Israel. Timeant quem diligunt, non alta sapiendo, sed humilibus consentiendo; cum timore et tremore suam ipsorum salutem operentur. Deus est enim qui operatur in eis et velle, et operari, pro bona voluntate (Philipp. II, 12, 13).

CAPUT XXII.

52. Wherefore, although the Apostle says to the faithful belonging to the New Testament what I mentioned a little while ago, "For you have not received the spirit of servitude again in fear; but you have received the spirit of adoption of sons, in which we cry: Abba, Father" (Rom. 8:15); that is, so that faith may be in us, which worketh by charity (Gal. 5:6), not so much by fearing punishment as by loving justice: yet because the soul does not become just except by participation in the Better One who justifieth the ungodly (for what has it that it has not received?), it ought not to glory, by attributing to itself what is God's, as if it had not received it (1 Cor. 4:7). For this reason it was said to it: "Be not high-minded, but fear." And this fear is commanded even to those who, living by faith, are heirs of the New Testament, and called into liberty. For to be high-minded was said to mean to be proud: which in another place, on the contrary, he shows sufficiently, where he says: "Not minding high things, but consenting to the humble" (Rom. 12:16). From this that he said, "consenting to the humble," he certainly opened up that he had said nothing else by "minding high things" than being proud.

53. Fear, therefore, is not in charity, because perfect charity casteth out fear; but that servile fear, that by which, when each one abstains from an evil work, he is terrified by punishment, not delighted by justice; this fear charity casteth out, which iniquity does not delight, even if impunity were proposed: not that fear by which the soul fears lest it lose the very grace by which it has been brought about in it that it is not delighted by sinning; by which it fears lest God desert it, even if He should punish it with no torments of pain. This fear is chaste; charity does not eject it, but adopts it. For concerning it it is written: "The fear of the Lord is chaste, enduring for ever and ever" (Psalm 18:10): by no means would he call that one enduring, unless he knew another which would not endure. And well did he call that one chaste; for it is not lacking in the love by which the soul cleaves to God, which says in another psalm: "Thou hast lost everyone who goes a-whoring from thee; but it is good for me to cleave to God" (Psalm 72:27, 28). For even a wife who bears an adulterous mind, although she does not commit adultery for fear of her husband, yet what is lacking in the work is present in the will: but the chaste wife fears differently; for she also fears her husband, but chastely. In short, the former fears lest her husband come as an enemy; the latter, lest he depart offended: for to one not loving, the presence of the husband is troublesome; but to one loving, his absence. Therefore, with chaste fear, enduring for ever and ever, let all the seed of Israel fear God. Let them fear Him whom they love, not by minding high things, but by consenting to the humble; with fear and trembling let them work out their own salvation. For it is God who worketh in them both to will and to work, according to His good will (Philip. 2:12, 13).

CHAPTER XXII.

54. Haec est justitia Dei, hoc est quod Deus donat homini, cum justificat impium. Hanc Dei justitiam ignorantes superbi Judaei, et suam volentes constituere, justitiae Dei non sunt subjecti (Rom. X, 3); hac superbia dejiciuntur, ut humilis inseratur oleaster. Et illi ibunt in tenebras exteriores, de quibus inter alia requisisti, venientibus ab oriente et occidente multis, qui recumbent cum Abraham, Isaac et Jacob in regno coelorum (Matth. VIII, 12, 11). Sunt enim modo in exteris tenebris, unde correctio desperanda non est; quam si contempserint, ibunt in tenebras exteriores, ubi correctionis locus non erit: quoniam Deus lux est, et tenebrae in eo non sunt ullae (I Joan. I, 5); sed lux cordis, non istorum qui in carne sunt oculorum; nec omnino talis, qualis hujus lucis visibilis phantasia cogitatur; quanquam et ibi est videre, sed longe aliter, longe dissimiliter. Qualis enim lux est ipsa charitas, quis verbis explicet? quis earum rerum quae sensibus carnis adjacent, ullo demonstret exemplo? An forte lux non est charitas? Audi apostolum Joannem: ipse quippe dixit quod modo commemoravi, Quoniam Deus lux est, et tenebrae non sunt in eo ullae; (I Joan. I, 5) qui rursum dicit, Deus charitas est (Id. IV, 8). Ac per hoc si Deus lux est, et Deus charitas est, profecto charitas lux ipsa est, quae diffunditur in cordibus nostris per Spiritum sanctum qui datus est nobis (Rom. V, 5). Item dicit: Qui odit fratrem suum, in tenebris est usque adhuc (I Joan. II, 11). Istae sunt tenebrae, in quas diabolus et angeli ejus multum superbiendo progressi sunt. Charitas enim non aemulatur, non inflatur (I Cor. XIII, 4). Ideo non aemulatur, quia non inflatur: ubi enim praecedit inflatio, continuo sequitur aemulatio; quoniam superbia mater est invidentiae.

55. Diabolus igitur et angeli ejus a luce atque fervore charitatis aversi, et nimis in superbiam invidiamque progressi, velut glaciali duritia torpuerunt. Et ideo per figuram tanquam in aquilone ponuntur: unde cum generi humano diabolus incubaret, ventura gratia Salvatoris dicitur in Cantico canticorum, Exsurge, aquilo, et veni, auster, perfla hortum meum, et fluent aromata (Cant. IV, 16). Exsurge, qui irruisti, qui subditis incumbis, qui possessos premis: exsurge, ut a tuo pondere relevati erigantur, quorum animas premendo curvasti.

54. This is the justice of God, this is what God gives to man when He justifies the ungodly. Ignorant of this justice of God, the proud Jews, wanting to establish their own, have not submitted themselves to the justice of God (Rom. 10:3); by this pride they are cast down, so that the humble wild olive might be grafted in. And they shall go into outer darkness, concerning which among other things you inquired, while many come from the east and the west, who shall sit down with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven (Matt. 8:12, 11). For they are now in outer darkness, whence correction is not to be despaired of; but if they despise it, they shall go into outer darkness, where there will be no place for correction: because God is light, and in Him there is no darkness at all (1 John 1:5); but He is the light of the heart, not of these eyes which are in the flesh; nor is He at all such as the phantasy of this visible light is thought to be; although even there it is possible to see, but far otherwise, far differently. For what kind of light charity itself is, who can explain in words? Who can demonstrate by any example from those things which lie near to the senses of the flesh? Or is charity perhaps not light? Listen to the apostle John: for he himself said what I mentioned just now, "Because God is light, and in Him there is no darkness at all" (1 John 1:5); who again says, "God is charity" (1 John 4:8). And by this, if God is light, and God is charity, surely charity is light itself, which is poured forth in our hearts through the Holy Spirit who has been given to us (Rom. 5:5). Likewise he says: "He who hateth his brother is in darkness even until now" (1 John 2:11). These are the darknesses into which the devil and his angels have advanced by much pride. For charity is not envious, is not puffed up (1 Cor. 13:4). Therefore it is not envious, because it is not puffed up: for where puffing up precedes, envy immediately follows; since pride is the mother of envy.

55. The devil, therefore, and his angels, turned away from the light and heat of charity, and having advanced too far into pride and envy, have grown numb as if with glacial hardness. And therefore, by a figure, they are placed as it were in the north: whence, since the devil was brooding over the human race, the coming grace of the Savior is described in the Song of Songs: "Arise, O north wind, and come, O south wind; blow through my garden, and let the aromatics flow" (Cant. 4:16). Arise, you who have rushed in, you who brood over those subjected to you, you who press upon those you possess: arise, so that those relieved of your weight may be raised up, whose souls you have bent down by pressing upon them.

Et veni, auster, inquit; spiritum invocans gratiae, flantem de meridie velut a parte fervida et luminosa, ut fluant aromata. Unde Apostolus dicit: Christi bonus odor sumus in omni loco (II Cor. II, 15). Hinc etiam dicitur in quodam psalmo, Converte, Domine, captivitatem nostram, sicut torrens in austro (Psal. CXXV, 4): captivitatem scilicet, qua sub diabolo tanquam sub aquilone tenebantur, ubi abundante iniquitate friguerant, et quodam modo congelaverant. Hinc enim et Evangelium dicit: Quoniam abundabit iniquitas, refrigescet charitas multorum (Matth. XXIV, 12). At vero flante austro, glacies resolvitur, et torrentes fluunt, id est peccatis remissis, populi ad Christum charitate concurrunt. Hinc et alibi scriptum est: Sicut glacies in sereno, ita solventur peccata tua (Eccli. III, 17).

CAPUT XXIII.

56. Proinde rationalis creatura, sive in angelico spiritu, sive in anima humana, ita facta est, ut sibi ipsa bonum quo beata fiat, esse non possit; sed mutabilitas ejus si convertatur ad incommutabile bonum, fiat beata: unde si avertatur, misera est. Aversio ejus vitium ejus, et conversio ejus virtus ejus est. Natura ergo non est mala, quia creatura spiritus vita rationalis, quae etiam privata bono cujus participatione beatificatur, id est, etiam vitiosa, melior est eo corpore quod summum est in corporibus, id est, hac luce quae sentitur oculis carnis, quia et ipsa est corpus: omni autem corpore quaelibet incorporea natura praestantior est: non mole, quia nonnisi corporum est moles, sed vi quadam qua supergreditur omnem phantasiam, quam volutat animus haustam de sensibus corporis. Sed quemadmodum in ipsis corporibus ea quae inferiora sunt, sicut terra et aqua et ipse aer, meliora fiunt participatione melioris, id est, cum luce illuminantur, et fervore vegetantur: sic incorporeae creaturae rationales ipsius Creatoris fiunt participatione meliores, cum ei cohaerent purissima et sanctissima charitate; qua omnimodo si caruerint, tenebrescunt, et obdurescunt quodammodo.

57. Proinde infideles homines tenebrae sunt; qui per fidem conversi ad Deum, quadam praemissa illuminatione lux fiunt. In qua proficiendo si ex fide ad speciem pervenerint, ut id quod credunt etiam conspicere, sicut tantum bonum potest conspici, mereantur, perfectam recipient imaginem Dei: talibus enim dicit Apostolus, Fuistis aliquando tenebrae; nunc autem lux in Domino (Eph. V, 8). Porro diabolus et angeli ejus, tenebrae sunt infidelibus hominibus exteriores: plus enim ab illa charitate aversi, et in suum fastum obstinationemque progressi sunt.

"And come, O south wind," he says; invoking the spirit of grace, blowing from the south as if from a warm and luminous part, so that the aromatics may flow. Whence the Apostle says: "We are the good odor of Christ in every place" (2 Cor. 2:15). Hence also it is said in a certain psalm: "Turn again, O Lord, our captivity, as a torrent in the south" (Psalm 125:4); namely the captivity by which they were held under the devil as if under the north wind, where, iniquity abounding, they had grown cold, and in a certain way had frozen. For hence the Gospel also says: "Because iniquity shall abound, the charity of many shall grow cold" (Matt. 24:12). But indeed, when the south wind blows, the ice is melted and the torrents flow, that is, sins being remitted, the peoples run together to Christ in charity. Hence also it is written elsewhere: "As ice in the fair weather, so shall thy sins melt away" (Ecclus. 3:17).

CHAPTER XXIII.

56. Accordingly, the rational creature, whether in an angelic spirit or in a human soul, was so made that it cannot itself be the good by which it may become blessed; but if its mutability be turned to the incommutable good, it becomes blessed: whence, if it be turned away, it is miserable. Its aversion is its vice, and its conversion is its virtue. Nature, therefore, is not evil, because the creature of the spirit is a rational life, which even when deprived of the good by whose participation it is beatified, that is, even when vicious, is better than that body which is the highest among bodies, that is, than this light which is perceived by the eyes of the flesh, because it also is a body: for any incorporeal nature is more excellent than any body: not by mass, because mass belongs only to bodies, but by a certain power by which it surpasses every phantasy which the mind revolves, drawn from the senses of the body. But just as among bodies themselves those which are inferior, such as earth and water and the air itself, become better by the participation of the better, that is, when they are illuminated with light and quickened by heat: so the incorporeal rational creatures of the Creator Himself become better by participation, when they cleave to Him with most pure and most holy charity; which if they should entirely lack, they grow dark and, in a certain way, grow hard.

57. Accordingly, unbelieving men are darkness; who, being turned to God through faith, a certain illumination having gone before, become light. In which by progressing, if from faith they should arrive at the vision, so that they may merit even to behold that which they believe, as so great a good can be beheld, they will receive the perfect image of God: for to such the Apostle says: "You were sometimes darkness; but now light in the Lord" (Eph. 5:8). Furthermore, the devil and his angels are the outer darkness to unbelieving men: for they are more turned away from that charity, and have advanced further into their own pride and obstinacy.

Et quoniam extremo judicio Christus dicturus est eis quos ad sinistram discernet, Ite in ignem aeternum, qui paratus est diabolo et angelis ejus (Matth. XXV, 41); his malignis spiritibus conjungendos, simulque damnandos, dicit ituros in tenebras exteriores, id est in societatem poenalem diaboli et angelorum ejus. Huic poenae contrarium est quod bono servo dicitur, Intra in gaudium domini tui (Ibid. 23); ut quanto sunt istae tenebrae exteriores, tanto sit lumen illud interius. Non haec per locorum intervalla inani phantasmate cogitanda sunt: localia spatia non occupant nisi corporum moles. Non est hoc spiritus vitae, non est hoc anima rationalis, multo minus Deus omnium benignissimus conditor, et justissimus ordinator. Voluntatibus et affectibus ista vel propinquare vel longe fieri, vel intrare vel exire dicuntur.

58. Sed quia malo opere, id est tenebroso delectantur facientes, secutura est autem poena quae torqueat, ideo Dominus ubi dixit, tenebras exteriores, addidit etiam, Ibi erit fletus et stridor dentium: ne talibus delectationibus, qualibus hic iniqui perfruuntur, quando infidelitate atque injustitia tenebrescunt, etiam in illo supplicio se usuros dementer existiment; quia enim volentes injuste utuntur bonis, juste nolentes cruciabuntur malis. Unde possunt etiam tenebrae exteriores intelligi poenae corporales; corpus quippe est animae exterius: ut sint animae mala, quibus a charitatis luce aversa mens in peccatis oblectatur, exterae tenebrae; corporis autem mala, quibus aeternis in finem torquebitur, exteriores tenebrae, quas solas timent qui servili adhuc timore detinentur. Nam si eis liceret in illis exteris quae sunt in peccatis, impune semper volvi et involvi, profecto nunquam vellent accedere ad Deum, et illuminari, et inhaerere illi per charitatem, ubi est timor castus, permanens in saeculum saeculi: qui timor non cruciat, sed tenaciorem facit animam boni illius, quod si dimiserit, cadet.

CAPUT XXIV.

59. Timeat eum omne semen Israel. Et vide causam quam conjungit: Quoniam non sprevit, inquit, neque despexit precem pauperis. Pauperem, humilem dicit: hinc est, Noli altum sapere, sed time. Timeat ergo eum omne semen Israel, quoniam non despexit ejus precem qui non altum sapuit, sed timuit. Potest et hoc capiri coaptari; quia ipse Salvator corporis propter nos pauper factus est, cum dives esset, ut ejus paupertate ditaremur (II Cor. VIII, 9). Ex forma enim servi pauper factus est, ex qua et precem fudit: in ea quippe semetipsum humiliavit, factus obediens usque ad mortem (Philipp. II, 8).

And since in the final judgment Christ is going to say to those whom He shall set apart on the left hand: "Go into eternal fire, which is prepared for the devil and his angels" (Matt. 25:41); he says that those who are to be joined to these malignant spirits, and at the same time damned, will go into the outer darkness, that is, into the punitive society of the devil and his angels. To this punishment is contrary what is said to the good servant: "Enter into the joy of thy lord" (Ibid. 23); so that as much as this is outer darkness, so much is that an inner light. These things are not to be thought of through spatial intervals by a vain phantasm: local spaces are occupied only by the masses of bodies. This is not the spirit of life, this is not the rational soul, much less God, the most kind founder of all, and most just ordainer. By wills and affections these things are said either to approach or to be far off, either to enter or to go out.

58. But because they take delight in an evil work, that is, a dark one, in the doing of it, and the punishment which torments is to follow, therefore the Lord, where He said "outer darkness," added also: "There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth": lest they should insanely think that they would use such delights as the wicked enjoy here when they grow dark with unbelief and injustice, even in that punishment; for because they willingly use good things unjustly, they shall be tormented justly by evil things against their will. Whence the outer darkness can also be understood as corporeal punishments—for the body is external to the soul—so that the evils of the soul, by which the mind, turned away from the light of charity, is delighted in sins, are outer darkness; but the evils of the body, by which it will be tormented in the end for eternity, are the outermost darkness, which alone they fear who are still held by servile fear. For if it were permitted them to be always rolled and involved with impunity in those outer things which are in sins, certainly they would never wish to approach God, and to be illuminated, and to cleave to Him through charity, where there is chaste fear, enduring for ever and ever: which fear does not torment, but makes the soul more tenacious of that good, which if it should let go, it will fall.

CHAPTER XXIV.

59. "Let all the seed of Israel fear him." And see the reason which he subjoins: "Because he hath not slighted," he says, "nor despised the prayer of the poor." By the poor, he means the humble: hence is that saying, "Be not high-minded, but fear." Let all the seed of Israel, therefore, fear Him, because He has not despised the prayer of him who was not high-minded, but feared. This can also be adapted to the Head; because the Savior of the body Himself became poor for our sakes, when He was rich, so that we might be enriched by His poverty (2 Cor. 8:9). For He became poor from the form of a servant, from which also He poured forth prayer: for in it He humbled Himself, being made obedient unto death (Philip. 2:8).

Vide ergo quid dicat: Quoniam non sprevit neque despexit precem pauperis, neque avertit faciem suam a me. Ubi est illud, Quare me dereliquisti, si nec faciem avertit ab eo? nisi quia et derelinquens non derelinquit, quando in bonis temporalibus non exaudit; et non ad insipientiam nobis, sed ut sapiamus quid auferat, et quid offerat nobis. Non, inquit, sprevit neque despexit precem pauperis, neque avertit faciem suam a me: et cum clamarem ad eum, exaudivit me. Fecit ergo quod paulo ante rogatus est, ubi eum deprecans dixit: Ne discedas a me. Si enim exaudivit, profecto fecit, non utique discessit. Non ergo dereliquit hoc modo, qui alio modo dereliquit, ut saperemus quomodo magis non ab eo derelinqui velle debemus.

60. Apud te laus mea. Quid ergo nocent qui tanquam victo insultant, quod me in temporalibus dereliqueris? In Ecclesia magna confitebor tibi: non quanta ista Synagoga est, quae irridet mortem derelicti, sed in Ecclesia magna diffusa per omnes gentes, quae credit in resurrectionem non derelicti. Haec est unica illa quam petit de manu canis erui, de qua etiam paulo ante dixit, In medio Ecclesiae cantabo te. Et nunc quod ait, confitebor tibi, in eis utique qui confitebuntur, in quibus et loquitur. Confessio autem non tantum peccatorum est, sed et laudis Dei; sicut ipse in Evangelio, Confitebor tibi, inquit, Pater, Domine coeli et terrae, quia abscondisti haec a sapientibus et prudentibus, et revelasti ea parvulis (Matth. XI, 25). Ideo sequitur et dicit: Vota mea reddam coram timentibus eum. Edent pauperes, et saturabuntur; et laudabunt Dominum qui requirunt cum. Ipsi sunt parvuli de quibus dixit, et revelasti ea parvulis; timentes eum, et pauperes, id est humiles, qui non alta sapiunt, sed timent timore illo casto, non quo poena formidatur, sed quo gratia conservatur.

61. Vota vero sua sacrificium vult intelligi corporis sui, quod est fidelium Sacramentum. Ideo cum dixisset, Vola mea reddam coram timentibus cum; continuo subjunxit, Edent pauperes, et saturabuntur. Ipsi enim saturabuntur pane qui de coelo descendit, qui ei cohaerentes, et ejus pacem dilectionemque servantes imitantur ejus humilitatem: ideo pauperes. In hac paupertate et saturitate praecipue Apostoli claruerunt. Et laudabunt Dominum, inquit, qui requirunt eum: intelligentes non meritorum suorum, sed illius esse gratiae quod saturati sunt.

See therefore what he says: "Because he hath not slighted nor despised the prayer of the poor, nor hath he turned away his face from me." Where is that "Why hast thou forsaken me," if He did not even turn away His face from Him? except because He who forsakes does not forsake, when He does not hear in temporal goods; and not for our foolishness, but so that we may know what He takes away and what He offers us. "He hath not," he says, "slighted nor despised the prayer of the poor, nor hath he turned away his face from me: and when I cried to him, he heard me." He did, therefore, what He was asked a little while ago, where he said in deprecation: "Depart not from me." For if He heard, He surely did it, and certainly did not depart. Therefore He did not forsake in this way, He who in another way did forsake, so that we might know how much more we ought to wish not to be forsaken by Him.

60. "With thee is my praise." How then do those harm me who insult me as if I were conquered, because thou hast forsaken me in temporal things? "In the great Church I will confess to thee": not as great as that Synagogue is, which mocks the death of the forsaken one, but in the great Church diffused through all nations, which believes in the resurrection of the one not forsaken. This is that unique one which he asks to be delivered from the hand of the dog, concerning which also he said a little while ago: "In the midst of the Church I will sing to thee." And now that he says, "I will confess to thee," he surely means in those who will confess, in whom also He speaks. But confession is not only of sins, but also of the praise of God; as He Himself says in the Gospel: "I confess to thee, Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them to little ones" (Matt. 11:25). Therefore it follows and says: "I will pay my vows in the sight of them that fear him. The poor shall eat and shall be filled: and they shall praise the Lord that seek him." These are the little ones of whom He said, "and thou hast revealed them to little ones"; fearing Him, and being poor, that is, humble, who are not high-minded, but fear with that chaste fear, not by which punishment is dreaded, but by which grace is preserved.

61. But by His vows He wishes to be understood the sacrifice of His body, which is the Sacrament of the faithful. Therefore, when he had said, "I will pay my vows in the sight of them that fear him," he immediately subjoined: "The poor shall eat and shall be filled." For they shall be filled with the bread that came down from heaven, who, cleaving to Him and keeping His peace and love, imitate His humility: therefore they are "poor." In this poverty and satiety the Apostles especially shone forth. "And they shall praise the Lord," he says, "that seek him": understanding that it is of His grace, not of their own merits, that they are filled.

Requirunt enim eum, quia non sunt ex eis qui sua quaerunt, non quae Jesu Christi (Philipp. II, 21). Denique et si caro eorum qui eum laudant, patitur temporalem tribulationem vel mortem, vivent corda eorum in saeculum saeculi. Haec vita cordis non est in sensibus corporis; secreta est in luce quae intus est, non in tenebris quae foris sunt; in fine praecepti, non in initio peccati. Finis autem praecepti charitas est de corde puro, et conscientia bona, et fide non ficta (I Tim. I, 5): charitas quae non aemulatur, non inflatur (I Cor. VIII, 4), quia non altum sapit, sed timet; et ideo cohaeret timore casto, permanente in saeculum saeculi. Initium autem omnis peccati superbia, qua diabolus irrevocabiliter in exteriora progressus est, hominemque invidendo, et ei simile aliquid suadendo dejecit. Cui homini in quadam scriptura dicitur, Quid superbit terra et cinis? Quoniam in vita sua projecit intima sua (Eccli. X, 15, 9, 10). In vita sua, dictum est, tanquam in propria sua, et quasi privata, qua delectatur omnis superbia.

CAPUT XXV.

62. Unde charitas in commune magis quam in privatum consulens, dicitur non quaerere quae sua sunt (I Cor. XIII, 5). Hac vivunt corda in saeculum saeculi, tanquam saturata pane coelesti: de qua saturator ipse dicit, Nisi manducaveritis carnem meam, et sanguinem meum biberitis, non habebitis vitam in vobis (Joan. VI, 54). Merito ergo istorum qui saturantur, vivent corda in saeculum saeculi. Vita enim Christus est, qui habitat in cordibus eorum, interim per fidem, post etiam per speciem. Vident enim nunc in aenigmate per speculum, tunc autem facie ad faciem (I Cor. XIII, 12). Unde ipsa charitas nunc in bonis operibus dilectionis exercetur, qua se ad subveniendum quaquaversum potest, porrigit; et haec latitudo est: nunc longanimitate adversa tolerat, et in eo quod veraciter tenuit, perseverat; et haec est longitudo: hoc autem totum propter adipiscendam vitam facit aeternam, quae illi promittitur in excelso; et haec altitudo est. Existit vero ex occulto ista charitas, ubi fundati et radicati quodam modo sumus (Ephes. III, 17); ubi causae voluntatis Dei non investigantur, cujus gratia sumus salvi facti, non ex operibus justitiae quae fecimus nos, sed secundum ejus misericordiam (Tit. III, 5). Voluntarie quippe genuit nos verbo veritatis (Jacobi I, 18): et haec voluntas ejus in abdito est.

For they seek Him, because they are not of those who seek their own, not the things that are Jesus Christ's (Philip. 2:21). Finally, even if the flesh of those who praise Him suffers temporal tribulation or death, "their hearts shall live for ever and ever." This life of the heart is not in the senses of the body; it is secret in the light which is within, not in the darkness which is without; in the end of the commandment, not in the beginning of sin. Now the end of the commandment is charity from a pure heart, and a good conscience, and an unfeigned faith (1 Tim. 1:5): charity which is not envious, is not puffed up (1 Cor. 13:4), because it is not high-minded, but fears; and therefore it cleaves with chaste fear, enduring for ever and ever. But the beginning of all sin is pride, by which the devil advanced irrevocably into outer things, and by envying man, and by persuading him to something similar, he cast him down. To which man it is said in a certain scripture: "Why is earth and ashes proud? Because in his life he hath cast away his inner parts" (Ecclus. 10:15, 9, 10). "In his life," it was said, as if in his own and as it were private life, in which all pride delights.

CHAPTER XXV.

62. Whence charity, consulting the common good rather than the private, is said not to seek its own (1 Cor. 13:5). By this charity hearts live for ever and ever, as if filled with heavenly bread: of which the Filler Himself says: "Except you eat my flesh, and drink my blood, you shall not have life in you" (John 6:54). Meritedly, therefore, the hearts of those who are filled shall live for ever and ever. For Christ is life, who dwells in their hearts, meanwhile through faith, afterwards also through vision. For they see now through a glass in a riddle, but then face to face (1 Cor. 13:12). Whence charity itself is now exercised in the good works of love, by which it reaches out wherever it can to help; and this is the breadth: now it endures adversity with long-suffering, and perseveres in that which it has truly held; and this is the length: but it does all this for the sake of attaining eternal life, which is promised to it on high; and this is the height. But this charity exists from what is hidden, where we are in a certain way founded and rooted (Ephes. 3:17); where the causes of God's will are not investigated, by whose grace we are saved, not by the works of justice which we have done, but according to His mercy (Tit. 3:5). For of His own will He hath begotten us by the word of truth (James 1:18): and this will of His is in secret.

Cujus secreti profunditatem quodam modo expavescens Apostolus clamat: O altitudo divitiarum sapientiae et scientiae Dei! quam inscrutabilia sunt judicia ejus, et investigabiles viae ejus! Quis enim cognovit sensum Domini (Rom. XI, 33, 34)? et hoc est profundum. Altitudo quippe commune nomen est excelso et profundo: sed cum in excelso dicitur, sublimitatis eminentia commendatur; cum autem in profundo, difficultas investigationis et cognitionis. Unde et illud Deo dicitur: Quam magnificata sunt opera tua, Domine! nimis profundae factae sunt cogitationes tuae (Psal. XCI, 6). Et iterum: Judicia tua velut abyssus multa (Psal. XXXV, 7). Hinc igitur est illud Apostoli, quod requirendum inter caetera posuisti: Hujus rei gratia, inquit, flecto genua mea ad Patrem Domini nostri Jesu Christi, ex quo omnis paternitas in caelis et in terra nominatur; ut det vobis secundum divitias gloriae suae virtute corroborari per Spiritum ejus, in interiori homine habitare Christum per fidem in cordibus vestris, ut in charitate radicati et fundati praevaleatis comprehendere cum omnibus sanctis, quae sit longitudo et latitudo, altitudo et profundum; scire etiam supereminentem scientiam charitatis Christi, ut impleamini in omnem plenitudinem Dei (Eph. IX, 14-19).

CAPUT XXVI.

63. Attende omnia diligenter. Hujus rei, inquit, gratia flecto genua mea ad Patrem Domini nostri Jesu Christi, ex quo omnis paternitas in coelis et in terra nominatur. Quaeris cujus rei gratia: hoc supra dixerat, Propter quod peto non infirmari in tribulationibus meis pro vobis Hoc ergo eis optat, ut non infirmentur in tribulationibus Apostoli, quas pro illis sustinebat, et propter hoc genua flectebat ad Patrem. Proinde non infirmari unde illis sit, sequitur et dicit: Ut det vobis secundum divitias gloriae suae virtute corroborari ver spiritum ejus. Hae sunt divitiae de quibus dicit: O altitudo divitiarum! Abditas enim habent causas, ubi nullis meritis praecedentibus, quid habemus, quod non accepimus? Deinde sequitur, et quid optet, adjungit: In interiori, inquit, homine habitare Christum per fidem in cordibus vestris. Haec est vita cordium, qua vivimus in saeculum saeculi, ab initio fidei usque ad finem speciei. Ut in charitate, inquit, radicati et fundati praevaleatis comprehendere cum omnibus sanctis. Ista est communio cujusdam divinae coelestisque reipublicae; hinc saturantur pauperes, non sua quaerentes, sed quae Jesu Christi;

At the depth of which secret the Apostle, as it were trembling, cries out: "O the depth of the riches of the wisdom and of the knowledge of God! how incomprehensible are his judgments, and how unsearchable his ways! For who hath known the mind of the Lord" (Rom. 11:33, 34)? and this is the depth. For "altitudo" is a common name for what is high and what is deep: but when it is said of what is high, the eminence of sublimity is commended; but when of what is deep, the difficulty of investigation and knowledge. Whence also it is said to God: "How great are thy works, O Lord! thy thoughts are exceeding deep" (Psalm 91:6). And again: "Thy judgments are a great abyss" (Psalm 35:7). Hence, therefore, is that saying of the Apostle, which among other things you proposed to be investigated: "For this cause," he says, "I bow my knees to the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, of whom all paternity in heaven and earth is named; that he would grant you, according to the riches of his glory, to be strengthened by his Spirit with might in the inner man, that Christ may dwell by faith in your hearts; that being rooted and founded in charity, you may be able to comprehend with all the saints, what is the breadth, and length, and height, and depth; to know also the charity of Christ, which surpasseth all knowledge, that you may be filled unto all the fullness of God" (Eph. 3:14-19).

CHAPTER XXVI.

63. Attend to all things diligently. "For this cause," he says, "I bow my knees to the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, of whom all paternity in heaven and on earth is named." You ask for what cause: he had said this above, "Wherefore I pray that I faint not in my tribulations for you." This, therefore, he wishes for them, that they may not faint in the Apostle's tribulations which he sustained for them, and for this reason he bowed his knees to the Father. Accordingly, that they might not faint, he follows and says: "That he would grant you, according to the riches of his glory, to be strengthened by his Spirit with might." These are the riches of which he says: "O the depth of the riches!" For they have hidden causes, where, with no preceding merits, what have we that we have not received? Then he follows, and adds what he wishes: "That Christ may dwell," he says, "by faith in your hearts, in the inner man." This is the life of hearts, by which we live for ever and ever, from the beginning of faith even to the end of vision. "That being rooted and founded in charity," he says, "you may be able to comprehend with all the saints." This is the communion of a certain divine and heavenly commonwealth; hence the poor are filled, not seeking their own, but the things that are Jesus Christ's;

id est, non commoda privata sectantes, sed in commune, ubi salus omnium est, consulentes: nam de ipso pane quo tales saturantur, quodam loco Apostolus dicit. Unus panis, unum corpus, multi sumus (I Cor. X, 17). Quid ergo comprehendere? Quae sit, inquit, latitudo, sicut jam dixi, in bonis operibus, quibus benevolentia porrigitur usque ad diligendos inimicos; et longitudo, ut longanimiter, pro hac latitudine, molestiae tolerentur; et altitudo, ut pro his aeternum quod in supernis est praemium, non vanum aliquid temporale speretur; et profundum, unde gratuita gratia Dei secundum secretum et abditum voluntatis ejus existit. Ibi enim radicati, ibi sumus fundati: radicati, propter agriculturam; fundati, propter aedificationem: quae quoniam non est ab homine, dicit alio loco idem apostolus, Dei agricultura estis, Dei aedificatio estis (Ibid. III, 9). Hoc totum agitur cum in hac nostra peregrinatione fides per dilectionem operatur. In futuro autem saeculo perfecta et plena charitas sine ulla malorum tolerantia, non fide credit quod non videt, nec spe desiderat quod non tenet; sed in aeternum veritatis incommutabilem speciem contemptabitur, cujus sine fine quietum opus erit, laudare quod amat, et amare quod laudat. De hac consequenter dicit: Scire etiam supereminentem scientiam charitatis Christi, ut impleamini in omnem plenitudinem Dei.

64. In hoc mysterio figura crucis ostenditur. Qui enim quia voluit mortuus est, quomodo voluit mortuus est. Non frustra igitur tale genre mortis elegit, nisi ut in eo quoque latitudinis hujus, et longitudinis, et altitudinis, et profunditatis magister existeret. Nam latitudo est in eo ligno quod transversum desuper figitur: hoc ad bona opera pertinet, quia ibi extenduntur manus. Longitudo in eo quod ab ipso ligno usque ad terram conspicuum est: ibi enim quodammodo statur, id est, persistitur et perseveratur; quod longanimitati tribuitur. Altitudo est in ea ligni parte, quae ab illo quod transversum figitur, sursum versus relinquitur, hoc est ad caput crucifixi; quia bene sperantium superna exspectatio est. Jam vero illud ex ligno quod non apparet, quod fixum occultatur, unde totum illud exsurgit, profunditatem significat gratuitae gratiae: in quo multorum ingenia conteruntur id investigare conantia, ut ad extremum eis dicatur, O homo tu quis es qui respondeas Deo (Rom. IX, 20)?

65. Vivent ergo corda saturatorum pauperum in saeculum saeculi; hoc est humilium charitate flagrantium, non sua quaerentium, sed sanctorum societate gaudentium. Hoc primitus in Apostolis factum est. Sed laudando Deum, id est praedicando gratiam Dei (quoniam dictum est, Laudabunt Dominum qui requirunt eum), quid populorum acquisierint, in eo quod sequitur, vide.

CAPUT XXVII.

that is, not following private advantages, but consulting for the common good, where the salvation of all is: for of the very bread with which such are filled, the Apostle says in a certain place: "We, being many, are one bread, one body" (1 Cor. 10:17). What, then, are they to comprehend? "What is," he says, "the breadth," as I have already said, in good works, by which benevolence is extended even to the loving of enemies; and length, so that for this breadth, troubles may be endured with long-suffering; and height, so that for these an eternal reward which is in the heavens may be hoped for, and not some vain temporal thing; and depth, whence the free grace of God exists according to the secret and hidden will of His. For there we are rooted, there we are founded: rooted, because of the husbandry; founded, because of the building: which since it is not from man, the same apostle says in another place: "You are God's husbandry, you are God's building" (Ibid. 3:9). All this is done when in this our pilgrimage faith worketh by love. But in the world to come there will be perfect and full charity without any endurance of evils; it does not believe by faith what it does not see, nor desire by hope what it does not hold; but it will contemplate for ever the incommutable vision of truth, whose quiet work without end will be to praise what it loves, and to love what it praises. Concerning this he says consequently: "To know also the charity of Christ, which surpasseth all knowledge, that you may be filled unto all the fullness of God."

64. In this mystery the figure of the cross is shown. For He who died because He willed, died as He willed. Not in vain, therefore, did He choose such a kind of death, except that in it also He might be the master of this breadth, and length, and height, and depth. For the breadth is in that beam which is fixed across from above: this pertains to good works, because there the hands are extended. The length is in that which is visible from the beam itself down to the ground: for there one as it were stands, that is, persists and perseveres; which is attributed to long-suffering. The height is in that part of the wood which is left above the one that is fixed across, that is, towards the head of the crucified; because the expectation of those who hope well is for things above. But indeed that part of the wood which does not appear, which is hidden fixed in the ground, whence all that rises up, signifies the depth of free grace: in which the talents of many are worn out while trying to investigate it, so that at the end it may be said to them: "O man, who art thou that repliest against God?" (Rom. 9:20).

65. Therefore the hearts of the satisfied poor shall live for ever and ever; that is, of the humble burning with charity, not seeking their own, but rejoicing in the society of the saints. This was first accomplished in the Apostles. But by praising God, that is, by preaching the grace of God (since it was said, "They shall praise the Lord that seek him"), see what peoples they have acquired in what follows.

CHAPTER XXVII.

66. Commemorabuntur, inquit, et convertentur ad Dominum universi fines terrae; et adorabunt in conspectu ejus universae patriae gentium: quoniam Domini est regnum, et ipse dominabitur gentium. Ille irrisus, ille crucifixus, ille derelictus hoc regnum acquirit: et tradet in fine Deo et Patri; non ut ipse amittat, sed quod in fide seminavit, cum venit minor Patre, hoc perducat ad speciem in qua aequalis non recessit a Patre. Manducaverunt et adoraverunt omnes divites terrae: divites terrae, superbos intelligere debemus, si recte superius pauperes, humiles intelligebamus, de quibus in Evangelio dicit, Beati pauperes spiritu, quoniam ipsorum est regnum coelorum: ipsi enim sunt mites, lugentes, esurientes et sitientes justitiam, misericordes, mundicordes, pacifici, et qui persecutionem patiuntur propter justitiam, quibus praedicationibus singillatim beatitudinem adjunxit (Matth. V, 3-12). Contra ergo divites terrae hoc loco superbi intelligendi sunt. Neque enim frustra ita distincti sunt, ut de pauperibus supra diceretur, Edent pauperes, et saturabuntur; hic vero, Manducaverunt et adoraverunt omnes divites terrae. Et ipsi quippe adducti sunt ad mensam Christi, et accipiunt de corpore et sanguine ejus; sed adorant tantum, non etiam saturantur, quoniam non imitantur. Manducantes enim pauperem, dedignantur esse pauperes: quia Christus pro nobis passus est, relinquens nobis exemplum ut sequamur vestigia ejus (I Petr. II, 21). Verumtamen quod humiliavit semetipsum, factus obediens usque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis, aspernantur divites, et similia perpeti respuunt, tumore, non magnitudine; infirmitate ergo, non sanitate. Sed quia Deus excitavit eum a mortuis, et donavit ei nomen quod est super omne nomen, ut in nomine Jesu flectatur omne genu, coelestium, terrestrium, et infernorum (Philipp. II, 8-10); fama celsitudinis ejus et gloria nominis ejus in Ecclesia usquequaque diffusa permoti, et ipsi veniunt ad mensam, manducant et adorant; non tamen saturantur, quia non esuriunt et sitiunt justitiam: tales enim saturabuntur. Quanquam perfecta saturitas in illa vita aeterna erit, cum ex ista peregrinatione venerimus ex fide ad speciem, ab speculo ad faciem, ab aenigmate ad perspicuam veritatem; non tamen inconvenienter saturatus dicitur paupertate Christi, qui pro justitia ejus, hoc est pro participatione Verbi aeterni, quam inchoavit interim fide, omnia temporalia non solum temperanter contemnit bona, verum etiam patienter sustinet mala.

66. "All the ends of the earth," he says, "shall remember and shall be converted to the Lord; and all the kindreds of the nations shall adore in his sight: for the kingdom is the Lord's, and he shall have dominion over the nations." He who was mocked, he who was crucified, he who was forsaken, acquires this kingdom: and He shall deliver it at the end to God and the Father; not so that He Himself may lose it, but that what He sowed in faith, when He came as less than the Father, He may lead to the vision in which He, being equal, did not depart from the Father. "All the rich of the earth have eaten and adored": we ought to understand the proud by the rich of the earth, if we rightly understood the poor as the humble above, of whom He says in the Gospel: "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven": for they are the meek, the mourning, those who hunger and thirst after justice, the merciful, the clean of heart, the peacemakers, and those who suffer persecution for justice' sake, to which preachings He separately subjoined blessedness (Matt. 5:3-12). Contrariwise, therefore, the rich of the earth in this place are to be understood as the proud. For not in vain were they so distinguished, that of the poor it was said above, "The poor shall eat and shall be filled"; but here, "All the rich of the earth have eaten and adored." For they too have been brought to the table of Christ, and they receive of His body and blood; but they only adore, they are not also filled, because they do not imitate Him. For eating the Poor One, they disdain to be poor: because Christ suffered for us, leaving us an example that we should follow His steps (1 Pet. 2:21). Nevertheless, because He humbled Himself, becoming obedient unto death, even the death of the cross, the rich despise it, and refuse to suffer similar things, because of swelling, not because of greatness; therefore because of infirmity, not because of health. But because God raised Him from the dead, and gave Him a name which is above every name, that in the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of those in heaven, on earth, and under the earth (Philip. 2:8-10); moved by the fame of His loftiness and the glory of His name everywhere diffused in the Church, they too come to the table, they eat and adore; yet they are not filled, because they do not hunger and thirst after justice: for such shall be filled. Although perfect satiety will be in that eternal life, when from this pilgrimage we shall have come from faith to vision, from the glass to the face, from the riddle to the clear truth; nevertheless, he is not inconveniently said to be filled with the poverty of Christ, who for His justice, that is, for the participation of the eternal Word which he has meanwhile begun by faith, not only temperately despises all temporal goods, but also patiently sustains evils.

67. Tales fuerunt piscatores et publicani; quia abjecta hujus mundi elegit, ut confunderet fortia (I Cor. I, 27): de his dictum est, Edent pauperes, et saturabuntur. Sed quia istam saturitatem non apud seipsos tenuerunt (quodammodo enim ructantes Dominum laudaverunt; id est, praedicaverunt quaerentes eum, hoc est non sua quaerentes, sed in eum charitate flagrantes), eorum praedicatione commotus est mundus, ut commemorentur et convertentur ad Dominum universi fines terrae, et adorent in conspectu ejus universae patriae gentium; quoniam Domini est regnum, et ipse dominabitur gentium. Hac Ecclesiae dilatatione etiam superbi, id est divites terrae adducti sunt ut manducarent; et quamvis non saturati, tamen adorant. Hunc quippe ordinem prophetia Psalmi hoc loco tenuit, quem videmus impleri. Adjungit autem, In conspectu ejus procident omnes qui descendunt in terram: id est, omnes bona amando terrena, non in coelum ascendunt. Non faciunt enim quod ait Apostolus, Si resurrexistis cum Christo, quae sursum sunt quaerite, ubi Christus est in dextera Dei sedens; quae sursum sunt sapite, non quae super terram (Coloss. III, 1, 2): sed potius quanto sibi bonis terrenis feliciores videntur, tanto magis in terram descendunt, hoc est, in terrena deprimuntur. Et ideo in conspectu ejus procident, id est, ubi ipse videt, non ubi homines vident qui eos excelsos sublimesque arbitrantur.

CAPUT XXVIII.

68. Et anima, inquit, mea ipsi vivet: ipsi utique, non sibi, sicut superborum privato bono suo laetantium, et a communi omnium bono quod Deus est, inani elatione resilientium. Hoc utique devitemus, et communi potius vero omnium bono perfrui, quam privato nostro gaudere quaeramus; ut qui vivunt, jam non sibi vivant, sicut ait Apostolus, sed ei qui pro ipsis mortuus est et resurrexit (II Cor. V, 15). Pro hoc enim mediator effectus est, ut nos reconciliet Deo per humilitatem, a quo per impiam superbiam longe recesseramus. Neque enim tantum illud scriptum est, quod supra posui, Initium omnis peccati superbia; sed etiam hoc ibi legitur: Initium superbiae hominis, apostatare a Deo (Eccli. X, 14, 15). Non ergo sibi vivat quisque, sed Christo; faciens non suam, sed ipsius voluntatem, et manens in ejus charitate; sicut et ipse fecit voluntatem Patris, et manet in ejus charitate. Haec quippe nos admonens, et exemplo suo exhortans, in Evangelio suo locutus est (Joan. XV, 10).

67. Such were the fishermen and publicans; because He chose the abject things of this world to confound the strong (1 Cor. 1:27): of these it was said, "The poor shall eat and shall be filled." But because they did not keep that satiety to themselves (for as it were belching they praised the Lord; that is, they preached seeking Him, that is, not seeking their own, but burning with charity towards Him), the world was moved by their preaching, so that all the ends of the earth might remember and be converted to the Lord, and all the kindreds of the nations adore in His sight; "for the kingdom is the Lord's, and he shall have dominion over the nations." By this expansion of the Church, even the proud, that is, the rich of the earth, have been brought to eat; and although not filled, yet they adore. For the prophecy of the Psalm kept this order in this place, which we see being fulfilled. Moreover, he adds: "In his sight shall all they fall down that go down into the earth": that is, all who by loving earthly goods do not ascend into heaven. For they do not do what the Apostle says: "If you be risen with Christ, seek the things that are above, where Christ is sitting on the right hand of God; mind the things that are above, not the things upon the earth" (Coloss. 3:1, 2): but rather the more happy they seem to themselves in earthly goods, the more they go down into the earth, that is, they are depressed into earthly things. And therefore they shall fall down in His sight, that is, where He Himself sees, not where men see who think them high and sublime.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

68. "And my soul," he says, "shall live for him": for Him surely, not for itself, as is the case with the proud who rejoice in their own private good, and recoil with vain elation from the common good of all, which is God. Let us avoid this, and let us seek to enjoy the common true good of all rather than to rejoice in our own private good; so that "they who live may not now live to themselves," as the Apostle says, "but to him who died for them and rose again" (2 Cor. 5:15). For He was made mediator for this purpose, that He might reconcile us to God through humility, from whom we had departed far through impious pride. For not only is that written which I placed above, "The beginning of all sin is pride"; but this also is read there: "The beginning of the pride of man is to apostatize from God" (Ecclus. 10:14, 15). Let no one, therefore, live to himself, but to Christ; doing not his own will, but His, and remaining in His charity; as He Himself also did the Father's will, and remains in His charity. Admonishing us of these things, and exhorting us by His example, He spoke in His Gospel (John 15:10).

Si autem ipse cum in forma Dei aequalis esset Patri, tamen per formam servi, quam propter nos accepit, non suam voluntatem, sed Patris se facere commendavit; quanto magis nos, propria privataque nostra voluntate contempta qua tenebrati sumus, ad illud commune lumen, ut illuminemur et vultus nostri non erubescant, debemus accedere, quod illuminat omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum (Id. I, 9), ut anima nostra ipsi vivet! Hoc enim de nobis consequenter adjungit, cum dicit, Et semen meum serviet illi: quoniam qui seminat bonum semen, filius est hominis; bonum autem semen, hi sunt filii regni.

CAPUT XXIX.

69. Haec porro omnia quae in psalmo isto dicta sunt, quia non ad praesens tempus, sed ad futurorum prophetiam pertinebant, sicut etiam ipsis rebus apparet; sic eum concludere voluit, ut ostenderet se non praesentia demonstrare, vel narrare praeterita, sed futura prophetare: Annuntiabitur, inquit, Domino generatio ventura, et annuntiabunt coeli justitiam ejus populo qui nascetur, quem fecit Dominus. Non ait, Annuntiabitur Dominus generationi venturae; sed, Annuntiabitur Domino generatio ventura: quod non sic accipiendum est, tanquam nescienti aliquid annuntietur ut sciat; sed sicut annuntiant Angeli, non solum nobis beneficia Dei, verum etiam illi preces nostras. Nam scriptum est, ubi angelus hominibus dicit, Ego obtuli memoriam orationis vestrae (Tob. XII, 12): non ut tunc Deus noverit quid velimus, vel quo indigeamus; Novit enim pater vester, ait Dominus, quid vobis necessarium sit priusquam petatis ab eo (Matth. VI, 8): sed quia necesse habet rationalis creatura obtemperans Deo, temporales causas ad aeternam veritatem referre, sive petendo quod erga se fiat, sive consulendo quid faciat; qui pius mentis affectus est, ut ipsa construatur, non ut Deus instruatur. Nam et haec quaedam contestatio rationalis creaturae est, quod non sibi ipsa sit bonum quo beata fiat, sed illud incommutabile cujus participatione etiam sapiens efficitur.

If, however, He Himself, although being equal to the Father in the form of God, yet through the form of a servant, which He received for our sakes, commended that He was doing not His own will, but the Father's; how much more ought we, having despised our own and private will by which we are darkened, to approach that common light, that we may be illuminated and our faces may not be ashamed, which enlighteneth every man that cometh into this world (Ibid. 1:9), so that our soul may live for Him! For He consequently subjoins this concerning us, when he says: "And my seed shall serve him": since he who soweth the good seed is the Son of man; but the good seed are the children of the kingdom.

CHAPTER XXIX.

69. Furthermore, all these things that were said in this psalm, because they pertained not to the present time but to the prophecy of future things, as also appears from the things themselves; He wished to conclude it in such a way as to show that He was not demonstrating present things, nor narrating past things, but prophesying future things: "There shall be announced," he says, "to the Lord a generation to come, and the heavens shall announce his justice to a people that shall be born, whom the Lord hath made." He does not say, The Lord shall be announced to the generation to come; but, "There shall be announced to the Lord a generation to come": which is not to be understood as if something were announced to one who is ignorant so that He may know; but as the Angels announce, not only the benefits of God to us, but also our prayers to Him. For it is written, where the angel says to men: "I offered the memory of your prayer" (Tobit 12:12): not that God then knew what we wished, or what we needed; "For your Father knoweth," says the Lord, "what is necessary for you before you ask him" (Matt. 6:8): but because it is necessary for the rational creature, obeying God, to refer temporal causes to eternal truth, whether by seeking what may be done toward it, or by consulting what it should do; which is a pious affect of the mind, so that the mind itself may be constructed, not so that God may be instructed. For this also is a certain contestation of the rational creature, that it is not for itself the good by which it may become happy, but that immutable good by the participation of which it is even made wise.

70. Sive ita dictum est, Annuntiabitur Domino generatio ventura, ac si diceretur, Domino placebunt qui annuntiabunt non sibi; ut ita sit Domino annuntiare, sicut est Domino vivere: sic dictum est, Qui manducat, Domino manducat; et qui non manducat, Domino non manducat. Ad hoc quippe addidit, Et gratias agit Deo, ut ostenderetur quid esset, Domino facit (Rom. XIV, 6), id est, in ejus laudem facit. Tunc enim recte, tunc juste, tunc pie fit, cum opus bonum in ejus laudem fit cujus gratia donatur ut fiat. Ac per hoc etiamsi eo modo quispiam haec verba intelligere velit, ut eorum iste ordo sit, Annuntiabitur Domino generatio ventura, id est, ea generatio annuntiabitur quae Domino ventura est, generatio scilicet piorum atque sanctorum, quia impiorum et sceleratorum generatio non Domino, sed sibi ventura est: ab eadem significatione non receditur, qua intelligatur animae participatio in idipsum; id est, rationalem creaturam, cum sit mutabilis, non fieri beatam nisi a proprio suo mutabili ad incommutabile bonum, idemque commune quod Deus est, a quo superba impietate abstitit, humili pietate conversa subsistat. In quo affectu proficiens, quidquid boni facit, Domino facit, hoc est in ejus laudem, cujus gratiam percepit ut faciat; unde est actio gratiarum, quae intimo fidelium mysterio celebratur.

CAPUT XXX.

71. Illud autem quod sequitur, Et annuntiabunt justitiam ejus populo qui nascetur, quem fecit Dominus, superioris sensus confirmatio est. Nam quod ibi dictum est, Annuntiabitur Domino generatio ventura: hoc est dictum hic, annuntiabunt justitiam ejus. Ipsa quippe generatio quae ventura prophetata est piorum atque sanctorum, justitia Dei est, non ipsorum: ne sint ex illis qui ignorantes Dei justitiam, et suam volentes constituere, justitiae Dei non sunt subjecti (Rom. X, 3). Illa namque justitia Dei commendatur in eo quod dicitur, ignorantes Dei justitiam, qua nos ex ejus gratia justi sumus: ut ipsa justitia ejus nos simus, cum juste vivimus, credentes in eum qui justificat impium (Id. IV, 5); non illa qua ipse justus est aeterna sua et incommutabili justitia. Haec itaque justitia, qua nos Dei munere justi sumus, significatur in psalmo illo, ubi scriptum est: Justitia tua sicut montes Dei (Psal. XXXV, 7). Montes quippe Dei, sancti ejus sunt; de quibus alibi dicitur: Suscipiant montes pacem populo tuo (Psal. LXXI, 3).

70. Or it was said in this way, "There shall be announced to the Lord a generation to come," as if it were said, They who shall announce not for themselves shall please the Lord; so that to announce to the Lord is the same as to live to the Lord: thus it is said: "He that eateth, eateth to the Lord; and he that eateth not, to the Lord he eateth not." For to this he added: "And he giveth thanks to God," so that it might be shown what "he doeth to the Lord" (Rom. 14:6) meant, that is, he doeth it to His praise. For then it is rightly, then justly, then piously done, when a good work is done to His praise by whose grace it is granted that it be done. And by this, even if someone should wish to understand these words in such a way that their order is this, "There shall be announced to the Lord a generation to come," that is, that generation shall be announced which is to come to the Lord, namely, the generation of the pious and the holy, because the generation of the impious and the wicked is to come not to the Lord, but to themselves: one does not depart from the same signification, by which the participation of the soul in that same thing is understood; that is, that the rational creature, since it is mutable, does not become happy except from its own mutable state by turning to the immutable good, which is the same common good which is God, from whom it stood apart by proud impiety, and being converted by humble piety, it may subsist. Progressing in this affect, whatever good it does, it does to the Lord, that is, to His praise, whose grace it has received that it may do it; whence is the giving of thanks, which is celebrated in the intimate mystery of the faithful.

CHAPTER XXX.

71. Moreover, that which follows, "And they shall announce his justice to a people that shall be born, whom the Lord hath made," is a confirmation of the superior sense. For what was said there, "There shall be announced to the Lord a generation to come": this is said here, "they shall announce his justice." For that generation of the pious and holy which was prophesied as coming, is the justice of God, not their own: lest they be of those who, "ignorant of the justice of God, and wishing to establish their own, are not subject to the justice of God" (Rom. 10:3). For that justice of God is commended in what is said, "ignorant of the justice of God," by which we are just from His grace: so that we ourselves may be His justice, when we live justly, believing in Him who justifies the ungodly (Ibid. 4:5); not that justice by which He Himself is just in His eternal and immutable justice. This justice, therefore, by which we are just by the gift of God, is signified in that psalm where it is written: "Thy justice is like the mountains of God" (Psalm 35:7). For the mountains of God are His saints; concerning whom it is said elsewhere: "Let the mountains receive peace for thy people" (Psalm 71:3).

Et multa de his montibus scripta sunt figurata locutione, quae commemorare nunc longum est. Sed quia hoc ipsum quod Deus justificat homines, nimis occulto judicio facit (quoniam gratuita gratia facit; si autem gratia, non ex operibus, alioquin gratia jam non est gratia [Rom. XI, 6]; ex hoc quippe incipiunt opera bona, ex quo justificamur; non quia praecesserunt, justificamur: et hoc est profundum, de quo superius jam multa diximus), continuo in eodem psalmo cum dixisset, Justitia tua velut montes Dei, subjunxit, Judicia tua velut abyssus multa. Inde venit ad salutem hominibus jumentisque communem, quia et ipsa ex misericordia Dei est, et dicit, Homines et jumenta salvos facies, Domine; sicut multiplicata est misericordia tua, Deus: ut hinc intelligamus etiam illam salutem sempiternam et immortalem de qua dicit Apostolus, Spe enim salvi facti sumus (Id. VIII, 24), similiter ut istam quae hominibus jumentisque communis est, gratis nos accipere, non ex operibus, ne forte quis extollatur; quia opera bona ex ipsius justificatione operamur. Ipsius enim sumus figmentum, creati in Christo Jesu in operibus bonis, quae praeparavit Deus ut in illis ambulemus (Eph. II, 8-10). Et illa salus ergo gratuita est, de qua in alio psalmo dicitur: Domini est salus, et super populum tuum benedictio tua (Psal. III, 9).

72. Sicut ergo quod legitur, Domini est salus, non ea salus intelligitur qua Dominus salvus est; sed qua hi salvi sunt, quos ipse salvos facit: sic cum legitur Dei justitia, in eo quod scriptum est, Ignorantes Dei justitiam, et suam volentes constituere; non est illa intelligenda qua Deus justus est, sed qua justi sunt homines quos gratia sua justificat. Inde enim salvi, unde justi; quoniam quod ait, Non est opus sanis medicus, sed male habentibus, exposuit in consequentibus, dicens. Non veni vocare justos, sed peccatores (Matth. IX, 12, 13). Non igitur secundum opera justitiae quae nos fecimus, sed secundum suam misericordiam salvos nos fecit per lavacrum regenerationis (Tit. III, 5). In qua gratia spe salvi facti sumus (Rom. VIII, 24). Unde in illo psalmo subjungitur: Filii autem hominum sub tegmine alarum tuarum sperabunt. Inebriabuntur ab ubertate domus tuae, et torrente voluptatis tuae potabis eos; quoniam apud te est fons vitae, et in lumine tuo videbimus lumen. Praetende misericordiam tuam scientibus te, et justitiam tuam iis qui recto sunt corde. Huic igitur justitiae Dei contraria superbia est, qua fiditur tanquam de operibus propriis; ideoque ibi sequitur: Non veniat mihi pes superbiae (Psal. XXXV, 8-12).

And many things are written about these mountains in figurative speech, which it is long to commemorate now. But because God does this very thing of justifying men by an exceedingly hidden judgment (since He doeth it by gratuitous grace; for if by grace, not of works, otherwise grace is now no more grace [Rom. 11:6]; for from this surely good works begin, from the point where we are justified; not because they preceded are we justified: and this is the deep, concerning which we have already said many things above), immediately in the same psalm when he had said, "Thy justice is as the mountains of God," he subjoined, "Thy judgments are like a great abyss." Thence he comes to the salvation common to men and beasts, because even that is from the mercy of God, and he says, "Thou shalt save men and beasts, O Lord; as thy mercy is multiplied, O God": so that from this we may understand that even that eternal and immortal salvation of which the Apostle says, "For we are saved by hope" (Ibid. 8:24), similarly to this one which is common to men and beasts, we receive gratuitously, not from works, lest perchance any one should be extolled; because we work good works from His justification. "For we are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus in good works, which God hath prepared that we should walk in them" (Eph. 2:8-10). And that salvation therefore is gratuitous, concerning which it is said in another psalm: "Salvation is of the Lord, and thy blessing is upon thy people" (Psalm 3:9).

72. Just as therefore what is read, "Salvation is of the Lord," is not understood as that salvation by which the Lord is safe; but by which these are safe, whom He Himself makes safe: so when "God's justice" is read, in that which is written, "Ignorant of the justice of God, and wishing to establish their own"; it is not to be understood as that by which God is just, but that by which men are just whom He justifies by His grace. For they are saved from that from which they are just; since what he said, "The whole have no need of a physician, but they that are sick," he explained in the consequences, saying: "I came not to call the just, but sinners" (Matt. 9:12, 13). Not therefore according to the works of justice which we have done, but according to His mercy He saved us by the washing of regeneration (Tit. 3:5). In which grace we are saved by hope (Rom. 8:24). Whence in that psalm it is subjoined: "But the children of men shall hope under the cover of thy wings. They shall be inebriated from the plenty of thy house, and thou shalt make them drink from the torrent of thy pleasure; because with thee is the fountain of life, and in thy light we shall see light. Extend thy mercy to them that know thee, and thy justice to them that are of a right heart." To this justice of God, therefore, pride is contrary, by which trust is placed as if in one's own works; and therefore there follows: "Let not the foot of pride come to me" (Psalm 35:8-12).

73. Haec justitia qua ejus fideles justi sunt, interim viventes ex fide, donec perfecta justitia perducantur ad speciem, sicut salute perfecta etiam ad ipsius corporis immortalitatem, gratia est Novi Testamenti. Unde alio loco dicit Apostolus, Pro Christo legatione fungimur, tanquam Deo exhortante per nos; obsecramus pro Christo reconciliari Deo: ac inde subjungit, Eum qui non noverat peccatum, pro nobis peccatum fecit, id est, sacrificium pro peccatis; nam et ipsa in Lege peccata appellabantur, quae pro peccatis offerebantur. Ut nos simus justitia Dei in ipso (II Cor. V, 20, 21): id est, in ejus corpore quod est Ecclesia, cui caput est, nos simus justitia Dei; quam ignorantes illi, et suam volentes constituere, id est tanquam de suis operibus gloriantes, justitiae Dei non sunt subjecti. Inde et in hoc psalmo cum dixisset, Annuntiabunt justitiam ejus, sequitur et adjungit: Populo qui nascetur, quem fecit Dominus. Quis est enim populus quem non fecit Dominus, secundum id quod homines sunt, qui etiam pecora creavit, a quo est omnis vita, omnisque facta et creata natura? Sed ita intelligendum est, quem fecit Dominus, ut non solum, quod homines sunt, verum etiam quod justi sunt, ab illo facti intelligantur; secundum illud quod jam non semel commemoravi ab Apostolo dictum: Ipsius enim figmentum sumus, creati in Christo Jesu in operibus bonis, quae praeparavit Deus ut in illis ambulemus.

CAPUT XXXI.

74. Animae igitur rationalis mutabilitas admonetur, quo noverit, nisi participatione incommutabilis boni, justam, salvam, sapientem, beatam se esse non posse, nec sibi eam bonum esse posse propria voluntate, sed malum. Propria quippe voluntate avertitur a bono incommutabili, eaque aversione vitiatur: nec sanari per seipsam potest, sed gratuita misericordia sui Creatoris, quae in hac vita eam ex fide viventem in spe constituit salutis aeternae. Unde non altum sapiat, sed timeat; eoque timore casto inhaereat Deo, qui eam a propria immunditia qua inordinate bona inferiora dilexit, velut a quadam fornicatione spirituali mundavit: nec humanis laudibus extollatur, ne sit in virginibus stultis (Matth. XXV, 1-13), aliena laude laetantibus (hoc enim de quaestionibus tuis restat extremum), et propter ipsam inanem laudem, non propter conscientiam suam, ubi illis testis est Deus, bona operantibus; sed sit in virginibus sapientibus, ubi dicat quod ait Apostolus: Nam gloria nostra haec est, testimonium conscientiae nostrae (II Cor. 1, 12).

73. This justice by which His faithful are just, meanwhile living by faith, until by perfect justice they may be led to vision, as by perfect salvation even to the immortality of the body itself, is the grace of the New Testament. Whence in another place the Apostle says: "For Christ we are ambassadors, as if God were exhorting through us; we beseech you for Christ to be reconciled to God": and then he subjoins: "Him who knew no sin, he hath made sin for us," that is, a sacrifice for sins; for in the Law those things which were offered for sins were also called sins. "That we might be the justice of God in him" (2 Cor. 5:20, 21): that is, in His body which is the Church, to which He is the head, we might be the justice of God; being ignorant of which, those men, and wishing to establish their own, that is, as if glorying in their own works, were not subject to the justice of God. Thence also in this psalm when he had said, "They shall announce his justice," there follows and he subjoins: "To a people that shall be born, whom the Lord hath made." For what people is there whom the Lord hath not made, according to that which they are as men, He who even created the cattle, from whom is all life, and every made and created nature? But "whom the Lord hath made" is to be understood in such a way, that not only in that they are men, but also in that they are just, they may be understood to have been made by Him; according to that which I have already commemorated not once as said by the Apostle: "For we are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus in good works, which God hath prepared that we should walk in them."

CHAPTER XXXI.

74. The mutability of the rational soul, therefore, is admonished, that it may know that, except by participation in the immutable good, it cannot be just, safe, wise, or happy; and that for itself its own will cannot be a good, but an evil. For by its own will it is turned away from the immutable good, and by that aversion it is vitiated: nor can it be healed by itself, but by the gratuitous mercy of its Creator, which in this life constitutes it living by faith in the hope of eternal salvation. Whence let it not be high-minded, but fear; and by that chaste fear let it adhere to God, who has cleansed it from its own impurity by which it inordinately loved inferior goods, as if from a certain spiritual fornication: nor let it be extolled by human praises, lest it be among the foolish virgins (Matt. 25:1-13), rejoicing in the praise of others (for this remains the last of your questions), and working good for the sake of that very vain praise, and not for the sake of their own conscience, where God is a witness to them; but let it be among the wise virgins, where it may say what the Apostle says: "For our glory is this, the testimony of our conscience" (2 Cor. 1:12).

Hoc enim est oleum ferre secum, non a vendentibus emere, hoc est ab adulantibus. Adulatores namque laudem suam tanquam oleum venditant stultis. De hoc oleo dicitur in Psalmo: Emendabit me justus in misericordia, et arguet me; oleum autem peccatoris non impinguabit caput meum (Psal. CXL, 5). Elegit a justo misericorditer reprehendi, et quodammodo colaphizari, quam, ut ei caput in superbiam crescat peccatoris adulatione laudari.

75. Irridentium quippe responsio mihi videtur, cum eis a sapientibus virginibus dicitur. Ite potius ad vendentes, et emite vobis: sicut in quodam libro Sapientiae scriptum est, ubi contemptoribus dicit. Et ego perditioni vestrae superridebo (Prov. 1, 26). Illa autem responsione qua petentibus oleum dictum est, Ne forte non sufficiat nobis et vobis, non desperanter, sed humiliter dictum est. Quis enim sic praesumat de conscientia sua, ut certus sit eam sibi in judicio Dei posse sufficere, nisi misericordes misericorditer judicet? Judicium enim sine misericordia illi qui non fecit misericordiam (Jacobi II, 13). Ipsae autem sunt lampades acceusae, opera scilicet bona, de quibus Dominus dicit: Luceant bona opera vestra coram hominibus , et glorificent Patrem vestrum qui in coelis est (Matth. V, 16). Hucusque pertendit intentio virginum sapientium, ut ideo velint videri ab hominibus opera sua bona, non quo ab eis laudentur ipsae, sed ut glorificetur Deus, a quo illis est quod bene operantur: ac per hoc interiori bono gaudent, quod est coram Deo, ubi eleemosyna in occulto, ut pater, qui videt in occulto, reddat. And therefore the lamps do not fail, because they are nourished by the interior oil, that is, by the intention of a good conscience, by which whatever shines in good works before men is done before God for His glory. At vero stultarum virginum, hoc oleum non secum portantium deficiunt lampades; id est, non perseveranter bona opera lucent, cum laus humana fuerit subtracta, propter quam illa faciebant, hucusque intentionem suam perducentes ut viderentur ab hominibus, non ut glorificetur Pater qui in coelis est. Quae intentio perennis est gloriae, qua novit anima Deo se debere quod justificata est ad facienda bona opera, et ideo in illo, non in se, laudari amat. Unde alibi homo Dei cantat, In Domino laudabitur anima mea (Psal. XXXIII, 2), ut qui gloriatur, in Domino glorietur (I Cor. 1, 31).

CAPUT XXXII.

For this is to carry oil with oneself, not to buy it from those who sell, that is, from flatterers. For flatterers vend their praise as oil to the foolish. Concerning this oil it is said in the Psalm: "The just shall correct me in mercy, and shall reprove me; but the oil of the sinner shall not fatten my head" (Psalm 140:5). It chose to be mercifully rebuked by the just, and as it were to be buffeted, rather than to be praised by the flattery of a sinner, so that its head might grow in pride.

75. Indeed, the response of those who mock seems to me to be given, when it is said to them by the wise virgins: "Go rather to them that sell, and buy for yourselves": just as it is written in a certain book of Wisdom, where he says to despisers: "I also will laugh at your destruction" (Prov. 1:26). But by that response by which it was said to those seeking oil, "Lest perchance there be not enough for us and you," it was said not in despair, but in humility. For who would so presume concerning his own conscience, as to be certain that it could suffice for him in the judgment of God, unless He should judge the merciful with mercy? For judgment is without mercy to him who hath not done mercy (James 2:13). But those are the burning lamps, namely, good works, concerning which the Lord says: "Let your good works shine before men, and let them glorify your Father who is in heaven" (Matt. 5:16). The intention of the wise virgins extends to this point, that they wish their good works to be seen by men for this reason, not that they themselves may be praised by them, but that God may be glorified, from whom they have it that they work well: and by this they rejoice in the interior good, which is before God, where alms are in secret, so that the Father, who seeth in secret, may repay. And therefore the lamps do not fail, because they are nourished by the interior oil, that is, by the intention of a good conscience, by which whatever shines in good works before men is done before God for His glory. But indeed, the lamps of the foolish virgins, not carrying this oil with them, fail; that is, the good works do not shine perseveringly when human praise has been withdrawn, for the sake of which they were doing them, carrying their intention thus far that they might be seen by men, not that the Father who is in heaven might be glorified. Which intention is of perennial glory, by which the soul knows that it owes to God that it was justified to do good works, and therefore it loves to be praised in Him, not in itself. Whence in another place the man of God sings: "In the Lord shall my soul be praised" (Psalm 33:2), so that "he who glorieth, let him glory in the Lord" (1 Cor. 1:31).

CHAPTER XXXII.

76. Sed quid est quod in eadem Evangelii lectione scriptum est, omnes sponso tardante dormisse? Somnum istum si intellexerimus, quod velut tardante judicio, ad quod faciendum venturus est Christus, abundante iniquitate charitas refrigescit, quomodo ibi ponemus virgines sapientes, cum potius in illis sint de quibus dicitur: Qui autem perseveraverit usque in finem, hic salvus erit (Matth. XXIV, 12)? Dictum est ergo, Dormierunt omnes; quia non tantum stulti, qui propter humanam laudem bona operantur coram hominibus, verum etiam sapientes, qui hoc propterea faciunt ut laudetur Deus, experiuntur istam mortem: ex utroque enim genere moriuntur. Et ista mors saepe in Scripturis dormitio dicitur, propter futuram resurrectionem velut evigilationem. Hinc Apostolus dicit, De dormientibus autem nolo vos ignorare, fratres (I Thess. IV, 12); et alio loco, Ex quibus plures manent usque adhuc; quidam autem dormierunt (I Cor. XV, 6): et alia innumerabilia in hoc testimonia aperte per Scripturas utriusque Testamenti reperiuntur. Unde et ille ait, Consanguineus lethi sopor: (Virg. Aeneid. VI.) et si advertas, multa invenies etiam in saecularibus litteris, ubi mors somno comparatur. Significavit ergo Dominus futurum esse tempus, quo inter tribulationes et tentationes saeculi hujus, jam jamque ejus exspectaretur et speraretur adventus, tanquam propinquus atque imminens, ad quem se praeparent qui in ejus esse familia videntur. Hoc est enim quod ait, exisse obviam sponso et sponsae. Sponso quidem, Filio Dei: sponsae autem, sive quia in eo corpore venturus est quod sumpsit ex Virgine; sive quia ipsa Ecclesia tunc clarior apparebit, ut ad universi corporis congregationem membra concurrant, quibus concurrentibus, ejus magnitudo monstrabitur.

CAP. XXXIII.

77. Virgines propter continentiam nuncupavit. Decem vero, id est quinque et quinque, propter numerum quo censentur corporis sensus, in quibus habitat continentia, cum a voluptatibus turpibus et illicitis abstinetur. Lampades, sicut dictum est, bona sunt opera, maximeque ad misericordiam pertinentia; et ipsa quae etiam coram hominibus lucet laudabilis conversatio: sed magni interest, qua mentis intentione fiat; ideo dicit alias sapientes, stultas alias.

76. But what is it that is written in the same reading of the Gospel, that while the bridegroom tarried they all slept? If we understand this sleep as meaning that, while the judgment for which Christ is to come is tarrying, charity grows cold because iniquity abounds, how shall we place the wise virgins there, since they are rather among those of whom it is said: "But he that shall persevere unto the end, he shall be saved" (Matt. 24:12)? It was said, therefore, "They all slept"; because not only the foolish, who do good works before men for the sake of human praise, but also the wise, who do this for the purpose that God may be praised, experience this death: for they die from both kinds. And this death is often called sleep in the Scriptures, because of the future resurrection as if an awakening. Hence the Apostle says: "And we would not have you ignorant, brethren, concerning them that are asleep" (1 Thess. 4:12); and in another place: "Of whom many remain until this day; but some are fallen asleep" (1 Cor. 15:6): and other innumerable testimonies to this effect are found openly through the Scriptures of both Testaments. Whence also that one says: "Sleep, the kinsman of death" (Virg. Aeneid VI): and if you notice, you will find many things even in secular literature where death is compared to sleep. The Lord signified, therefore, that there would be a future time in which, among the tribulations and temptations of this world, His advent would be expected and hoped for already, as near and imminent, for which those who seem to be in His family should prepare themselves. For this is what he says, that they went out to meet the bridegroom and the bride. To the bridegroom indeed, the Son of God: and to the bride, either because He is to come in that body which He took from the Virgin; or because the Church itself will then appear more bright, so that the members may run together to the congregation of the whole body, which being joined together, its magnitude shall be shown.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

77. He called them virgins on account of continence. But ten, that is five and five, on account of the number by which the senses of the body are reckoned, in which continence dwells when one abstains from base and illicit pleasures. The lamps, as has been said, are good works, and especially those pertaining to mercy; and that very praiseworthy conduct which shines even before men: but it is of great importance with what intention of mind it is done; therefore he calls some wise, others foolish.

Sed hinc eas discernit, quod stultae non sumpserunt oleum secum, sapientes autem acceperunt oleum in vasis suis, hoc est in cordibus suis, ubi fit ipsa participatio intimi ac superni boni. Unde in psalmo quodam, cum dictum esset, Sacrificate sacrificium justitiae, et sperate in Domino; Multi, inquit, dicunt: Quis ostendit nobis bona? Deinde ut manifestaret cujus boni amore debeamus operari justitiam, hoc est, sacrificare sacrificium justitiae : Signatum est, inquit, in nobis lumen vultus tui, Domine: dedisti laetitiam in corde meo (Psal. IV, 6, 7). Cujus boni aliquantum participati, et plenius perfectiusque participandi intentione, qui bene operatur, et laudabiliter etiam in conspectu hominum conversatur, habet oleum secum, quo bona opera ejus etiam in conspectu hominum lucentia non exstinguuntur; quia non in eo charitas refrigescit abundante iniquitate, sed perseverat usque in finem. Hoc oleum stultae virgines non habent secum, quoniam sibi tribuendo si quid boni operis faciunt, necesse est inflentur superbia, et propter hoc vitium sic laude delectentur humana, ut ejus gaudio, si quid boni agunt, fervere et lucere videantur.

CAPUT XXXIV.

78. Tardante autem sponso, dormierunt omnes. Non enim tunc veniet cum speratur, sed media nocte cum valde obscurum, id est, occultum erit an veniat. Unde dicit, media nocte clamorem factum: Ecce sponsus venit, exite obviam ei. Nimirum clamor iste ipsa est tuba illa, quam commemorans Apostolus dicit: Canet enim tuba, et mortui resurgent incorrupti (I Cor. XV, 52). Tubae nomine aliquod evidentissimum et praeclarissimum signum vult intelligi: quam vocem archangeli et tubam Dei alio loco dicit (I Thess. IV, 15). Quae etiam vox ipsius Domini Jesu Christi in Evangelio dicitur, quam audient ii qui in monumentis sunt, et procedent (Joan. V, 28, 29). Surgunt ergo omnes virgines illae, et sapientes et stultae, et aptant lampades suas, id est, rationem praeparant reddere de operibus suis.

79. Sed tunc, in illius clamoris evidentia et resurrectione mortuorum, quia nulla erit dubitatio jam instantis praesentisque judicii, subtrahetur omne solatium laudis humanae. Neque enim vacabit de alio disceptare, vel de alio judicare, aut gratificari atque suffragari alteri, quando unusquisque proprium onus portabit, et de suorum factorum reddenda ratione cogitabit: ac per hoc feretur animus quidem virginum stultarum consuetudine propria, sed non inventis laudibus humanis deficiet.

But by this he distinguishes them, that the foolish took no oil with them, but the wise took oil in their vessels, that is, in their hearts, where that participation of the intimate and supernal good takes place. Whence in a certain psalm, when it had been said: "Offer the sacrifice of justice, and hope in the Lord"; he says: "Many say: Who showeth us good things?" Then, that he might manifest by the love of what good we ought to work justice, that is, to offer the sacrifice of justice: "The light of thy countenance, O Lord," he says, "is signed upon us: thou hast given gladness in my heart" (Psalm 4:6, 7). He who works well, and conducts himself praiseworthily even in the sight of men, with the intention of this good partially participated in, and to be more fully and perfectly participated in, has oil with him, by which his good works, shining even in the sight of men, are not extinguished; because charity does not grow cold in him while iniquity abounds, but perseveres unto the end. The foolish virgins do not have this oil with them, because in ascribing to themselves whatever good work they do, they must necessarily be puffed up with pride, and on account of this vice they are so delighted with human praise that they seem to glow and shine with its joy if they do anything good.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

78. "And while the bridegroom tarried, they all slept." For He will not come then when He is expected, but at midnight when it will be very dark, that is, when it will be hidden whether He is coming. Whence he says that at midnight a cry was made: "Behold the bridegroom cometh, go ye forth to meet him." No doubt that cry is that very trumpet which the Apostle, commemorating it, says: "For the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall rise again incorruptible" (1 Cor. 15:52). By the name of trumpet he wishes some most evident and most illustrious sign to be understood: which voice of the archangel and trumpet of God he mentions in another place (1 Thess. 4:15). Which is also called the voice of the Lord Jesus Christ Himself in the Gospel, which they who are in the monuments shall hear, and shall come forth (John 5:28, 29). All those virgins arise, therefore, both the wise and the foolish, and they trim their lamps, that is, they prepare to give an account of their works.

79. But then, in the evidence of that cry and the resurrection of the dead, because there will be no doubt of the already instant and present judgment, all solace of human praise will be withdrawn. For there will be no leisure to dispute about another, or to judge about another, or to gratify and vote for another, when each one shall bear his own burden, and shall think of the account to be rendered of his own deeds: and by this the mind of the foolish virgins indeed will be carried along by its own custom, but not having found human praises, it will fail.

Neque enim germanitus dixerunt, Apud te laus mea; vel, In Domino laudabitur anima mea; aut in Domino gloriatae sunt, cum ignorantes Dei justitiam, suam justitiam constituerent. Ac per hoc petunt a sapientibus oleum, hoc est aliquam consolationem; nec inveniunt nec accipiunt, illis respondentibus se nescire utrum vel sibi sufficiat ipsa conscientia, qua exspectant misericordiam sub illo judice, qui cum in throno sederit, quis gloriabitur castum se habere cor, aut quis gloriabitur mundum se esse a peccato, nisi superexsultet misericordia judicio (Jacobi II, 13)? quae super eos erit, qui misericordiae opera illa intentione fecerunt, ut eorum misereretur, a quo se sciebant accepisse quod habebant; nec gloriabantur quasi non acceperint, sed per seipsos habuerint quo placerent, sicut stulti qui et sibi placent tanquam de bono a se sibi parato, et ab adulantibus vel errantibus ita laudantur ac si ipsi sint aliquid. Qui autem putat se esse aliquid, cum nihil sit, sicut dicit Apostolus, seipsum seducit. Opus autem suum probet unusquisque; et tunc in seipso tantum gloriam habebit, et non in altero (Galat. VI, 3): hoc est portare oleum secum, non ex aliena laude dependere. Sed quam gloriam in se habebit, nisi eum cui dicitur, Gloria mea, et exaltans caput meum (Psal. III, 4); ut quod saepe dicendum est, qui gloriatur, in Domino glorietur (I Cor. I, 31)?

80. Proinde sapientia quae in sapientibus virginibus habitat, secundum illud quod ante praedixit, cum ait contemptoribus, et sanam doctrinam accipere recusantibus, Et ego vestrae perditioni superridebo (Prov. I, 26); dicit stultis virginibus, Ite potius ad vendentes, et emite vobis: tanquam diceret, Ubi sunt qui vos fallebant mendosissimis laudibus, quando et a vobis fallebamini, quia in vobis non in Domino gloriabamini? Quod autem dicit, Et dum eunt emere, venit sponsus; et quae paratae erant, intraverunt cum eo, hoc mihi videtur intelligendum, quod vitioso cordis affectu inhiabunt inani gloriae, quam vanae mentis elatione sectatae sunt. Et ipse appetitus significatus est in eo quod dictum est, Dum eunt emere, venit sponsus; et introierunt cum eo ad nuptias, quae paratae erant: hoc est, quae veram fidem veramque pietatem corde gestabant, qua possent contemperari numero societatique sanctorum, non in seipsis, sed in Domino gloriantium, ut intrarent cum eis in illud gaudium, de quo dicitur, Intra in gaudium Domini tui (Matth. XXV, 23); ubi erit perfecta participatio incommutabilis boni, cujus modo velut arrha quaedam per fidem tenetur, ut secundum hanc gratiam vivamus, in quantum Deo, non nobis vivimus.

CAPUT XXXV.

For they did not say from the heart: "My praise is from thee"; or, "In the Lord shall my soul be praised"; or they did not glory in the Lord, when, being ignorant of the justice of God, they established their own justice. And by this they seek oil from the wise, that is, some consolation; nor do they find it nor receive it, those responding that they know not whether their own conscience may even suffice for themselves, by which they expect mercy under that judge, who when He shall sit upon His throne, who shall boast that he hath a chaste heart, or who shall boast that he is clean from sin, unless mercy superexsulteth judgment (James 2:13)? which will be upon those who have done those works of mercy with the intention that He might have mercy on them, from whom they knew they had received what they had; nor did they glory as if they had not received it, but had through themselves that by which they might please, like the foolish who both please themselves as if from a good prepared by themselves for themselves, and are so praised by flatterers or those in error as if they themselves were something. "For if any man think himself to be something, whereas he is nothing," as the Apostle says, "he deceiveth himself. But let every man prove his own work; and then he shall have glory in himself only, and not in another" (Galat. 6:3, 4): this is to carry oil with oneself, not to depend on the praise of another. But what glory shall he have in himself, except Him to whom it is said: "My glory, and the lifter up of my head" (Psalm 3:4); so that, as must often be said, he who glorieth, let him glory in the Lord (1 Cor. 1:31)?

80. Accordingly, the wisdom which dwells in the wise virgins, according to that which he predicted before, when he said to the despisers and those refusing to receive sound doctrine: "I also will laugh at your destruction" (Prov. 1:26); says to the foolish virgins: "Go ye rather to them that sell, and buy for yourselves": as if she were saying: Where are they who were deceiving you with most mendacious praises, when you were also deceived by yourselves, because you gloried in yourselves, not in the Lord? But what he says, "And while they went to buy, the bridegroom came; and they that were ready went in with him," this seems to me to be understood as meaning that with a vicious affect of the heart they will gape for vain glory, which they followed with a vain elation of mind. And that appetite itself was signified in what was said: "While they went to buy, the bridegroom came; and they that were ready went in with him to the marriage": that is, they who carried true faith and true piety in their heart, by which they could be tempered to the number and society of the saints, glorying not in themselves, but in the Lord, so that they might enter with them into that joy of which it is said: "Enter thou into the joy of thy lord" (Matt. 25:23); where there will be the perfect participation of the immutable good, of which now a certain earnest is held through faith, so that we may live according to this grace, in as much as we live to God, not to ourselves.

CHAPTER XXXV.

81. Proinde quod sequitur, Novissime veniunt et reliquae virgines, dicentes: Domine, Domine, aperi nobis; non dictum est eas emisse oleum, et sic venisse, neque enim jam erat unde; sed misericordiam sero quaesiisse, cum jam tempus judicandi esset, et probos a reprobis separandi. Recte autem illis respondetur: Amen dico vobis, Nescio vos. Ille quippe hoc dicit, quem non latet aliquid: sed, Nescio vos, nihil aliud est quam, Nescitis me, quando de vobis potius eligitis confidere quam de me. Cum enim dicitur quod nos cognoscit Deus, cognitionem sui nobis praestat, ut per hoc intelligamus ne hoc quidem nobis esse tribuendum quod nos scimus Deum, sed eam quoque scientiam illius misericordiae tribuamus. Unde cum quodam loco Apostolus diceret, Nunc autem cognoscentes Deum, correxit et ait, Imo cogniti a Deo (Galat. IV, 9): quid aliud volens intelligi, nisi quod eos ipse fecerit cognitores suos? Nemo autem cognoscit Deum, nisi qui intelligit illum esse summum atque incommutabile bonum, cujus participatione fit bonus: quod in hujus psalmi conclusione positum est, Annuntiabunt justitiam ejus populo qui nascetur, quem fecit Dominus. Inde est et illud quod in alio psalmo: Ipse fecit nos, et non ipsi nos (Psal. XCIX, 3). Hoc enim non ad eam naturam qua homines sumus, cujus naturae idem ipse creator est, qui coeli et terrae, siderum, omniumque animantium; sed ad illud potius referendum est quod Apostolus ait: Ipsius enim sumus figmentum creati in Jesu Christo in operibus bonis, quae praeparavit Deus ut in illis ambulemus (Eph. II, 10).

CAPUT XXXVI.

82. Arbitror tibi satis esse solutas tuas quinque quaestiones, dum in ista mea veluti sexta immorarer, quam mihi proposui de Gratia Novi Testamenti, propter quam Verbum caro factum est, id est, qui Filius Dei erat, homo factus est, naturam suscipiendo nostram, non amittendo suam: per quod et nobis recipientibus eum potestas daretur, ut qui eramus homines, filii Dei fieremus (Joan. I, 14, 12) participatione incommutabilis boni in melius commutati, non ad temporalem felicitatem, sed ad vitae aeternae, quae sola beata est, adoptionem. Unde placuit etiam propheticum Psalmum percurrere, cujus primum versum in passione commemoravit, ostendens quomodo nos Deus derelinquat, et quo alio modo non recedat a nobis;

81. Accordingly, as to that which follows, "Last of all come also the other virgins, saying: Lord, Lord, open to us"; it is not said that they had bought oil and so come, for there was now no longer a source from which to do so; but that they sought mercy too late, when it was already the time for judging, and for separating the upright from the reprobate. But it is rightly responded to them: "Amen I say to you, I know you not." He surely says this, from whom nothing is hidden: but "I know you not" is nothing else than, You know me not, since you choose to trust in yourselves rather than in me. For when it is said that God knows us, He bestows on us the knowledge of Himself, so that through this we may understand that not even this is to be attributed to ourselves, that we know God, but we should attribute that knowledge also to His mercy. Whence when the Apostle said in a certain place, "But now knowing God," he corrected it and said, "Yea rather, being known by God" (Galat. 4:9): wishing nothing else to be understood, except that He Himself had made them knowers of Himself. But no one knows God, unless he who understands Him to be the supreme and immutable good, by the participation of which he is made good: which was placed in the conclusion of this psalm, "They shall announce his justice to a people that shall be born, whom the Lord hath made." Thence is also that which is in another psalm: "He hath made us, and not we ourselves" (Psalm 99:3). For this is to be referred not to that nature by which we are men, of which nature He Himself is the creator, as He is of heaven and earth, of the stars, and of all living things; but rather to that which the Apostle says: "For we are his workmanship, created in Jesus Christ in good works, which God hath prepared that we should walk in them" (Eph. 2:10).

CHAPTER XXXVI.

82. I think that your five questions have been sufficiently resolved for you, while I lingered in this sixth one, as it were, of my own, which I proposed to myself concerning the Grace of the New Testament, on account of which the Word was made flesh, that is, He who was the Son of God was made man, by receiving our nature, not by losing His own: through which also power might be given to us who receive Him, so that we who were men might become the sons of God (John 1:14, 12) by the participation of the immutable good, changed for the better, not toward temporal happiness, but toward the adoption of eternal life, which alone is blessed. Whence it also pleased me to run through the prophetic Psalm, whose first verse He commemorated in His passion, showing how God leaves us, and in what other way He does not depart from us;

ad bona aeterna nos colligens, temporalia vero aliquando utiliter tribuens, et aliquando utiliter subtrahens; ut eis non haerere discamus, ne contempta luce interiore, quae ad novam pertinet vitam (unde etiam psalmus iste ipse pro susceptione matutina, tanquam pro luce nova, nomen accepit), in exteris tenebris libenter habitemus, unde in exteriores mittuntur qui ex istis exteris non se ad interiora convertunt; ne diabolo et angelis ejus sociati, extrema damnatione puniamur. Intelligentes igitur peregrinationem nostram in hac vita, mundo crucifigamur, extendentes manus in latitudinem bonorum operum, et longanimitate usque in finem perseverantes, atque habentes cor sursum, ubi Christus est in dextera Dei sedens (Coloss. III, 1, 2), totumque hoc non nobis, sed illius misericordiae tribuentes, cujus profunda judicia omnem scrutatorem fatigant. Haec est enim non inaniter fabulosa, sed utiliter verax latitudo, longitudo, altitudo, profundum, unde perveniamus etiam ad supereminentem scientiam charitatis Christi, et impleamur in omnem plenitudinem Dei (Eph. III, 19).

CAPUT XXXVII.

83. Scio autem quam non supervacanea sollicitudine, per hanc occasionem quaestionum mihi abs te propositarum, Novi Testamenti gratiam tibi voluerim copiosius commendare. Habet enim adversarios, qui ejus profunditate turbati, non Deo tribuere, sed potius sibi volunt arrogare quod boni sunt. Nec tales sunt, quos facile contemnas; sed continenter viventes, atque in bonis operibus laudabiles: nec falsum Christum sicut Manichaei aliique plurimi haeretici, sed eumdem verum aequalemque Patri et coaeternum, veraciterque hominem factum, et venisse credentes, et venturum exspectantes; sed tamen ignorantes Dei justitiam, et suam constituere volentes. Neque enim frustra Dominus, cum et illas commemoraret quae secum intraverunt ad nuptias, et illas contra quas januas clausit, et quibus respondit, Nescio vos, utrasque virgines dixit, propter continentiam; et quinque propter concupiscentiam carnis edomitam, quinario praeditam sensu; ornatas utrasque lampadibus, propter bonorum operum bonaeque conversationis in conspectu hominum luculentissimam laudem; utrasque obviam sponso euntes, propter exspectationem qua Christi speratur adventus: sed tamen alias sapientes, alias stultas, quod sapientes oleum acceperunt in vasis suis, stultae autem hoc non ferebant secum; in tam multis pares, hoc solo eas dispares demonstrat, hoc solo diversa eis et contraria nomina imponit.

84. Quid enim tam conjunctum quam virgines et virgines, quinque et quinque lampadibus ornatae, obviam sponso euntes et istae et illae?

gathering us to eternal goods, but sometimes usefully bestowing temporal ones, and sometimes usefully withdrawing them; so that we may learn not to adhere to them, lest having despised the interior light, which pertains to the new life (whence also this psalm itself received its name "for the morning reception," as if for the new light), we should dwell willingly in outer darkness, whence those are sent into the exterior darkness who do not turn themselves from these outer things to the interior ones; lest, associated with the devil and his angels, we should be punished with extreme damnation. Understanding therefore our pilgrimage in this life, let us be crucified to the world, extending our hands in the breadth of good works, and persevering with longanimity unto the end, and having our heart above, where Christ is sitting at the right hand of God (Coloss. 3:1, 2), and attributing all this not to ourselves, but to His mercy, whose profound judgments fatigue every scrutinizer. For this is the not vainly fabulous, but usefully true breadth, length, height, depth, whence we may arrive even to the supereminent knowledge of the charity of Christ, and be filled unto all the fullness of God (Eph. 3:19).

CHAPTER XXXVII.

83. But I know with how not unnecessary a solicitude, through this occasion of the questions proposed to me by you, I have wished to commend the grace of the New Testament to you more copiously. For it has adversaries who, troubled by its depth, wish to arrogate to themselves that they are good, rather than to attribute it to God. Nor are they such as you might easily despise; but living continently, and praiseworthy in good works: believing not in a false Christ like the Manichaeans and many other heretics, but believing in the same true one, equal to the Father and co-eternal, and truly made man, and that He has come, and expecting Him to come; but yet being ignorant of the justice of God, and wishing to establish their own. For not in vain did the Lord, when He commemorated both those who entered with Him to the marriage and those against whom He shut the doors, and to whom He responded, "I know you not," call both of them virgins, on account of continence; and five on account of the concupiscence of the flesh being tamed, which is endowed with a fivefold sense; and both adorned with lamps, on account of the most illustrious praise of good works and of good conduct in the sight of men; and both going to meet the bridegroom, on account of the expectation by which the advent of Christ is hoped for: but yet he called some wise, others foolish, because the wise took oil in their vessels, but the foolish did not carry this with them; being equal in so many things, He demonstrates them to be unequal in this one thing alone, and for this alone He imposes different and contrary names upon them.

84. For what is so closely joined as virgins and virgins, five and five, adorned with lamps, both these and those going to meet the bridegroom?

Et quid tam contrarium quam sapientes, et stultae? videlicet quod istae oleum in vasis, hoc est, intelligentiam gratiae Dei portant in cordibus suis, scientes quod nemo possit esse continens nisi Deus det, et hoc ipsum sapientiae deputantes, scire cujus hoc donum sit (Sap. VIII, 21): illae autem largitori omnium bonorum gratias non agentes, evanuerunt in cogitationibus suis, et obscuratum est insipiens cor earum, dicentes se esse sapientes, stultae factae sunt (Rom. I, 21, 22). De quibus sane nullo modo nunc desperandum est, antequam dormiamus: sed si ita dormierint, cum factus fuerit clamor ille, quo adesse jam nuntiabitur sponsus, et evigilantes, hoc est resurgentes remanserint foris; non quia virgines non sunt, sed quia nescientes unde habeant quod sunt, stultae virgines sunt, meritoque foris erunt, quia internae affectum gratiae non secum ferunt.

85. Quando tales ergo repereris, non tibi persuadeant inanitatem vasorum suorum, sed tu eis potius plenitudinem. Unde ait Apostolus, Quisquis se putat aliquid scire, nondum scit quemadmodum oportet scire. Et mox ostendens quid dixerit, Quisquis autem, inquit, diligit Deum, hic cognitus est ab illo (I Cor. VIII, 2, 3). Nec sic dicere voluit, Cognovit eum, sed dicendo, cognitus est ab illo, expressius voluit commendare, etiam hoc ab illo nobis esse ut eum diligamus. Charitas enim Dei diffunditur in cordibus nostris, non per nos ipsos, sed per Spiritum sanctum qui datus est nobis (Rom. V, 5). Necesse est autem ut parum diligat Deum, qui non ab illo, sed a seipso bonum se arbitratur effectum: unde autem fieri potest ut talis non in seipso, sed in Domino glorietur? Qui enim gloriatur quod sit bonus, in illo debet gloriari, a quo factus est bonus: ac per hoc qui se a semetipso factum bonum arbitratur, consequens est ut in seipso, non in Domino glorietur. Omnis autem intentio gratiae Novi Testamenti, qua sursum cor habemus (quia omne datum optimum, et omne donum perfectum desursum est [Jacobi I, 17], id agit, ne simus ingrati; atque in ipsa gratiarum actione nihil aliud agitur, nisi ut qui gloriatur, in Domino glorietur. Habes librum, etsi prolixum, tamen, quantum existimo, non superfluuum. Sed ama etiam ecclesiasticas legere litteras, et non multa invenies, quae requiras ex me; sed legendo et ruminando, si etiam pure Dominum largitorem bonorum omnium depreceris, omnia quae cognitione dogna sunt, aut certe plurima, ipso magis inspirante, quam hominum aliquo commonente perdisces. Quanquam eo ipso quo forinsecus bene admonentem judicio non errante approbamus, quid aliud quam internum lumen, magistrum nos habere testamur?

And what is so contrary as the wise and the foolish? namely, because those carry the oil in their vessels, that is, the intelligence of the grace of God in their hearts, knowing that no one can be continent unless God give it, and deputing this very thing to wisdom, to know whose gift this is (Wisd. 8:21): but these, not giving thanks to the giver of all good things, became vain in their thoughts, and their foolish heart was darkened; saying themselves to be wise, they became fools (Rom. 1:21, 22). Concerning whom, indeed, we must by no means despair now, before we sleep: but if they shall have so slept, when that cry shall have been made by which the bridegroom shall be announced as now present, and awakening, that is, rising again, they shall have remained outside; not because they are not virgins, but because, not knowing whence they have what they are, they are foolish virgins, and they will deservedly be outside, because they do not carry the affect of internal grace with them.

85. Therefore, when you find such persons, let them not persuade you of the emptiness of their vessels, but do you rather persuade them of the fullness. Whence the Apostle says: "If any man think that he knoweth any thing, he hath not yet known as he ought to know." And soon showing what he meant, he says: "But if any man love God, the same is known by him" (1 Cor. 8:2, 3). Nor did he wish to say thus, He hath known him, but by saying, "is known by him," he wished more expressly to commend that even this is from Him to us, that we love Him. "For the charity of God is poured forth in our hearts," not by ourselves, but "by the Holy Spirit who is given to us" (Rom. 5:5). Moreover, it is necessary that he who thinks he was made good not by Him but by himself, should love God but little: for how can it be that such a one should glory not in himself, but in the Lord? For he who glories that he is good, ought to glory in Him by whom he was made good: and by this, it is consequent that he who thinks himself made good by himself, should glory in himself, not in the Lord. But the entire intention of the grace of the New Testament, by which we have our heart above (since "every best gift, and every perfect gift, is from above" [James 1:17]), does this, that we may not be ungrateful; and in that very giving of thanks nothing else is done, except that he who glories, let him glory in the Lord. You have a book, though prolix, yet, as I think, not superfluous. But love also to read ecclesiastical letters, and you will not find many things which you should require from me; but by reading and ruminating, if you also purely pray to the Lord, the giver of all good things, you will learn all things which are worthy of knowledge, or certainly very many, by Him inspiring you more than by any man admonishing you. Although by that very fact that we approve with an unerring judgment one admonishing well from without, what else do we testify than that we have an internal light as our master?

Epistola CXLI.

Ad populum factionis donatianae, quomodo illorum episcopi in Carthaginensi collatione convicti sint. Itaque nunc demum redeant ad Ecclesiae catholicae communionem.

SILVANUS Senex, VALENTINUS, AURELIUS , INNOCENTIUS, MAXIMINUS, OPTATUS, AUGUSTINUS, DONATUS, et caeteri episcopi de concilio Zertensi , ad Donatistas.

1. Cum in auribus nostris fama crebresceret, hoc vobis vestros episcopos dicere, Cognitorem praemio fuisse corruptum, ut contra eos sententia proferretur, vos autem ista facile credere, ac propterea multos vestrum adhuc nolle acquiescere veritati; placuit nobis, cogente Domini charitate, ex concilio nostro haec ad vos scripta dirigere, quibus primitus admoneremini illos vobis victos atque convictos haec mendacia jactare: qui etiam in suo Mandato, quod pro illa collatione fecerunt, et suis nominibus atque subscriptionibus firmaverunt, nos illic traditores et persecutores suos esse dicentes, in falsitate atque mendacio manifestissimo detecti atque convicti sunt; ita ut volentes gloriari de multitudine coepiscoporum suorum, inter aliquorum absentium nomina etiam mortui nomen insererent; et cum quaereretur ubi esset, subita perturbatione caecati, ipsi eum confiterentur in itinere defecisse. Et cum interrogarentur quomodo potuerit apud Carthaginem subscribere, qui in itinere jam defecerat, vehementius perturbati, alio mendacio se obligaverunt, respondentes eum a Carthagine redeuntem fuisse defunctum: de quo mendacio exire omnino minime potuerunt. Ecce quibus creditis vel de antiqua traditione, vel de Cognitoris corruptione, qui Mandatum suum, ubi nobis objecerunt crimen traditionis, non potuerunt conscribere sine crimine falsitatis. Proinde quae maxime necessaria credidimus, his litteris tanquam breviario collecta inseruimus, ne forte ad magna Gestorum volumina vel pervenire non facile possitis, vel ea legere laboriosum putetis.

2. Carthaginem venimus et nos et episcopi vestri, et quod prius nolebant et indignum esse dicebant, in unum convenimus. Electi sunt ex nobis et ex ipsis septem hinc, et septem inde, qui pro causa omnium loquerentur. Electi sunt alii septem hinc, et septem inde, cum quibus, ubi opus erat, consilium pertractarent. Electi sunt quatuor hinc, et quatuor inde, qui Gestis conscribendis custodes essent, ne infalsatum aliquid ab aliquo diceretur.

Epistle CXLI.

To the people of the Donatist faction, how their bishops were convicted in the Conference of Carthage. Therefore let them now at last return to the communion of the Catholic Church.

SILVANUS the Elder, VALENTINUS, AURELIUS, INNOCENTIUS, MAXIMINUS, OPTATUS, AUGUSTINE, DONATUS, and the other bishops from the council of Zerta, to the Donatists.

1. Since the fame was becoming frequent in our ears, that your bishops were saying this to you, that the Judge had been corrupted by a reward, so that a sentence might be pronounced against them, and that you easily believed these things, and therefore many of you were still unwilling to acquiesce to the truth; it pleased us, the charity of the Lord compelling us, to direct these writings to you from our council, by which you might first be admonished that they, being conquered and convicted, were boasting these lies to you: who even in their Mandate, which they made for that conference, and confirmed with their names and signatures, saying that we were there traditors and their persecutors, were detected and convicted in most manifest falsity and lie; so that wishing to glory in the multitude of their co-bishops, they inserted among the names of some who were absent even the name of a dead man; and when it was asked where he was, being blinded by sudden perturbation, they themselves confessed that he had failed on the journey. And when they were asked how he could have signed at Carthage, who had already failed on the journey, being more vehemently perturbed, they bound themselves with another lie, responding that he had died returning from Carthage: from which lie they were by no means able to escape. Behold whom you believe either concerning ancient tradition, or concerning the corruption of the Judge, who were not able to write their own Mandate, where they objected to us the crime of tradition, without the crime of falsity. Accordingly, those things which we believed most necessary, we have inserted in these letters collected as if in a summary, lest perchance you might not be able easily to arrive at the great volumes of the Acts, or might think it laborious to read them.

2. We came to Carthage, both we and your bishops, and we met together in one place, a thing which they previously refused and said was unworthy. There were chosen from us and from them seven on this side, and seven on that, who should speak for the cause of all. There were chosen another seven on this side, and seven on that, with whom, where there was need, they might discuss counsel. There were chosen four on this side, and four on that, who should be keepers for the writing of the Acts (Gesta), lest anything falsified should be said by anyone.

Dati sunt etiam a nobis et ab ipsis notarii quatuor hinc, et quatuor inde, ut bini cum exceptoribus judicis alternarent, ne aliquis nostrum se dixisse aliquid causaretur, quod non fuisset exceptum. Huic tantae diligentiae etiam illud est additum, ut et nos et ipsi, quemadmodum ipse judex, verbis nostris subscriberemus, ne quisquam diceret in illis Gestis aliquid vel postea fuisse corruptum. Cum enim adhuc viventibus eis qui subscripserunt, innotuerint eadem Gesta omnibus locis, in quibus oportet ut innotescant; sic etiam ad posteros confirmata veritas perdurabit. Nolite ergo esse ingrati tantae misericordiae Dei, quae per istam diligentiam vobis ministrata est. Nulla excusatio jam remansit; nimium dura, nimium diabolica sunt hominum corda quae adhuc tantae manifestationi veritatis obsistunt.

3. Ecce episcopi partis vestrae, quos omnes elegerunt, ut pro omnibus loquerentur, conati sunt, quantum potuerunt, ut omnino ipsa causa non ageretur, propter quam tantus numerus episcoporum utriusque partis de universa Africa, et de tam longinquis locis Carthaginem venerat. Et cum omnis anima suspensa exspectaret in tanta collectione quid ageretur, illi vehementer instabant ut nihil ageretur. Quare hoc, nisi quia causam suam malam sciebant, et facillime se posse vinci, si ageretur, dubitare non poterant? Ipse ergo animus eorum, quo timebant ne causa ageretur, jam victos eos esse monstrabat. Si enim extorquerent quod volebant, ut jam collatio ipsa non fieret, nec disputationibus nostris veritas appareret: redeuntes a Carthagine, quid vobis erant responsari? quid demonstraturi? Credo, prolaturi erant Gesta, et dicturi vobis: Nos instabamus ut causa non ageretur, illi instabant ut ageretur. Vos exspectatis videre quid egerimus: ecce legite ubi eos vicimus, ut nihil ageremus. Forte et vos responderetis, si cor haberetis: Nihil ergo acturi, utquid istis? vel potius qui nihil egistis, utquid redistis?

4. Denique posteaquam non potuerunt efficere quod conati sunt, id est ut causa non ageretur; ipsa actio demonstravit quid timuerint, quando in omnibus victi sunt. Confessi sunt enim, contra Ecclesiam catholicam, quae toto terrarum orbe diffunditur, nihil se habere quod dicerent; quia divinis sanctarum Scripturarum testimoniis oppressi sunt, quibus Ecclesia designatur incipiens ab Jerusalem crevisse per loca in quibus Apostoli praedicaverunt, et nomina eorumdem locorum in suis Epistolis et Actis conscripserunt, et inde diffundi per caeteras gentes.

There were also given by us and by them four notaries on this side, and four on that, so that they might alternate in pairs with the secretaries (exceptores) of the judge, lest any of us should complain that he had said something which had not been recorded. To this so great diligence there was also added this, that both we and they, just as the judge himself, should sign our words with our own signatures, lest anyone should say that in those Acts anything had been corrupted even afterward. For since, while those who signed are still living, the same Acts have become known in all places in which it is fitting that they should be known, thus also to posterity the confirmed truth will endure. Do not, therefore, be ungrateful for so great a mercy of God, which has been administered to you through this diligence. No excuse now remains; too hard, too diabolical are the hearts of men who still resist such a manifestation of the truth.

3. Behold, the bishops of your party, whom all chose to speak for all, endeavored as much as they could that the cause itself, for which so great a number of bishops of both parties had come to Carthage from all Africa and from such distant places, should not be dealt with at all. And when every soul was waiting in suspense in so great a gathering for what was being done, they vehemently insisted that nothing should be done. Why this, unless because they knew their cause to be bad, and could not doubt that they could very easily be conquered if it were dealt with? Therefore, their very mind, by which they feared lest the cause should be dealt with, already showed them to be conquered. For if they had extorted what they wanted, so that the conference itself should not take place, and the truth should not appear by our disputations: returning from Carthage, what would they have answered to you? what would they have shown? I believe they would have brought forth the Acts and said to you: "We were insisting that the cause should not be dealt with, they were insisting that it should be." You expect to see what we did: behold, read where we conquered them, by doing nothing. Perchance you also would answer, if you had a heart: "Will you then do nothing? why go to them? or rather, you who did nothing, why did you return?"

4. Finally, after they could not effect what they endeavored, that is, that the cause should not be dealt with, the action itself demonstrated what they feared, when they were conquered in all things. For they confessed that against the Catholic Church, which is spread throughout the whole world, they had nothing that they could say; because they were overwhelmed by the divine testimonies of the Holy Scriptures, by which the Church is designated as beginning from Jerusalem, growing through the places in which the Apostles preached and wrote the names of those same places in their Epistles and Acts, and from there being spread through the rest of the nations.

Contra istam Ecclesiam se non habere causam manifesta voce professi sunt, ubi est evidentissima in nomine Dei nostra victory. Cum enim confirmant Ecclesiam, cui nos communicare, ipsos autem non communicare manifestum est, olim se victos esse testantur; et vobis, si sapiatis, apertissime indicant quid dimittere, et quid tenere debeatis, non ea falsitate qua vobis non cessant adhuc usque mentiri, sed illa veritate quam victi coacti sunt confiteri.

5. Quisquis ergo ab hac catholica Ecclesia fuerit separatus, quantumlibet laudabiliter se vivere existimet, hoc solo scelere quod a Christi unitate disjunctus est, non habebit vitam; sed ira Dei manet super eum. Quisquis autem in hac Ecclesia bene vixerit, nihil ei praejudicant aliena peccata; quia unusquisque in ea proprium onus portabit, sicut Apostolus dicit (Galat. VI, 5). Et quicumque in ea corpus Christi manducaverit indigne, judicium sibi manducat et bibit (I Cor. XI, 29): nam etiam hoc ipse Apostolus scripsit. Cum autem dicit, judicium sibi manducat, satis ostendit, quia non alteri judicium manducat, sed sibi. Hoc nos egimus, et ostendimus, et obtinuimus, quia communio malorum non maculat aliquem participatione Sacramentorum, sed consensione factorum. Nam si in factis malis non eis quisque consentiat; portat malus causum suam et personam suam, nec praejudicat alteri quem in consensione mali operis socium non habet criminis.

6. Hoc etiam ipsi voce apertissima coacti sunt confiteri; non tunc quando ista dicebamus, sed postea cum aliud ageretur. Nam cum ventum fuisset ad causam etiam Caeciliani, quam nos ab Ecclesiae causa distinguebamus, ut si forte malus esset inventus, ipsum anathematizaremus, non tamen propter ipsum Ecclesiam Christi relinqueremus, cui per malam suam causam praejudicare non posset: cum ergo etiam ad ipsam Caeciliani causam ventum fuisset, et legissent illi concilium Carthaginense, ubi recitabant septuaginta plus minus episcoporum sententias contra Caecilianum absentem prolatas; respondimus eis, sic non obesse illud episcoporum concilium absenti Caeciliano, quemadmodum non obfuit plurium episcoporum partis Donati concilium absenti Primiano, quando eum in Maximiani causa plus minus centum episcopi damnaverant.

Against this Church they professed with a manifest voice that they had no cause, wherein is our most evident victory in the name of God. For when they confirm the Church, to which it is manifest that we communicate but they do not communicate, they testify that they were long ago conquered; and to you, if you be wise, they most clearly indicate what you ought to leave and what you ought to hold, not by that falsity with which they do not cease to lie to you even until now, but by that truth which, being conquered, they were compelled to confess.

5. Whoever, therefore, shall be separated from this Catholic Church, however laudably he may think he is living, for this crime alone, that he is disjoined from the unity of Christ, he shall not have life; but the wrath of God remains upon him. But whoever shall have lived well in this Church, the sins of others do not prejudice him at all; because "every one shall bear his own burden" in it, as the Apostle says (Gal. 6:5). And "whosoever shall have eaten the body of Christ unworthily" in it, "eateth and drinketh judgment to himself" (1 Cor. 11:29): for the Apostle himself wrote this also. But when he says, "eateth judgment to himself," he shows sufficiently that he does not eat judgment to another, but to himself. This we have done, and shown, and obtained, that the communion of the wicked does not stain anyone by participation in the Sacraments, but by consent to their deeds. For if anyone does not consent to them in their evil deeds, the wicked man bears his own cause and his own person, nor does he prejudice another whom he does not have as a partner in crime in the consent to the evil work.

6. This also they themselves were compelled to confess with a most manifest voice; not then when we were saying these things, but afterward when something else was being dealt with. For when the cause of Caecilian also had been come to, which we distinguished from the cause of the Church, so that if perchance he should be found evil, we should anathematize him, yet we should not on his account leave the Church of Christ, which could not be prejudiced by his bad cause: when therefore they had come even to the cause of Caecilian himself, and they had read that council of Carthage, where they recited the sentences of seventy bishops, more or less, pronounced against the absent Caecilian; we answered them, that the council of bishops did not hinder the absent Caecilian, just as the council of more bishops of the party of Donatus did not hinder the absent Primian, when more or less a hundred bishops had condemned him in the cause of Maximian.

Tunc illi, nominata causa Maximiani, unde sciunt se etiam quos damnaverant, in honore integro suscepisse, et baptismum in sacrilego Maximiani schismate datum se confirmasse, et non destruxisse; et in sua Bagaitana sententia, qua eos damnaverunt, quibusdam qui in ipso schismate fuerunt, dilationem dedisse, et dixisse quod eos non polluerint sacrilegi surculi Maximiani plantaria: ista ergo causa posteaquam eorum aures percussit, expavescentes et perturbati, et obliti unde superius contra nos contendebant, continuo dixerunt, Nec causa causae, nec persona personae praejudicat: et confirmaverunt verbis suis quod nos antea de Ecclesia dicebamus, quia non solum Catholicae transmarinae, contra quam se confessi sunt non habere quod dicerent, verum etiam Catholicae Africanae, quae illi unitatis communione conjungitur, causa et persona Caeciliani, qualiscumque fuisset, praejudicare non posset; si Maximianus qui cum caeteris sociis suis Primianum damnavit, si etiam Felicianus qui simul Primianum damnavit, et postea in causa Primiani a Donati parte damnatus est, non praejudicat parti Donati, cui modo episcopus, sicut antea fuerat, receptus adjungitur; si etiam ipsis sociis suis Maximianus non praejudicat, quibus isti dilationem dederunt, dicentes eos ab illo, cum quo fuerunt, non fuisse pollutos, quia nec causa causae praejudicat, nec persona personae.

7. Quid ergo quaeritis amplius? Multis quidem verbis superfluis Gesta oneraverunt; et quia non potuerunt efficere ut causa non ageretur, hoc fecerunt multum loquendo, ut quod actum est difficile legeretur. Sed debent vobis etiam ista eorum pauca verba sufficere, ne propter nescio quae, nescio quorum hominum crimina, oderitis unitatem catholicae Ecclesiae; quia, sicut ipsi dixerunt, relegerunt, subscripserunt, Nec causa causae praejudicat, nec persona personae. Nam et in ipsa causa Caeciliani, quam licet ad Ecclesiae causam non pertinentem, tamen defendendam suscepimus, ut etiam ibi calumniae manifestarentur ipsorum, apertissime victi sunt, nihilque eorum quae in Caecilianum intendebant, probare potuerunt. Insuper etiam de criminibus traditionis nos episcopalia Gesta protulimus, unde recitavimus aliquos eorum episcoporum qui sententias in absentem dixerant Caecilianum, manifestissimos fuisse traditores. Contra ipsa Gesta illi, quia non habebant quod dicerent, falsa esse dixerunt; sed nullo modo probare potuerunt.

Then they, the cause of Maximian being named, whence they know that they even received back in full honor those whom they had condemned, and confirmed and did not destroy the baptism given in the sacrilegious schism of Maximian; and in their Bagaitan sentence, by which they condemned them, they gave a delay to some who had been in that same schism, and said that the plantings of the sacrilegious shoots of Maximian did not pollute them: when this cause, therefore, struck their ears, being terrified and perturbed, and forgetting where they were contending against us above, they immediately said: "Neither cause prejudices cause, nor person prejudices person": and they confirmed by their words what we were previously saying about the Church, that not only the transmarine Catholic Church, against which they confessed they had nothing to say, but even the African Catholic Church, which is joined to that one in the communion of unity, could not be prejudiced by the cause and person of Caecilian, whatever he might have been; if Maximian, who with his other associates condemned Primian, if even Felician, who together condemned Primian, and was afterward condemned by the party of Donatus in the cause of Primian, does not prejudice the party of Donatus, to which he is now joined, being received as a bishop as he had been before; if also Maximian does not prejudice those same associates of his, to whom they gave a delay, saying that they had not been polluted by him with whom they were, because "neither cause prejudices cause, nor person prejudices person."

7. What more do you seek? They indeed burdened the Acts (Gesta) with many superfluous words; and because they could not effect that the cause should not be dealt with, they did this by speaking much, so that what was done might be read with difficulty. But even these few words of theirs ought to suffice you, lest on account of I know not what crimes of I know not what men, you should hate the unity of the Catholic Church; because, as they themselves said, reread, and signed: "Neither cause prejudices cause, nor person prejudices person." For even in the cause of Caecilian itself, which, although not pertaining to the cause of the Church, we nevertheless undertook to defend, so that even there their slanders (calumnies) might be made manifest, they were most clearly conquered, and were able to prove nothing of those things which they intended against Caecilian. Moreover, even concerning the crimes of tradition, we brought forth the episcopal Acts, whence we recited that some of those bishops who had pronounced sentences against the absent Caecilian had been most manifest traditors. Against these same Acts, because they had nothing to say, they said they were false; but in no way were they able to prove it.

8. Insuper etiam confessi sunt, vel potius pro magna gloria professi sunt, Caecilianum apud Constantinum imperatorem a suis praecessoribus accusatum. Et addiderunt mendacium, quod illis accusantibus fuerit ab Imperatore damnatus. Ecce et hinc victi sunt, unde vobis solent nebulas erroris offundere, concitantes nobis invidiam, et in odium vestrum nos adducentes, quia Ecclesiae causam apud Imperatores agimus. Ecce majores eorum de quorum nominibus gloriantur, Ecclesiae causam egerunt apud Imperatorem; persecuti sunt accusando Caecilianum apud Imperatorem, damnatum dixerunt. Jam non vos seducant vanissimis et mendacissimis verbis: redite ad cor vestrum, timete Dominum, cogitate veritatem, relinquite falsitatem. Quidquid enim jam passi fueritis imperialibus legibus, quod non pro justitia, sed pro iniquitate patimini, non poteritis dicere ideo nos esse injustos, quia sic vobiscum agi non debuit, ut Imperator vos ab ista iniquitate compesceret. Episcopi enim vestri confessi sunt majores suos sic egisse cum Caeciliano, quomodo vobiscum agi non vultis. And yet that they persecuted Caecilian before the Emperor was sufficiently established even by their own confessing and professing: but that Caecilian was condemned by the Emperor was not established at all; imo etiam constitit eum, accusantibus et persequentibus majoribus eorum, et bis numero prius ab episcopis, et ab ipso postea Imperatore fuisse purgatum. Hoc etiam ipsi confirmaverunt, talia postea, quasi pro causa sua, proferendo, ut magis contra ipsos esse invenirentur, et pro causa Caeciliani etiam illa quae protulerunt, recitarentur. Quoscumque ergo accusare voluerunt, nullis certis documentis probare potuerunt: quidquid autem nos et pro Ecclesiae causa, et pro Caeciliani causa diximus, et verbis suis et lectionibus a se prolatis etiam ipsi confirmaverunt.

9. Nam protulerunt primo codicem Optati, unde quasi probarent Caecilianum ab Imperatore damnatum: qui codex cum contra illos legeretur, et magis ostenderet Caecilianum fuisse purgatum, ab omnibus risi sunt. Sed quia ipse risus non potuit ab exceptoribus excipi, verbis suis apud Acta risos se esse testati sunt. Iterum recitaverunt et protulerunt libellum imperatori Constantino a suis majoribus datum, ubi questi sunt quod eos memoratus imperator graviter persequeretur; ac sic eodem libello manifestarunt se apud Imperatorem a Caeciliano fuisse superatos, falsumque esse quod dixerant, eum ab Imperatore damnatum.

8. Moreover, they even confessed, or rather professed for great glory, that Caecilian was accused by their predecessors before the Emperor Constantine. And they added a lie, that he was condemned by the Emperor at their accusation. Behold, from here also they are conquered, whence they are accustomed to pour forth clouds of error upon you, stirring up envy against us, and bringing us into your hatred, because we deal with the cause of the Church before the Emperors. Behold, their ancestors of whose names they glory, dealt with the cause of the Church before the Emperor; they persecuted by accusing Caecilian before the Emperor, they said he was condemned. Now let them not seduce you with most vain and lying words: return to your heart, fear the Lord, think of the truth, leave falsity. For whatever you may now have suffered by the imperial laws, which you suffer not for justice but for iniquity, you will not be able to say that we are therefore unjust, because it ought not to have been dealt with thus with you, that the Emperor should restrain you from that iniquity. For your bishops confessed that their ancestors dealt thus with Caecilian as you do not wish it to be dealt with with you. And yet that they persecuted Caecilian before the Emperor was sufficiently established even by their own confessing and professing: but that Caecilian was condemned by the Emperor was not established at all; nay, it was even established that he, their ancestors accusing and persecuting him, was purged twice first by bishops, and afterward by the Emperor himself. This they themselves also confirmed, by bringing forth such things afterward, as if for their own cause, that they were found to be rather against themselves, and even those things which they brought forth were recited for the cause of Caecilian. Whomever, therefore, they wished to accuse, they could prove with no certain documents: but whatever we said both for the cause of the Church and for the cause of Caecilian, they themselves also confirmed both by their words and by the readings brought forth by themselves.

9. For they first brought forth a codex of Optatus, whence they might prove as it were that Caecilian was condemned by the Emperor: which codex, when it was read against them, and showed rather that Caecilian had been purged, they were laughed at by all. But because that laughter could not be recorded by the secretaries, they testified by their own words in the Acts that they had been laughed at. Again they recited and brought forth a petition (libellum) given to the Emperor Constantine by their ancestors, where they complained that the mentioned Emperor was gravely persecuting them; and thus by the same petition they manifested that they had been overcome by Caecilian before the Emperor, and that what they had said, that he was condemned by the Emperor, was false.

Tertio protulerunt litteras ejusdem Constantini ad vicarium Verinum datas, ubi eos graviter detestatur, et propterea dicit de exsilio relaxandos, et furori suo dimittendos, quia jam Deus coeperat in illos vindicare: ac sic etiam istis Imperatoris litteris confirmaverunt se falsum dixisse, quod Caecilianum ab Imperatore damnatus sit; cum potius Imperator ipsos a Caeciliano victos esse monstraverit, quando eos vehementer exsecratus, ideo jussit ut de exsilio dimitterentur, ut Deo judice, sicut et jam coeperant, punirentur.

10. Postea Felicis Aptungensis ordinatoris Caeciliani causam in medium miserunt, dicentes eumdem Felicem fuisse traditorem, a quo Caecilianus fuerat ordinatus: et ejusdem Constantini imperatoris pro Caeciliano contra seipsos litteras protulerunt, ubi ad proconsulem scripsit, ut ad Comitatum suum mitteretur Ingentius. Iste autem Ingentius confessus fuerat in cognitione Aeliani proconsulis falsum se fecisse adversus Felicem Caeciliani ordinatorem. Dicebant ergo isti non sine causa voluisse Imperatorem ut ad se mitteretur Ingentius, nisi quia Caeciliani adhuc causa pendebat: et conabantur immittere suspicionem vanissimam, quod posteaquam Ingentius ad Comitatum directus est, tunc Imperator contra Caecilianum potuerit judicare, et illud judicium suum quod nos recitaveramus, ubi inter partes cognoverat, Caecilianumque purgaverat, sententia posteriore rescindere. Sed dicebatur eis ut hoc potius legerent; et nihil omnino proferebant. Illae autem litterae Imperatoris, quibus ad se mitti jussit Ingentium, quas contra seipsos pro Caeciliano recitaverunt, hoc continent, quod Aelianus proconsul in causa Felicis audientiam praebuerit competentem, eumdemque Felicem a crimine traditionis innocentem fuisse constiterit: sed Ingentium ad Comitatum suum propterea jubere transmitti, ut illis qui ibi erant, et diurnis diebus eum interpellare non desinebant, apparere et intimari posset, et frustra eos Caeciliano invidiam comparare, et adversus eum violenter insurgere voluisse.

11. Quis eos crederet ista contra se recitasse pro nobis, nisi Dei omnipotentis nutu factum esset, ut non solum verba eorum Gestis tenerentur, sed etiam manus subscribentium legerentur? Nam et ordinem consulum et dierum, qui Gestis expressus est, si quis nunc diligenter advertat, inveniet primo Caecilianum episcopali judicio fuisse purgatum. Deinde non multo post Felicis Aptungensis causa ab Aeliano proconsule examinata est, ubi eum constitit innocentem: in qua causa ad Comitatum mitti jussus est Ingentius.

Thirdly, they brought forth letters of the same Constantine given to the vicar Verinus, where he gravely detests them, and therefore says they are to be released from exile and left to their own fury, because God had already begun to take vengeance upon them: and thus also by these letters of the Emperor they confirmed that they had said a falsehood, that Caecilian was condemned by the Emperor; when rather the Emperor showed that they were conquered by Caecilian, when he, vehemently execrating them, therefore commanded that they should be released from exile, so that with God as judge, as they had already begun, they might be punished.

10. Afterward they brought into the midst the cause of Felix of Aptungi, the ordainer of Caecilian, saying that the same Felix had been a traditor, by whom Caecilian had been ordained: and they brought forth letters of the same Emperor Constantine for Caecilian against themselves, where he wrote to the proconsul that Ingentius should be sent to his Court. But this Ingentius had confessed in the cognition of the proconsul Aelianus that he had committed a falsehood against Felix, the ordainer of Caecilian. They were saying therefore that not without cause had the Emperor wished that Ingentius should be sent to him, unless because the cause of Caecilian was still pending: and they were endeavoring to instill a most vain suspicion, that after Ingentius was directed to the Court, then the Emperor could have judged against Caecilian, and by a later sentence rescind that judgment of his which we had recited, where he had taken cognition between the parties and had purged Caecilian. But it was said to them that they should rather read this; and they brought forth nothing at all. But those letters of the Emperor, by which he commanded Ingentius to be sent to him, which they recited against themselves for Caecilian, contain this: that the proconsul Aelianus had provided a competent audience in the cause of Felix, and that it was established that the same Felix was innocent of the crime of tradition: but that he commanded Ingentius to be transmitted to his Court for this reason, that to those who were there and did not cease to interpose (interpellate) him in those days, it might appear and be intimated that they in vain wished to procure envy for Caecilian and to rise up violently against him.

11. Who would believe that they had recited these things against themselves for us, unless it had been done by the nod of Almighty God, so that not only their words should be held by the Acts (Gesta), but also the hands of those signing should be read? For if anyone now diligently adverts to the order of the consuls and of the days, which is expressed in the Acts, he will find first that Caecilian was purged by an episcopal judgment. Then not much later the cause of Felix of Aptungi was examined by the proconsul Aelianus, where it was established that he was innocent: in which cause Ingentius was commanded to be sent to the Court.

Et longe postea ipse Imperator causam inter partes cognovit atque finivit: in qua cognitione Caecilianum innocentem, illos autem calumniosissimos judicavit. In quo ordine consulum et dierum satis ostenditur fallaciter eos et calumniose dixisse, quod Imperator misso ad Comitatum Ingentio, judicium suum mutavit, et Caecilianum quem prius purgaverat, postea condemnavit. Non solum autem nihil de hac re legere potuerunt, et contra seipsos tanta legerunt; sed etiam per ordinem consulum evidentius convincuntur, post causam Felicis proconsulari judicio terminatam, in qua jussum est ut ad Comitatum Ingentius mitteretur, nec parvo intervallo, sed longe postea memorati imperatoris judicio inter partes habito, Caecilianum fuisse purgatum.

12. Non ergo vobis dicant quia praemio corrupimus judicem. Quid enim aliud solent victi homines dicere? Aut si aliquid dedimus judici, ut contra illos pro nobis pronuntiaret; ipsis quid dedimus, ut contra se pro nobis tanta non solum dicerent, verum etiam recitarent? An forte volunt ut eis apud vos gratias agamus, quia cum dicant judicem praemio a nobis esse corruptum, ipsi tam multa, quae pro nobis contra seipsos dixerunt et recitaverunt, gratis nobis omnia praestiterunt? Aut certe si propterea dicunt quod nos vicerint, quia melius egerunt causam Caeciliani quam nos, hoc plane credite illis. Nos enim duas lectiones pro illo sufficere putaveramus: illi autem quatuor protulerunt.

13. Sed quid pluribus litteras oneramus? Si vultis nobis credere, credite; et teneamus pariter unitatem, quam jubet et diligit Deus. Si autem nobis non vultis credere, Gesta ipsa legite, aut vobis ut legantur admittite, et an vera sint quae scripsimus vobis, ipsi probate. Si autem nihil horum facere vultis, et manifestissima veritate convictam partis Donati falsitatem adhuc sequi desideratis, mundi sumus a poena vestra, quando vos sero postea poenitebit. Si vero id quod vobis praestitit Deus non contempseritis; et post causam tam diligenter actam, et tam diligenter manifestatam, perversam consuetudinem relinquentes, paci Christi et unitati consenseritis, de vestra correctione gaudebimus: et Sacramenta Christi, quae in sacrilegio schismatis ad judicium habetis, utilia et salubria vobis erunt cum in catholica pace habueritis caput Christum, ubi charitas cooperit multitudinem peccatorum (I Petr. IV, 8). Haec ad vos scripsimus XVIII cal. julias, piissimo Honorio Augusto IX cos. ut quando possunt ad quosque vestrum istae litterae pervenirent.

And long afterward the Emperor himself took cognition between the parties and finished the cause: in which cognition he judged Caecilian innocent, but them most slanderous (calumnious). In which order of consuls and days it is sufficiently shown that they said fallaciously and slanderously that the Emperor, Ingentius being sent to the Court, changed his judgment, and afterward condemned Caecilian whom he had first purged. For not only were they able to read nothing concerning this matter, and read so much against themselves; but also they are more evidently convicted by the order of consuls, that after the cause of Felix was terminated by a proconsular judgment, in which it was commanded that Ingentius be sent to the Court, not by a small interval, but long afterward by the judgment of the mentioned Emperor held between the parties, Caecilian was purged.

12. Therefore let them not say to you that we have corrupted the judge by a reward. For what else are conquered men accustomed to say? Or if we gave something to the judge, so that he might pronounce against them for us; what did we give to them, so that they might not only say but even recite so many things against themselves for us? Or perchance do they wish that we should give thanks to them, because when they say the judge was corrupted by a reward from us, they themselves freely provided for us all those many things which they said and recited against themselves for us? Or certainly if they say for this reason that they conquered us, because they better dealt with the cause of Caecilian than we, believe them plainly in this. For we had thought two readings sufficient for him: but they brought forth four.

13. But why do we burden the letters with more things? If you wish to believe us, believe; and let us hold together the unity which God commands and loves. But if you do not wish to believe us, read the Acts themselves, or allow them to be read to you, and do you yourselves prove whether those things which we have written to you are true. But if you wish to do none of these things, and desire still to follow the falsity of the party of Donatus convicted by most manifest truth, we are clean from your punishment, when you shall afterward repent too late. But if you shall not have contemned that which God has provided for you; and after a cause so diligently dealt with and so diligently manifested, leaving perverse custom, you shall have consented to the peace and unity of Christ, we shall rejoice in your correction: and the Sacraments of Christ, which you have for judgment in the sacrilege of schism, will be useful and salutary to you when you shall have Christ as head in Catholic peace, where charity covers a multitude of sins (1 Pet. 4:8). We have written these things to you on the eighteenth day before the calends of July, in the ninth consulship of the most pious Honorius Augustus, so that these letters might reach whoever of you they can.

EPISTOLA CXLII. Augustinus Saturnino et Eufrati presbyteris, aliisque clericis, gratulans de ipsorum reditu ad Ecclesiam, eosque in ejus communione confirmans; et hortans ut ecclesiastica officia, pro suo quisque gradu, fideliter exsequantur.

Dominis dilectissimis, fratribus presbyteris, SATURNINO et EUFRATI, et clericis qui vobiscum sunt, ad unitatem Christi pacemque conversis, AUGUSTINUS episcopus, in Domino salutem.

1. Laetificavit nos vester adventus: sed non vos absentia nostra contristet. In illa enim Ecclesia sumus, quae propitio Deo, licet usquequaque porrecta et toto orbe diffusa sit, unum tamen corpus est magnum unius capitis magni, quod caput ejus est ipse Salvator, sicut Apostolus dicit (Eph. V, 23, et Coloss. I, 18). De hujus autem capitis glorificatione, quae post ejus resurrectionem futura fuerat, tanto ante propheta praedixit, Exaltare super coelos, Deus; et quia illo super coelos exaltato, Ecclesia ejus omnem terram copiosa fecunditate fuerat impletura, consequenter idem psalmus adjunxit: Et super omnem terram gloria tua (Psal. LVI, 12). Proinde, dilectissimi, stabili mente et firmissimo corde, sub tam excelso capite, in tam glorioso corpore persistamus, in quo invicem membra sumus. Unde etsi remotissimis terris mea longinqua esset absentia, in illo simul essemus, a cujus corporis unitate recedere non debemus. Si enim nos una domus haberet, utique simul esse diceremur: quanto magis simul sumus, cum in uno corpore simul sumus! Quanquam etiam in una domo nos esse Veritas ipsa testatur, quoniam sancta Scriptura, quae corpus Christi esse dicit Ecclesiam, ipsa itidem dicit Ecclesiam eamdem esse domum Dei.

2. Sed haec domus non orbis terrae uno angulo aedificatur, sed per omnem terram. Unde ille psalmus, in cujus titulo legitur, Quando domus aedificabatur post captivitatem, sic incipit: Cantate Domino canticum novum, cantate Domino, omnis terra (Psal. XCV, 1). In vetustate quippe veteris hominis, orbem terrae diabolus captivaverat; post hanc captivitatem cum aedificatur domus, renovatio fidelium significatur in homine novo. Unde dicit Apostolus, Exuite vos veterem hominem, et induite eum qui secundum Deum creatus est (Eph. IV, 22, 24): et quia hoc per omnem terram fit in unitate catholica; sicut in alio psalmo dictum est, Et super omnem terram gloria tua; sic in isto cum dictum esset, Cantate Domino canticum novum, ut demonstraretur quando domus aedificatur in isto cantico novo, continuo subjunctum est, Cantate Domino, omnis terra. Operarios autem, per quos ista tam magna domus aedificatur, idem psalmus exhortatur, cum consequenter dicit, Bene nuntiate de die ex die salutare ejus; annuntiate in gentibus gloriam ejus, in omnibus populis mirabilia ejus: et paulo post dicit, Afferte Domino, patriae gentium, afferte Domino gloriam et honorem. Quae sit haec domus, id est Ecclesia catholica, alio loco dixi.

EPISTLE CXLII. Augustine to the presbyters Saturninus and Euphrates, and to the other clerics, congratulating them on their return to the Church, and confirming them in its communion; and exhorting them that they should faithfully execute their ecclesiastical offices, each according to his grade.

To the most beloved lords, my brothers the presbyters, SATURNINUS and EUPHRATES, and the clerics who are with you, converted to the unity and peace of Christ, AUGUSTINE the bishop, greeting in the Lord.

1. Your arrival has gladdened us: but let not our absence sadden you. For we are in that Church which, by the favor of God, although it be stretched out everywhere and spread through the whole world, is nevertheless one great body of one great head, which head is the Savior Himself, as the Apostle says (Eph. 5:23, and Coloss. 1:18). Concerning the glorification of this head, however, which was to be after His resurrection, the prophet predicted so long before: "Be thou exalted above the heavens, O God"; and because, He being exalted above the heavens, His Church was to fill the whole earth with copious fecundity, the same psalm consequently added: "And thy glory above all the earth" (Psalm 56:12). Accordingly, most beloved, with a stable mind and a most firm heart, let us persist under so high a head in so glorious a body, in which we are members of one another. Whence even if my long absence were in most remote lands, we would be together in Him, from the unity of whose body we ought not to withdraw. For if one house held us, we should certainly be said to be together: how much more are we together when we are together in one body! Although even in one house the Truth Himself testifies that we are, since Holy Scripture, which says the Church is the body of Christ, says likewise that the same Church is the house of God.

2. But this house is not built in one corner of the earth, but through the whole earth. Whence that psalm, in the title of which is read, "When the house was being built after the captivity," thus begins: "Sing to the Lord a new song, sing to the Lord, all the earth" (Psalm 95:1). For in the oldness of the old man, the devil had made captive the world; after this captivity, when the house is being built, the renovation of the faithful is signified in the new man. Whence the Apostle says: "Put off the old man, and put on him who is created according to God" (Eph. 4:22, 24): and because this is done through the whole earth in Catholic unity; as it was said in another psalm, "And thy glory above all the earth," so in this one, when it had been said, "Sing to the Lord a new song," that it might be demonstrated when the house is being built in this new song, it was immediately subjoined: "Sing to the Lord, all the earth." But the workmen, by whom this so great a house is being built, the same psalm exhorts, when it says consequently: "Bring good tidings of his salvation from day to day; declare his glory among the nations, his wonders among all peoples": and a little after it says: "Bring to the Lord, ye kindreds of the nations, bring to the Lord glory and honor." What this house is, that is, the Catholic Church, I have said in another place.

3. His atque hujusmodi testimoniis tantae hujus domus, quae in tota Scriptura tam multa reperiuntur, ita cesserunt inimici ejus, ut faterentur contra Ecclesiam transmarinam, quam tamen catholicam esse confessi sunt, se causam non habere. Huic nos communicamus ut conjungi mereamur membris Christi, et compaginem corporis ejus fidelissimae charitatis amplectamur affectu. Quoniam in Ecclesiae hujus unitate quicumque male vixerit, sibi judicium manducat et bibit, sicut Apostolus dicit (I Cor XI, 29). Quicumque autem bene vivit, non ei praejudicat aliena causa, et aliena persona. Sic etiam illi cum de causa Maximiani urgerentur, ore suo coacti sunt confiteri, quia nec causa causae, nec persona personae praejudicat. Solliciti tamen invicem sumus pro nobis, tanquam unius corporis membra; ut quicumque adjuvante Domino, ad horreum futurum pertinemus, interim in area simul paleam toleremus, ne propter illam futuro igni destinatam, nos aream dominicam deseramus.

4. Agite fideliter, et hilariter Ecclesiastica officia quae ad vos pertinent, pro gradibus vestris, et ministerium vestrum sinceriter adimplete propter illum Deum, sub quo conservi sumus, et cui rationem de nostris actibus reddituros nos esse cogitamus. Unde abundare debent in vobis misericordiae viscera, quia judicium sine misericordia erit illi qui non fecerit misericordiam (Jacobi II, 13). Ac per hoc, et pro illis orate nobiscum qui adhuc contristantur, ut sanetur carnalis animi infirmitas, ex diuturna consuetudine collecta atque contracta. Nam quis non intelligat quam bonum sit et jucundum fratres habitare in unum (Psal. CXXXII, 1), si sanas fauces ista jucunditas tangat, unde respuat amaritudinem divisionis mens quae diligit dulcedinem charitatis? Potens est autem et misericors Deus, quem pro illis oramus, ut quibuslibet occasionibus etiam ipsos attrahat ad salutem. Dominus vos in pace conservet.

EPISTOLA CXLIII.

Paucis respondet ad quaestionem ex divinis Libris propositam a Marcellino. Tum explicat locum taxatum ex libris suis de Libero Arbitrio; declarans in primis quantum suis scriptis tribui velit: eademque occasione varias de animarum origine quaestiones perstringens. Postremo rejicit cujusdam (puta Volusiani) dubitationem, qui ideo non credebat Mariam virginem peperisse, quod id nunquam alias factum sit.

Domino eximio, et merito insigni, multumque charissimo filio MARCELLINO, AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

3. By these and suchlike testimonies of so great a house, which are found so many in the whole of Scripture, its enemies so far yielded that they confessed they had no cause against the transmarine Church, which nevertheless they confessed to be Catholic. To this we communicate that we may merit to be joined to the members of Christ, and may embrace the framework of His body with the affect of most faithful charity. Since in the unity of this Church whoever shall have lived evilly, "eateth and drinketh judgment to himself," as the Apostle says (1 Cor. 11:29). But whoever lives well, another's cause and another's person does not prejudice him. Thus also they, when they were urged by the cause of Maximian, were compelled to confess with their own mouth, that "neither cause prejudices cause, nor person prejudices person." We are nevertheless mutually solicitous for one another, as members of one body; so that whoever of us, by the help of the Lord, pertain to the future granary, may meanwhile tolerate the chaff together in the threshing floor (area), lest on account of that chaff destined for the future fire, we should desert the threshing floor of the Lord.

4. Execute faithfully and cheerfully the ecclesiastical offices which pertain to you, according to your grades, and fulfill your ministry sincerely on account of that God under whom we are fellow-servants, and to whom we think that we are to give an account of our acts. Whence the bowels of mercy ought to abound in you, because "judgment without mercy shall be to him who hath not done mercy" (James 2:13). And by this, pray with us for those also who are still saddened, that the infirmity of the carnal mind, collected and contracted from long-standing custom, may be healed. For who would not understand how good and pleasant it is for brothers to dwell in unity (Psalm 132:1), if that pleasantness should touch healthy throats, whence the mind which loves the sweetness of charity should reject the bitterness of division? But powerful and merciful is God, whom we pray for them, that by whatever occasions He may attract even them to salvation. May the Lord preserve you in peace.

EPISTLE CXLIII.

He answers in a few words to a question proposed from the divine Books by Marcellinus. Then he explains a passage censured from his books on Free Will; declaring in the first place how much he wishes to be attributed to his writings: and by the same occasion touching upon various questions concerning the origin of souls. Finally he rejects the doubt of someone (perhaps Volusianus), who therefore did not believe that the Virgin Mary had given birth, because it was never done elsewhere.

To the excellent lord, and deservedly distinguished, and much most dear son MARCELLINUS, AUGUSTINE, greeting in the Lord.

1. Epistolam tuam, quam per sanctum fratrem et coepiscopum meum Bonifacium accepi, quaesivi, cum rescriberem, nec inveni. Recolui tamen te in ea quaesisse quomodo invenerint magi Pharaonis, conversa in sanguinem tota aqua Aegypti, unde simile aliquid facerent. Quae duobus modis solvi quaestio solet: sive quod marina aqua potuerit offerri; sive, quod est credibilius, quia in ea regione, in qua erant filii Israel, istae plagae non fiebant. Hoc enim quibusdam Scripturae illius locis apertissime expressum admonet, etiam ubi non dictum est, quid intelligi debeat.

2. Illae autem litterae tuae, quas presbyter Urbanus attulit, habent quaestionem mihi propositam ex libris non divinis, sed meis, quos scripsi de Libero Arbitrio. In talibus autem quaestionibus non multum laboro: quia etsi defendi sententia mea liquida ratione non potest, mea est; non ejus auctoris cujus sensum improbare fas non est, etiam cum, eo non intellecto, hoc inde sentitur quod improbandum est. Ego proinde fateor me ex eorum numero esse conari, qui proficiendo scribunt, et scribendo proficiunt. Unde si aliquid vel incautius, vel indoctius a me positum est, quod non solum ab aliis qui videre id possunt, merito reprehendatur, verum etiam a meipso, quia et ego saltem postea videre debeo, si proficio; nec mirandum est, nec dolendum: sed potius ignoscendum atque gratulandum; non quia erratum est, sed quia improbatum. Nam nimis perverse seipsum amat qui et alios vult errare, ut error suus lateat. Quanto enim melius et utilius, ut ubi ipse erravit, alii non errent, quorum admonitu errore careat! quod si noluerit, saltem comites erroris non habeat. Si enim mihi Deus quod volo praestiterit, ut omnium librorum meorum quaecumque mihi rectissime displicent, opere aliquo ad hoc ipsum instituto, colligam atque demonstrem; tunc videbunt homines quam non sim acceptor personae meae.

3. Vos autem qui me multum diligitis, si talem asseritis adversus eos quorum malitia, vel imperitia, vel intelligentia reprehendor, ut me nusquam scriptorum meorum errasse dicatis; frustra laboratis, non bonam causam suscepistis, facile in ea me ipso judice superamini. Quoniam non mihi placet, cum a charissimis meis talis esse existimor, qualis non sum. Profecto enim non me, sed pro me alium sub meo nomine diligunt, si non quod sum, sed quod non sum diligunt. Nam in quantum me noverunt, vel de me verum credunt, ego ab eis diligor: in quantum autem mihi tribuunt quod in me non cognoscunt, alium talem qualem me putant, pro me diligunt . Romani maximus auctor Tullius eloquii, Nullum unquam verbum, inquit de quodam, quod revocare vellet, emisit. Quae quidem laus, quamvis praeclarissima videatur, tamen credibilior est de nimium fatuo, quam de sapiente perfecto.

1. Your letter, which I received through my holy brother and co-bishop Boniface, I sought when I was rewriting, and did not find. I recollected however that you had asked in it how the magicians of Pharaoh found, all the water of Egypt being turned into blood, whence they might do something similar. Which question is accustomed to be solved in two ways: either that sea water could have been offered; or, which is more credible, because in that region in which the children of Israel were, those plagues were not happening. For this is most clearly expressed in certain places of that Scripture, which admonishes what ought to be understood even where it is not said.

2. But that letter of yours which the presbyter Urbanus brought, has a question proposed to me from books not divine, but mine, which I wrote on Free Will (Libero Arbitrio). In such questions, however, I do not labor much: because even if my sentence cannot be defended by clear reason, it is mine; not that of an author whose sense it is not lawful to disapprove, even when, it not being understood, that is felt from it which ought to be disapproved. I accordingly confess myself to be of the number of those who endeavor to write by profiting, and to profit by writing. Whence if anything has been set down by me either more incautiously or more unlearnedly, which is deservedly reprehended not only by others who can see it, but even by myself, because I at least ought to see it afterward if I profit; it is neither to be wondered at nor to be grieved at: but rather to be forgiven and to be congratulated; not because there was an error, but because it was disapproved. For he loves himself too perversely who wishes others also to err, so that his own error may lie hidden. For how much better and more useful, that where he himself has erred, others should not err, by whose admonition he may be free from error! which if he should be unwilling, let him at least not have companions in error. For if God shall have provided for me what I wish, that I might collect and demonstrate all the things whatever in all my books which most rightly displease me, by some work instituted for this very purpose (Retractations); then men will see how I am not an acceptor of my own person.

3. But you who love me much, if you assert such a thing against those by whose malice, or unskilfulness, or intelligence I am reprehended, as to say that I have nowhere erred in my writings; you labor in vain, you have undertaken no good cause, you are easily overcome in it with me myself as judge. Since it does not please me, when I am thought such by my most dear friends as I am not. For truly they love not me, but instead of me another under my name, if they love not what I am, but what I am not. For in as much as they have known me, or believe true things about me, I am loved by them: but in as much as they attribute to me what they do not know in me, they love another such as they think me to be, instead of me. Tullius, the greatest author of Roman eloquence, said of someone: "He never sent forth any word which he would wish to recall." Which praise indeed, although it may seem most distinguished, yet is more credible concerning one too fatuous, than concerning a perfect wise man.

Nam et illi quos vulgo moriones vocant, quanto magis a sensu communi dissonant, magisque absurdi et insulsi sunt, tanto magis nullum verbum emittunt quod revocare velint; quia dicti mali, vel stulti, vel incommodi poenitere, utique cordatorum est. Sed si in bonam partem accipiatur, ut quempiam talem fuisse credamus, qui cum sapienter omnia loqueretur, nullum unquam verbum quod revocare vellet, emisit; hoc potius de hominibus Dei, qui Spiritu sancto acri locuti sunt, quam de illo quem sic Cicero laudat, saluberrima pietate credendum est. Ab hac ego excellentia tam longe absum, ut si nullum verbum quod revocare vellem protulero, fatuo sim quam sapienti similior. Illius quippe scripta summa sunt auctoritate dignissima, qui nullum verbum, non quod revocare vellet, sed quod revocare deberet, emisit. Hoc quisquis nondum est assecutus, secundas habeat partes modestiae, quia primas non potuit habere sapientiae: quia non valuit omnia non poenitenda diligenter dixisse, poeniteat quae cognoverit dicenda non fuisse.

4. Cum ergo, non sicut quidam charissimi mei putant, nulla vel pauca, sed potius plura fortasse quam etiam maledici opinantur verba dixerim, quae mallem revocare, si possem; non mihi Tulliana illa blanditur sententia, qua dictum est, Nullum unquam verbum quod revocare vellet, emisit: sed angit me plane Horatiana sententia, Nescit vox missa reverti. Hinc est quod periculosissimarum quaestionum libri, de Genesi scilicet, et de Trinitate, diutius teneo quam vultis et fertis; ut si non potuerint nisi habere aliqua quae merito reprehendantur, saltem pauciora sint quam esse possent, si praecipiti festinatione inconsultius ederentur. Vos enim, ut vestrae indicant litterae (nam hoc mihi etiam sanctus frater et coepiscopus meus scripsit Florentius), ideo ut edantur urgetis, quo possint a me, dum in hac carne vivo, defendi, cum vel ab inimicis mordentibus, vel etiam ab amicis parum intelligentibus, fortasse in quibusdam coeperint accusari. Quod utique propterea dicitis, quia non putatis esse in eis aliquid, quod vera possit ratione culpari: alioquin non me ad eorum editionem, sed ad diligentiorem emendationem potius hortaremini. Ego autem judices veros, et veritate severos magis intueor, inter quos et meipsum primitus constituere volo; ut ad illos ea tantum reprehendenda perveniant, quae a me, quamvis sedulo perscrutante, minime videri potuerunt.

For those also whom they commonly call morons, the more they are dissonant from common sense, and the more absurd and insipid they are, the more they send forth no word which they would wish to recall; because to repent of a bad, or foolish, or inconvenient saying, is certainly the part of those with a heart. But if it be taken in a good part, so that we believe anyone to have been such, that since he spoke all things wisely, he never sent forth any word which he would wish to recall; this is rather to be believed with most salutary piety concerning the men of God, who spoke by the Holy Spirit, than concerning him whom Cicero thus praises. I am so far away from this excellence, that if I shall have brought forth no word which I would wish to recall, I am more similar to a fatuous man than to a wise man. For those writings are indeed most worthy of the highest authority, which sent forth no word, not which he would wish to recall, but which he ought to recall. Whoever has not yet attained this, let him have the second parts of modesty, since he could not have the first parts of wisdom: because he was not able to have said all things diligently not to be repented of, let him repent of those things which he has known were not to be said.

4. Since therefore, not as some of my most dear friends think, I have spoken no words or few, but rather more perhaps than even the slanderous suppose, which I would prefer to recall if I could; that sentence of Tullius does not flatter me, by which it was said, "He never sent forth any word which he would wish to recall": but that sentence of Horace clearly troubles me, "A word once sent forth knows not how to return." Hence it is that I hold onto the books of most perilous questions, namely concerning Genesis and concerning the Trinity, longer than you wish and bear; so that if they could not but have some things which are deservedly reprehended, they may at least be fewer than they could be if they were published more incautiously with headlong haste. For you, as your letters indicate (for my holy brother and fellow-bishop Florentius also wrote this to me), urge that they be published for this reason, so that they might be defended by me while I live in this flesh, when they have perhaps begun to be accused in some things either by biting enemies or even by friends who understand too little. Which indeed you say for this reason, because you do not think there is anything in them which can be blamed by true reason: otherwise you would exhort me not to their publication, but rather to a more diligent emendation. But I look more upon true judges, and those severe with truth, among whom I wish to constitute myself first; so that only those things to be reprehended may reach them which could not at all be seen by me, although searching most sedulously.

5. Quae cum ita sint, hoc tamen quod in tertio libro de Libero Arbitrio, cum de substantia rationali agerem, sic a me positum est ut dicerem, In corporibus autem inferioribus anima post peccatum ordinata regit corpus suum, non omni modo pro arbitrio, sed sicut leges universitatis sinunt: diligenter advertant qui putant me aliquid de anima humana velut certum statuisse atque fixisse, quod vel ex parentibus per propaginem veniat, vel in actibus vitae superioris atque coelestis peccaverit, ut corruptibili carne mereretur includi; et videant sic a me verba fuisse perpensa, ut retento eo quod certum habeo; post peccatum primi hominis natos esse atque nasci caeteros homines in carne peccati, cui sanandae venit in Domino similitudo carnis peccati, ita omnia sonarent, ut nulli praejudicarent opinioni quatuor illarum, quas postea digessi atque distinxi, non confirmans aliquam, sed interim quod agebam sequestrata illarum discussione determinans, ut quaecumque illarum vera esset, Deus sine dubio laudaretur.

6. Sive enim ex illa una omnes animae propagentur, sive singillatim in singulis fiant, sive extra creatae mittantur, sive in corpora sponte mergantur; procul dubio creatura ista rationalis, id est humanae animae natura, in corporibus inferioribus, hoc est terrenis, post peccatum ordinata regit corpus suum, non omni modo pro arbitrio, interim quod constat peccatum primi hominis. Non enim dictum est, Post peccatum suum, aut, Posteaquam peccavit; sed dictum est, Post peccatum: ut quodlibet postea, si fieri posset, discussa ratio declararet, sive peccatum ejus, sive peccatum parentis carnis ejus, recte dictum intelligeretur quod dictum est, Post peccatum in inferioribus corporibus ordinata regit corpus suum, non omni modo pro arbitrio, quia et caro concupiscit adversus spiritum (Galat. V, 17), et ingemiscimus gravati (II Cor. V, 4), et corpus quod corrumpitur, aggravat animam (Sap. IX, 15): et quis omnia enarret carnalis infirmitatis incommoda? quae utique non erunt, cum corruptibile hoc induerit incorruptionem (I Cor. XV, 53), ut absorbeatur mortale a vita. Tunc itaque spirituale corpus reget omni modo pro arbitrio; nunc vero non omni modo, sed sicut leges universitatis sinunt, per quas constitutum est ut corpora orta occidant, et aucta senescant. Nam illius primi hominis anima, ante peccatum etiamsi nondum spirituale corpus, sed animale, tamen pro arbitrio regebat.

5. Since these things are so, nevertheless, as to this which was set down by me in the third book on Free Will (Libero Arbitrio), when I was treating of the rational substance, so that I said, "But in the inferior bodies the soul, ordered after sin, rules its own body, not in every way at its own choice, but as the laws of the universe permit": let those diligently observe who think that I have established and fixed anything as certain concerning the human soul, whether it comes from the parents through propagation, or has sinned in the acts of a superior and celestial life so as to deserve to be enclosed in corruptible flesh; and let them see that the words were so weighed by me, that keeping that which I have as certain, that after the sin of the first man the rest of men were born and are born in the flesh of sin, for the healing of which the likeness of the flesh of sin came in the Lord, all things should so sound as to prejudice no opinion of those four which I afterward digested and distinguished, confirming none, but determining for the time being what I was doing, with the discussion of those set aside, so that whichever of those were true, God would without doubt be praised.

6. For whether all souls are propagated from that one, or are made individually in individuals, or being created outside are sent in, or are merged into bodies of their own accord; without doubt that rational creature, that is, the nature of the human soul, in inferior bodies, that is earthly ones, ordered after sin rules its own body, not in every way at its own choice, meanwhile because it is established that the sin of the first man [exists]. For it was not said, "After its own sin," or, "After it sinned"; but it was said, "After sin": so that whatever afterward, if it were possible, discussed reason should declare, whether its own sin or the sin of the parent of its flesh, what was said might be understood to have been rightly said: "After sin, ordered in inferior bodies, it rules its own body, not in every way at its own choice," because both the flesh lusts against the spirit (Gal. 5:17), and we groan being burdened (2 Cor. 5:4), and the body which is corrupted burdens the soul (Wisd. 9:15): and who could relate all the inconveniences of carnal infirmity? which indeed will not be, when this corruptible shall have put on incorruption (1 Cor. 15:53), so that what is mortal may be swallowed up by life. Then therefore the spiritual body will rule in every way at its choice; but now indeed not in every way, but as the laws of the universe permit, through which it is established that bodies having arisen should die, and having increased should grow old. For the soul of that first man, before sin, although not yet a spiritual body but an animal one, nevertheless ruled at its choice.

Post peccatum autem, id est posteaquam peccatum in illa carne commissum esset, ex qua deinceps propagaretur caro peccati, anima rationalis sic est in inferioribus corporibus ordinata, ut non omni modo pro arbitrio regat corpus suum. Quod si nondum acquiescunt in parvulis, qui nulla adhuc peccata propria commiserunt, jam tamen esse carnem peccati, quia et huic sanandae, cum baptizantur, necessaria est medicina, similitudo illa carnis peccati; nec sic istis verbis nostris habent quod succenseant. Constat quippe, nisi fallor, eamdem carnem, etiamsi non vitio, sed natura infirma est, tamen post peccatum coepisse nasci: quia neque ita creatus est Adam, neque aliquem genuit ante peccatum.

7. Quaerant ergo alia quae recte reprehendant, non solum in aliis festinantius editis, verum etiam in his ipsis libris meis de Libero Arbitrio. Neque enim eos inventuros nego unde mihi beneficium conferant; quoniam si illi, quod jam in multorum manus exierunt, corrigi non possunt, ego certe quoniam vivo adhuc, possum. Haec autem verba tam caute a me posita, ut nulli de animae exortu quatuor illarum opinioni ratione praescriberem, hi tantum reprehendant, qui reprehendendam putant eamdem ipsam de re tam obscura cunctationem meam: contra quos me non defendo, quod recte faciam in hac quaestione cunctari, cum omnino non dubitem et immortalem esse animam, non ita ut Deus, qui solus habet immortalitatem (I Tim. VI, 16), sed modo quodam sui generis; et eam esse creaturam, non substantiam Creatoris, et si quid aliud de natura ejus certissimum teneo. Sed quia hoc me facere compellit de animae exortu caliginosissimae quaestionis obscuritas, manum potius porrigant confitenti, et quidquid illud est nosse cupienti; et doceant, si possunt, vel ostendant, si quid de hac re vel certa ratione didicerunt, vel apertissimo divino eloquio crediderunt. Si enim ratio contra divinarum Scripturarum auctoritatem redditur, quamlibet acuta sit, fallit veri similitudine; nam vera esse non potest. Rursus si manifestissimae certaeque rationi velut Scripturarum sanctarum objicitur auctoritas; non intelligit qui hoc facit, et non Scripturarum illarum sensum, ad quem penetrare non potuit, sed suum potius objicit veritati, nec quod in eis, sed quod in seipso velut pro eis invenit, opponit.

But after sin, that is after sin had been committed in that flesh from which henceforth the flesh of sin should be propagated, the rational soul was so ordered in inferior bodies that it does not rule its own body in every way at its choice. But if those who have not yet committed any sins of their own do not yet acquiesce in infants that there is already the flesh of sin, because even for the healing of this, when they are baptized, medicine is necessary, that likeness of the flesh of sin; not even so do they have anything to be angry at in these words of ours. For it is established, unless I am mistaken, that the same flesh, even if it is infirm not by vice but by nature, nevertheless began to be born after sin: because neither was Adam so created, nor did he beget anyone before sin.

7. Let them therefore seek other things which they may rightly reprehend, not only in others published more hastily, but even in these very books of mine on Free Will (Libero Arbitrio). Nor indeed do I deny that they will find whence they may confer a benefit upon me; since if those, because they have already gone out into the hands of many, cannot be corrected, I certainly can, since I still live. But these words were so cautiously set down by me, that I might not prescribe to any opinion or reason of those four concerning the origin of the soul, let only those reprehend them who think that this very hesitation of mine concerning so obscure a matter is to be reprehended: against whom I do not defend myself, that I do rightly to hesitate in this question, since I do not at all doubt both that the soul is immortal, not so as God, who alone has immortality (1 Tim. 6:16), but in a certain way of its own kind; and that it is a creature, not the substance of the Creator, and whatever else I hold as most certain concerning its nature. But because the obscurity of the most dark question concerning the origin of the soul compels me to do this, let them rather stretch out a hand to one confessing and desiring to know whatever that is; and let them teach, if they can, or show, if they have learned anything concerning this matter either by certain reason or have believed by most open divine eloquence. For if reason is rendered against the authority of the divine Scriptures, however acute it may be, it deceives by a likeness of the truth; for it cannot be true. Again, if the authority of the holy Scriptures is as it were objected to most manifest and certain reason; he who does this does not understand, and objects not the sense of those Scriptures to which he could not penetrate, but rather his own sense to the truth, and opposes not what he finds in them, but what he finds in himself as if for them.

8. Exempli gratia: diligenter attende quod dicam. Scriptum est prope finem libri qui vocatur Ecclesiastes, cum de solutione hominis, quae fit per mortem istam qua dirimitur anima a corpore, Scriptura loqueretur: Et convertatur pulvis in terram, sicut fuit; et spiritus revertatur ad Deum qui dedit eum (Eccle. XII, 7). Sententia hujus auctoritatis procul dubio certa est, nec quemquam decipit falsitate: sed si quispiam voluerit eam sic interpretari, ut inde animarum propaginem, quod ex illa una quam Deus primo homini dedit, omnes caeterae veniant, conetur adstruere; videtur illi suffragari quod ibi de carne dictum est pulveris nomine (nam utique pulvis et spiritus nihil aliud hoc loco quam anima et caro intelligitur), ut eo modo affirmet animam reverti ad Deum, quod sit de traduce illius animae quam primo homini dedit Deus, quemadmodum convertitur caro in terram, cum sit etiam ipsa de traduce illius carnis quae in primo homine de terra facta est: ac sic contendat ex hoc quod de carne notissimum est, debere nos credere illud quod de anima occultum est. De traduce quippe carnis non ambigitur, sed de animae ambigitur. Utrumque autem ita positum est in hoc testimonio, velut singula singulis parili ratione reddantur: caro scilicet convertatur in terram, sicut fuit; inde enim sumpta est, quando factus est primus homo: et spiritus revertatur ad Deum, qui dedit eum quando insufflavit in faciem hominis quem finxerat, flatum vitae, et factus est homo in animam vivam (Gen. II, 7), ut deinceps ex utraque re utriusque rei propago decurreret.

9. Verumtamen si illud est verum, quod animas non ex illa una propagatas, sed alibi creatas singulis singulas Deus dat, etiam huic sententiae congruit quod dictum est, Spiritus revertatur ad Deum qui dedit eum. Solae ergo reliquae duae opiniones videntur excludi; quia si fierent in singulis hominibus animae propriae, cum creantur, non putatur dici debuisse, Spiritus revertatur ad Deum qui dedit eum, sed ad Deum qui fecit eum: Dedit enim veluti sic sonat, quasi jam extra fuerit quod dari posset. Deinde quod dictum est, revertatur ad Deum, urgent verbo et premunt, dicentes: Quomodo revertetur, ubi nunquam antea fuerit? Potius enim dici debuisse asserunt, Et ad Deum vel pergat, vel vadat ad Deum, quam, Revertatur ad Deum, si nunquam illic antea spiritus iste fuisse credendus est. Item quomodo animae sponte labantur in corpus, cum scriptum sit, dedit eum, non tam in promptu est explicare. Ac per hoc, ut dixi, duae istae opiniones sub verbis hujus testimonii laborant: una, qua putantur singulae quaeque animae in singulis suis corporibus fieri; alia, qua putantur in corpora sponte demergi.

8. For example: diligently attend to what I shall say. It is written near the end of the book which is called Ecclesiastes, when the Scripture was speaking of the dissolution of man, which is made through that death by which the soul is separated from the body: "And the dust be turned into the earth as it was; and the spirit return to God who gave it" (Eccl. 12:7). The sentence of this authority is without doubt certain, nor does it deceive anyone with falsehood: but if anyone should wish so to interpret it, as to endeavor to build up from it the propagation of souls, that all the rest come from that one which God gave to the first man; it seems to favor him what was said there of the flesh under the name of dust; (for indeed dust and spirit are understood in this place as nothing else than soul and flesh), so that in that way he may affirm that the soul returns to God, because it is from the lineage (tradux) of that soul which God gave to the first man, just as the flesh is turned into the earth, since it is also itself from the lineage of that flesh which was made of the earth in the first man: and thus he may contend from this which is most known of the flesh, that we ought to believe that which is hidden of the soul. For concerning the lineage of the flesh there is no doubt, but concerning that of the soul there is doubt. But both are so set down in this testimony, as if each were rendered to each by a like reason: namely, that the flesh be turned into the earth as it was; for thence was it taken when the first man was made: and the spirit return to God, who gave it when He breathed into the face of the man whom He had formed, the breath of life, and man was made into a living soul (Gen. 2:7), so that henceforth from both things the propagation of both things should flow down.

9. Nevertheless, if that is true, that God gives souls to individuals, not propagated from that one but created elsewhere, even with this sentence agrees what was said: "The spirit return to God who gave it." Only the remaining two opinions, therefore, seem to be excluded; because if proper souls were made in individual men when they are created, it is not thought that it ought to have been said, "The spirit return to God who gave it," but "to God who made it": for "Gave" sounds as if it were already outside what could be given. Then as to what was said, "return to God," they urge and press with the word, saying: How shall it return where it never was before? For they assert that it ought rather to have been said, "And either let it go to God, or let it proceed to God," than "Let it return to God," if it is to be believed that this spirit was never there before. Likewise, how souls spontaneously slide into the body, when it is written, "He gave it," is not so ready to explain. And by this, as I said, those two opinions labor under the words of this testimony: one, by which individual souls are thought each to be made in their own bodies; the other, by which they are thought to be submerged into bodies of their own accord.

Duabus autem illis, sive de traduce illius unius veniant, sive antea jam creatae et apud Deum constitutae, singulis corporibus dentur, sine labore verba ista coaptantur.

10. Et tamen si assertores ejus sententiae qua creduntur animae in suis singulis corporibus fieri, affirment ita esse dictum de spiritu, qui pro anima positus est, Deus dedit eum, quemadmodum recte dicitur dedisse nobis oculos, vel aures, vel manus, vel quodlibet aliud; quae membra utique non extra jam fecerat, et alicubi reposita habebat, quae cum opus esset, daret, hoc est, adderet et adjungeret; sed illic ea fecit in corpore, cui dedisse illa dicitur: quid ei respondeatur non video; nisi forte alia vel testimonia proferantur, vel certa ratio unde ista opinio refellatur. Itemque illi qui putant animas in corpora sponte defluere, sic accipiunt dictum, Deus dedit eum, quomodo dictum est, Tradidit illos Deus in concupiscentiam cordis eorum (Rom. I, 24). Proinde unum verbum relinquitur, quod dictum est, revertatur ad Deum, quo pacto accipi possit reverti, ubi ante non fuit, si animae in suis quaeque corporibus fiunt; quo solo verbo una illarum quatuor angustatur opinio. Sed neque propter hoc unum verbum temere existimo illam sententiam esse refutandam, ne forte possit ostendi aliquo genere locutionis, quo sancta Scriptura uti solet, hoc quoque recte dici potuisse, ut reverti intelligatur ad Deum spiritus creatus, tanquam ad auctorem a quo creatus est, non tanquam ad eum apud quem primitus fuit.

11. Haec ideo scripsi, ut quisquis illarum quatuor de anima sententiarum aliquam voluerit adstruere atque defendere, talia proferat, vel de Scripturis in auctoritatem ecclesiasticam receptis, quae non possint aliter accipi; sicuti est, quod Deus hominem fecit: vel rationem tam certam, ut contradictio aut nulla existat, aut insaniae similis merito judecetur; velut si quisquam dicat, nec veritatem cognoscere, nec falli quemquam posse nisi viventem. Neque enim ut videamus quam hoc sit verum, Scripturarum auctoritas necessaria est, ac non sensus ipse communis ita verum esse perspicua ratione proclamat, ut quisquis contradixerit, dementissimus habeatur. Hoc si in ista obscurissima quaestione quae de anima est, praestare aliquis potest, adjuvet imperitiam meam: quod si non potest, non culpet cunctationem meam.

But to those two, whether they come from the lineage of that one, or having been created before and established with God are given to individual bodies, these words are fitted without labor.

10. And yet if the assertors of that opinion by which souls are believed to be made in their own individual bodies, should affirm that it was so said of the spirit, which is put for the soul, "God gave it," just as it is rightly said that He gave us eyes, or ears, or hands, or anything else; which members indeed He had not already made outside, and had laid up somewhere, so that when there was need, He might give, that is, add and join them; but He made them there in the body to which He is said to have given them: I do not see what may be answered to him; unless perchance other testimonies be brought forward, or certain reason whence that opinion may be refuted. And likewise those who think that souls spontaneously flow down into bodies, so take what was said, "God gave it," as it was said, "God gave them up into the lust of their hearts" (Rom. 1:24). Accordingly one word is left, which was said, "return to God," in what way it can be taken to return where it was not before, if souls are made each in their own bodies; by which word alone one of those four opinions is narrowed. But I do not think that opinion is to be rashly refuted because of this one word, lest perchance it could be shown by some kind of speech, which the holy Scripture is accustomed to use, that this also could have been rightly said, so that the created spirit may be understood to return to God as to the author by whom it was created, not as to him with whom it was originally.

11. These things I have written for this reason, so that whoever should wish to build up and defend any of those four opinions concerning the soul, should bring forward such things, either from the Scriptures received into ecclesiastical authority, which cannot be taken otherwise; as is this, that God made man: or reason so certain, that either no contradiction exists, or it is deservedly judged similar to insanity; as if anyone should say that no one can either know the truth or be deceived unless he be living. For in order that we may see how true this is, the authority of the Scriptures is not necessary, but common sense itself proclaims it to be true by clear reason, so that whoever should contradict it would be held most demented. If anyone can provide this in that most obscure question which is concerning the soul, let him help my unskilfulness: but if he cannot, let him not blame my hesitation.

12. De virginitate autem sanctae Mariae, si hoc quod scripsi non persuadet fieri potuisse, neganda sunt omnia quae mirabiliter in corporibus acciderunt. Quod si propterea non creditur, quia semel factum est, quaere ab amico quem hoc adhuc movet, utrum nihil inveniatur in litteris saecularibus quod et semel factum sit, et tamen creditum non fabulosa vanitate, sed, sicut existimant, historica fide; quaere, obsecro te. Si enim tale aliquid in illis litteris inveniri negaverit, admonendus est; si autem fassus fuerit, soluta quaestio est.

EPISTOLA CXLIV . Augustinus Cirtensibus a factione Donatistarum conversis ad Ecclesiae catholicae societatem gratulatur; admonens ut hoc divino tribuant muneri. Dominis honorabilibus et merito suscipiendis, charissimis ac desideratissimis fratribus in omni honorum gradu, CIRTENSIBUS , AUGUSTINUS episcopus.

1. Si id quod in vestra civitate nos graviter contristabat, absumptum est, si duritia cordis humani, resistens manifestissimae et quodammodo publicae veritati, ejusdem veritatis vi evicta est, si sapit dulcedo pacis, unitatisque charitas non jam reverberat oculos saucios, sed sanos illustrat ac vegetat; non sunt haec opera nostra, sed Dei: non haec humanis operibus omnino tribuerem, nec si cum apud vos essemus, tanta conversio multitudinis nobis loquentibus et hortantibus proveniret. Hoc agit ille et efficit, qui per ministros suos rerum signis extrinsecus admonet, rebus autem ipsis per seipsum intrinsecus docet. Nec ideo pigrius moveri nos oportet ad visendos vos, quoniam quidquid in vobis laudabile est factum, non a nobis, sed ab illo factum est qui facit mirabilia solus (Psal. LXXI, 18). Multo enim alacrius debemus accurrere ad spectanda opera divina quam nostra; quia et nos, si quid boni sumus opus, illius, non hominum sumus: unde Apostolus dixit, Neque qui plantat est aliquid, neque qui rigat; sed qui incrementum dat Deus (I Cor. III, 7).

2. Xenocrates Polemonem, ut scribitis, et nos ex illis litteris recordamur, de fruge temperantiae disputando, non solum ebriosum, verum etiam tunc ebrium, ad mores alios repente convertit. Quanquam ergo ille, sicut prudenter et veraciter intellexistis, non Deo fuerit acquisitus, sed tantum a dominatu luxuriae liberatus, tamen ne idipsum quidem, quod melius in eo factum est, humano operi tribuerim, sed divino.

12. But concerning the virginity of holy Mary, if this which I have written does not persuade that it could have been done, all things are to be denied which have happened miraculously in bodies. But if it is not believed for this reason, because it was done once, ask of the friend whom this still moves, whether nothing is found in secular letters which was both done once, and yet believed not with fabulous vanity but, as they think, with historical faith; ask, I beseech you. For if he should deny that any such thing is found in those letters, he is to be admonished; but if he should have confessed it, the question is solved.

EPISTLE CXLIV. Augustine congratulates the people of Cirta converted from the faction of the Donatists to the society of the Catholic Church; admonishing that they should attribute this to a divine gift. To my honorable lords and brothers most worthy of being received, most dear and most longed for in every grade of honors, the people of CIRTA, AUGUSTINE the bishop [sends greeting].

1. If that which in your city was greatly saddening us has been taken away, if the hardness of the human heart, resisting most manifest and in a certain way public truth, has been overcome by the power of the same truth, if the sweetness of peace is tasted, and the charity of unity no longer strikes wounded eyes but illuminates and quickens healthy ones; these are not our works, but God's: I would not attribute these to human works at all, not even if while we were with you such a great conversion of the multitude had come about by our speaking and exhorting. He acts and effects this, who through His ministers admonishes by signs of things from without, but teaches concerning the things themselves by Himself from within. Nor ought we therefore to be moved more slowly to visit you, since whatever laudable thing has been done in you, was done not by us but by Him who alone does wonderful things (Ps. 71:18). For we ought to run much more eagerly to behold divine works than our own; because we also, if we are any good work, are His, not of men: whence the Apostle said, "Neither is he that plants anything, nor he that waters; but God who gives the increase" (1 Cor. 3:7).

2. Xenocrates, as you write, and as we recollect from those letters, by disputing of the fruit of temperance, suddenly converted Polemo to other manners, not only a drunkard, but even then drunk. Although therefore he, as you wisely and truly understood, was not acquired for God but only delivered from the dominion of luxury, nevertheless not even that which was done better in him would I attribute to human work, but to divine.

Ipsius namque corporis, quod est infimum nostrum, si qua bona sunt, sicut forma et vires et salus, et si quid ejusmodi est, non sunt nisi ex Deo creatore ac perfectore naturae; quanto magis animi bona donare nullus alius potest! Quid enim superbius, vel ingratius cogitare potest humana vecordia, si putaverit cum carne pulchrum faciat Deus hominem, animo castum ab homine fieri? Hoc in libro christianae Sapientiae sic scriptum est: Cum scirem, inquit, quia nemo esse potest continens, nisi Deus det; et hoc ipsum erat sapientiae scire cujus esset hoc donum (Sap. VIII, 21). Polemo ergo, si ex luxurioso continens factus ita sciret cujus esset hoc donum, ut eum abjectis superstitionibus Gentium pie coleret; non solum continens, sed etiam veraciter sapiens et salubriter religiosus existeret: quod ei non tantum ad praesentis vitae honestatem, verum et ad futurae immortalitatem valeret. Quanto minus igitur mihi arrogare debeo conversionem istam vestram, vel populi vestri, quam modo nobis nuntiastis, quae me nec loquente, nec saltem praesente, procul dubio divinitus facta est, in quibus veraciter facta est! Hoc itaque praecipue cognoscite, hoc pie humiliterque cogitate. Deo, fratres, Deo gratias agite; Deum timete, ne deficiatis; amate, ut proficiatis.

3. Si autem adhuc quosdam amor hominis occulte segregat, et timor hominis fallaciter congregat; observent qui tales sunt, quoniam Deum cui nuda est humana conscientia, nec testem fallunt, nec judicem fugiunt. Si quid autem illos de quaestione ipsius unitatis, pro suae salutis sollicitudine permovet, hoc sibi quantum existimo justissimum extorqueant, ut de catholica Ecclesia, id est toto orbe diffusa, potius id credant quod divinae Scripturae dicunt, non quod linguae humanae maledicunt. De ipsa vero dissensione quae inter homines orta est (qui qualeslibet fuerint, non utique praejudicant promissis Dei, qui dixit ad Abraham, In semine tuo benedicentur omnes gentes [Gen. XXVI, 4]; quod creditum est cum audiretur praedictum, et negatur cum videtur impletum), hoc tantum interim brevissimum, et, nisi fallor, invictissimum cogitent; aut actam esse istam causam in ecclesiastico transmarino judicio, aut non esse actam. Si acta ibi non est, innocens est Christi societas per omnes transmarinas gentes, cujus societatis nos communione gaudemus, et ideo ab eis innocentibus utique sacrilega diremptione separantur: si vero acta est ibi ista causa, quis non intelligat, quis non sentiat, quis non videat, eos in ea victos, quorum inde communio separata est? Eligant ergo utrum malint credere, quod pronuntiaverunt ecclesiastici cognitores, an quod murmurant victi litigatores.

For if there are any good things of the body itself, which is our lowest part, such as form and strength and health, and if there is anything of this kind, they are not except from God the creator and perfecter of nature; how much more can no other give the good things of the mind! For what can human folly think more proud or ungrateful, if it should think that while God makes man beautiful in flesh, he is made chaste in mind by man? This is so written in the book of Christian Wisdom: "Since I knew," it says, "that no one can be continent unless God give it; and this itself was of wisdom, to know whose this gift was" (Wisd. 8:21). Polemo therefore, if having been made continent from luxurious he should have so known whose gift this was that, casting away the superstitions of the Gentiles, he might piously worship Him; he would exist not only continent but also truly wise and salutarily religious: which would avail him not only for the honesty of the present life, but also for the immortality of the future. How much less therefore ought I to arrogate to myself this conversion of yours, or of your people, which you have just announced to us, which indeed has without doubt been done divinely with me neither speaking nor even present, in those in whom it has been truly done! This therefore especially know, this piously and humbly think. To God, brothers, to God give thanks; fear God, lest you fail; love Him, that you may profit.

3. But if still the love of man secretly separates some, and the fear of man fallaciously gathers them; let those who are such observe, that as to God, to whom the human conscience is naked, they neither deceive a witness nor flee a judge. But if anything concerning the question of unity itself moves them, out of concern for their own salvation, let them extort this from themselves as most just, as I suppose, that concerning the Catholic Church, that is, diffused throughout the whole world, they should rather believe that which the divine Scriptures say, not what human tongues slander. But concerning that dissension which has arisen among men (whoever they may have been, they certainly do not prejudice the promises of God, who said to Abraham, "In your seed shall all nations be blessed" [Gen. 26:4]; which was believed when it was heard predicted, and is denied when it is seen fulfilled), let them think only this briefest, and, unless I am mistaken, most invincible thing for the time being; that either this cause was acted in an ecclesiastical judgment across the sea, or it was not acted. If it was not acted there, the society of Christ through all nations across the sea is innocent, in the communion of which society we rejoice, and therefore they are separated from those innocent ones certainly by a sacrilegious disruption: but if indeed that cause was acted there, who would not understand, who would not feel, who would not see, that those were conquered in it whose communion is separated from it? Let them choose therefore whether they prefer to believe what the ecclesiastical judges (cognitores) pronounced, or what the conquered litigants murmur.

Adversus istam complexionem dictu brevissimam, intellectu facillimam, attendite pro vestra prudentia diligenter, quam nihil sobrium responderi possit; et tamen malus Polemo magis ebrietate inveterati erroris evertitur . Date veniam prolixiori fortassis epistolae quam jucundiori; verumtamen, ut arbitror, utiliori quam blandiori, domini honorabiles et merito suscipiendi, charissimi ac desideratissimis fratres. De adventu autem nostro ad vos, utrorumque desiderium Deus impleat. Quanto enim charitatis ardore accendamur ad visendos vos, verbis explicare non possumus; sed vos benigne credere minime dubitamus.

EPISTOLA CXLV . Anastasio rescribens Augustinus, docet non per legem sed per gratiam, neque timore sed charitate impleri justitiam. Domino fratri sancto et desiderabili ANASTASIO, AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

1. Salutandi Sinceritatem tuam fidissima occurrit occasio honorabilium servorum Dei, fratrum nostrorum Lupicini et Concordialis, per quos etiamsi non scriberem, posset Charitas tua omnia quae apud nos aguntur, addiscere. Scio enim quantum nos in Christo diligas, quia et tu scis quantum in illo vicissim diligaris a nobis: et ideo non dubitavi te contristari potuisse, si eos vidisses sine litteris meis, quos a nobis profectos, et tanta nobis familiaritate conjunctos ignorare non posses; simul etiam quia rescriptorum debitor fui. Nam ex quo sumpsi epistolam tuam, nisi nunc primum rescripsisse me nescio: tantis enim curis obstricti et distenti sumus, ut etiam hoc nesciam.

2. Vobis autem quemadmodum sit et utrum vobis aliquam requiem, quantum in hac terra potest, Dominus praestiterit, valde nosse cupimus: quoniam si glorificatur unum membrum, congaudent omnia membra (I Cor. XII, 26); atque ita plerumque contingit, ut dum aliquos fratres nostros in quantulacumque requie constitutos, in mediis nostris anxietatibus cogitamus, non parva ex parte recreemur, tanquam et nos in ipsis quietius tranquilliusque vivamus. Quamvis etiam cum molestiae in hujus vitae fragilitate crebrescunt, aeternam requiem nos desiderare compellunt. Mundus quippe iste periculosior est blandus quam molestus, et magis cavendus cum se illicit diligi, quam cum admonet cogitque contemni. Nam cum omnia quae in illo sunt, concupiscentia sint carnis, et concupiscentia oculorum, et ambitio saeculi (I Joan. II, 16); saepe etiam iis qui talibus spiritualia, invisibilia, aeterna praeponunt, inserit se terrenae suavitatis affectus, et delectationibus suis nostra comitatur officia. Quanto enim sunt charitati futura meliora, tanto sunt infirmitati violentiora praesentia. Et utinam ii qui ea videre et gemere noverunt, vincere et evadere mereantur!

Against this conclusion, most brief to say, most easy to understand, attend diligently according to your prudence, how nothing sober can be answered; and yet the bad Polemo is more overthrown by the drunkenness of inveterate error. Grant pardon to a letter perhaps more prolix than pleasant; nevertheless, as I think, more useful than flattering, my honorable lords and brothers most worthy of being received, most dear and most longed for. But concerning our coming to you, may God fulfill the desire of both. For with how great an ardor of charity we are inflamed to visit you, we cannot explain in words; but we do not at all doubt that you kindly believe it.

EPISTLE CXLV. Augustine, writing back to Anastasius, teaches that justice is fulfilled not through the law but through grace, and not by fear but by charity. To my holy and longed-for lord and brother ANASTASIUS, AUGUSTINE [sends] greeting in the Lord.

1. A most faithful occasion of saluting your Sincerity has occurred in the honorable servants of God, our brothers Lupicinus and Concordialis, through whom even if I did not write, your Charity could learn all things which are being done among us. For I know how much you love us in Christ, because you also know how much you are loved by us in Him in turn: and therefore I did not doubt that you could have been saddened if you had seen them without my letters, whom you could not be ignorant of having set out from us, and being joined to us by such great familiarity; and also because I was a debtor of a reply. For from the time I received your letter, I do not know whether I have replied except now for the first time: for we are so bound and stretched by such great cares, that I do not even know this.

2. But as to how it is with you, and whether the Lord has provided you any rest, as much as can be in this earth, we greatly desire to know: since "if one member is glorified, all the members rejoice with it" (1 Cor. 12:26); and so it often happens, that while we think of some of our brothers established in however small a rest, in the midst of our anxieties, we are refreshed in no small part, as if we also live more quietly and tranquilly in them. Although even when molestations increase in the fragility of this life, they compel us to desire eternal rest. For this world is more perilous when flattering than when troublesome, and more to be avoided when it entices itself to be loved, than when it admonishes and compels itself to be despised. For since all things which are in it are the "concupiscence of the flesh, and the concupiscence of the eyes, and the ambition of the world" (1 John 2:16); often even to those who prefer spiritual, invisible, eternal things to such, the affect of earthly sweetness inserts itself, and accompanies our duties with its delights. For as much as future things are better to charity, so much are present things more violent to infirmity. And would that those who have known how to see and groan over them, might deserve to conquer and escape!

quod sine Dei gratia nullo modo voluntas implet humana; quae nec libera dicenda est, quamdiu est vincentibus et vincientibus cupiditatibus subdita. A quo enim quis devictus est, huic et servus addictus est (II Petr. II, 19): et, Si vos Filius liberaverit, ait ipse Dei Filius, tunc vere liberi eritis (Joan. VIII, 36).

3. Lex itaque docendo et jubendo quod sine gratia impleri non potest, homini demonstrat suam infirmitatem, ut quaerat demonstrata infirmitas Salvatorem, a quo sanata voluntas possit quod infirma non posset. Lex igitur adducit ad fidem, fides impetrat Spiritum largiorem, diffundit Spiritus charitatem, implet charitas legem. Ideo lex paedagogus vocatur (Galat. III, 24), sub cujus minacissima severitate qui invocaverit nomen Domini salvus erit (Joel. II, 32). Quomodo autem invocabunt in quem non crediderunt (Rom. X, 14)? Proinde ne littera sine spiritu occidat, Spiritus vivificans (II Cor. III, 6) credentibus et invocantibus datur; charitas vero Dei diffunditur in cordibus nostris per Spiritum sanctum qui datus est nobis (Rom. V, 5), ut fiat quod idem apostolus dicit, Plenitudo legis charitas (Id. XIII, 10). Ita bona est lex illi qui ea legitime utitur (I Tim. I, 8): utitur autem legitime qui intelligens quare sit data, per ejus comminationem confugit ad gratiam liberantem. Huic gratiae qua justificatur impius, quisquis ingratus velut ad legem implendam de suis viribus fidit, ignorans Dei justitiam, et suam volens constituere, justitiae Dei non est subditus (Rom. X, 3): ac per hoc fit ei lex non absolutionis adjutorium, sed vinculum criminis. Non quia lex malum est, sed quia peccatum, sicut scriptum est, per bonum talibus operatur mortem (Id. VII, 13). Per mandatum enim gravius delinquit, qui per mandatum scit quam malum sit quod admittit.

4. Inaniter autem putat victorem se esse peccati, qui poenae timore non peccat; quia etsi non impletur foris negotium malae cupiditatis, ipsa tamen mala cupiditas intus est hostis. Et quis coram Deo innocens invenitur, qui vult fieri quod vetatur, si subtrahas quod timetur? Ac per hoc in ipsa voluntate reus est, qui vult facere quod non licet fieri, sed ideo non facit, quia impune non potest fieri. Nam quantum in ipso est, mallet non esse justitiam peccata prohibentem atque punientem. Et utique si mallet non esse justitiam, quis dubitaverit quod eam, si posset, auferret?

which the human will in no way fulfills without the grace of God; which indeed is not to be called free, as long as it is subject to conquering and binding lusts. "For by whom one is overcome, to him also he is assigned as a slave" (2 Pet. 2:19): and, "If the Son shall have made you free," says the Son of God Himself, "then shall you be free indeed" (John 8:36).

3. The law therefore, by teaching and commanding what cannot be fulfilled without grace, demonstrates to man his own infirmity, so that the demonstrated infirmity may seek the Savior, by whom the healed will may be able to do what when infirm it could not. The law therefore leads to faith, faith impetrates a more large Spirit, the Spirit diffuses charity, charity fulfills the law. Therefore the law is called a pedagogue (Gal. 3:24), under whose most menacing severity "whoever shall have called upon the name of the Lord shall be saved" (Joel 2:32). But "how shall they call upon Him in whom they have not believed" (Rom. 10:14)? Accordingly, lest the letter without the spirit should kill, the vivifying Spirit (2 Cor. 3:6) is given to those believing and calling upon Him; but the charity of God is diffused in our hearts through the Holy Spirit who has been given to us (Rom. 5:5), so that it may come to be what the same apostle says: "Charity is the fullness of the law" (Rom. 13:10). Thus the law is good to him who uses it lawfully (1 Tim. 1:8): but he uses it lawfully who, understanding why it was given, through its threat flees to liberating grace. To this grace by which the impious is justified, whoever being ungrateful trusts as it were in his own strength for fulfilling the law, "ignoring the justice of God, and wishing to establish his own, is not subject to the justice of God" (Rom. 10:3): and by this the law becomes to him not a help of absolution, but a bond of crime. Not because the law is an evil, but because "sin," as it is written, "through what is good works death" to such (Rom. 7:13). For through the mandate he offends more gravely, who through the mandate knows how evil is that which he admits.

4. But in vain does he think himself to be a victor over sin, who does not sin from fear of punishment; because even if the business of evil concupiscence is not fulfilled outwardly, nevertheless evil concupiscence itself is an enemy within. And who is found innocent before God, who wishes that to be done which is forbidden, if you should withdraw what is feared? And by this he is guilty in his very will, who wishes to do what it is not allowed to be done, but does not do it for this reason, because it cannot be done with impunity. For as much as is in him, he would prefer that there were no justice forbidding and punishing sins. And certainly if he should prefer that there were no justice, who would doubt that he would take it away if he could?

Ac per hoc quomodo justus est, justitiae talis inimicus, ut eam, si potestas detur, praecipientem auferat, ne comminantem vel judicantem ferat? Inimicus ergo justitiae est, qui poenae timore non peccat: amicus autem erit, si ejus amore non peccet; tunc enim vere timebit peccare. Nam qui gehennas metuit, non peccare metuit, sed ardere. Ille autem peccare metuit, qui peccatum ipsum, sicut gehennas odit. Ipse est timor Domini castus, permanens in saeculum saeculi (Psal. XVIII, 10). Nam ille timor poenae, tormentum habet, et non est in charitate, eumque perfecta charitas foras mittit (I Joan. IV, 18).

5. Tantum porro quisque peccatum odit, quantum justitiam diligit; quod non poterit lege terrente per litteram, sed Spiritu sanante per gratiam. Tunc fit quod Apostolus admonet: Humanum dico, propter infirmitatem carnis vestrae: sicut enim exhibuistis membra vestra deservire immunditiae et iniquitati ad iniquitatem; sic nunc exhibete membra vestra deservire justitiae in sanctificationem (Rom. VI, 19). Quid enim est. Sicut illud, ita et hoc: nisi, Quemadmodum ad peccandum nullus vos cogebat timor, sed ipsius libido voluptasque peccati; sic ad juste vivendum non vos supplicii metus urgeat, sed ducat delectatio charitasque justitiae? Et hac quidem, quantum mihi videtur, nondum est perfecta, sed quodammodo adulta justitia. Neque enim frustra praemitteret, Humanum dico, propter infirmitatem carnis vestrae, nisi quia plus aliquid dicendum fuit, si jam illi ferre potuissent. Plus quippe servitutis debetur justitiae, quam peccato solent homines exhibere. Nam poena corporis etsi non a voluntate, tamen revocat ab opere peccati. Nec facile quisquam est qui palam committat, quo illicitam et immundam percipiat voluptatem, si cruciatus vindictae certum est continuo secuturos. Justitia vero sic amanda est, ut ab ejus operibus etiam poenae corporis nos cohibere non debeant, atque inter manus etiam crudelium inimicorum luceant opera nostra coram hominibus, ut quibus placere possunt, glorificent Patrem nostrum qui in coelis est (Matth. V, 16).

6. Hinc est quod ille fortissimus justitiae dilector exclamat: Quis nos separabit a charitate Christi? tribulatio? an angustia? an persecutio? an fames? an nuditas? an periculum? an gladius? sicut scriptum est, Quoniam propter te mortificamur tota die; deputati sumus ut oves occisionis (Psal. XLIII, 22). Sed in his omnibus supervincimus per eum qui dilexit nos. Certus sum enim quia neque mors, neque vita, neque angelus, neque principatus, neque praesentia, neque futura, neque virtus, neque altitudo, neque profundum, neque creatura alia poterit nos separare a charitate Dei quae est in Christo Jesu Domino nostro (Rom. VIII, 35-39). Vide quemadmodum non utcumque ait, Quis nos separabit a Christo; sed ostendens unde cohaereamus Christo, Quis nos, inquit, separabit a charitate Christi? Charitate igitur Christo, non poenae timore cohaeremus.

And by this, how is he just, an enemy of such justice, so that if power were given, he would take it away as commanding, lest he should bear it as threatening or judging? He therefore is an enemy of justice, who does not sin from fear of punishment: but he will be a friend, if he does not sin from love of it; for then he will truly fear to sin. For he who fears Gehenna, does not fear to sin, but to burn. But he fears to sin, who hates sin itself as he hates Gehenna. This is the "chaste fear of the Lord, remaining for ever and ever" (Ps. 18:10). For that fear of punishment has torment, and is not in charity, and perfect charity casts it out (1 John 4:18).

5. Furthermore, each one hates sin so much as he loves justice; which he will not be able to do by the law terrifying through the letter, but by the Spirit healing through grace. Then happens what the Apostle admonishes: "I speak a human thing, because of the infirmity of your flesh: for as you have yielded your members to serve uncleanness and iniquity unto iniquity; so now yield your members to serve justice unto sanctification" (Rom. 6:19). For what is "As that, so also this," except: Just as to sinning no fear was compelling you, but the very lust and pleasure of sin; so to living justly let no fear of punishment urge you, but let the delight and charity of justice lead you? And this indeed, as much as seems to me, is not yet perfect, but in a certain way adult justice. For not in vain would he premise, "I speak a human thing, because of the infirmity of your flesh," unless because something more was to be said, if they could have already borne it. For more of servitude is indeed owed to justice than men are accustomed to exhibit to sin. For punishment of the body, although not from the will, nevertheless recalls from the work of sin. Nor is anyone easily one who commits openly that by which he perceives an illicit and unclean pleasure, if it is certain that the tortures of vengeance will follow immediately. But justice is so to be loved, that even punishments of the body ought not to restrain us from its works, and even in the hands of cruel enemies our works may shine before men, so that those to whom they can please may glorify our Father who is in heaven (Matt. 5:16).

6. Hence it is that that most strong lover of justice exclaims: "Who shall separate us from the charity of Christ? shall tribulation? or distress? or persecution? or famine? or nakedness? or danger? or the sword? as it is written, For thy sake we are put to death all the day long; we are accounted as sheep for the slaughter" (Ps. 43:22). "But in all these things we overcome because of Him who loved us. For I am certain that neither death, nor life, nor angel, nor principality, nor things present, nor things to come, nor virtue, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature shall be able to separate us from the charity of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord" (Rom. 8:35-39). See how he did not say in any way, "Who shall separate us from Christ"; but showing whence we cohere to Christ, he said, "Who shall separate us from the charity of Christ?" By charity therefore we cohere to Christ, not by fear of punishment.

Deinde, commemoratis eis quae videntur habere violentiam, nec tamen habent valentiam separandi, ita conclusit, ut eamdem diceret charitatem Dei quam dixerat Christi. Et quid est, a charitate Christi, nisi a charitate justitiae? de illo quippe dictum est: Qui factus est nobis sapientia a Deo, et justitia, et sanctificatio, et redemptio; ut, quemadmodum scriptum est, Qui gloriatur, in Domino glorietur (I Cor. I, 30, 31, et Jer. IX, 24). Sicut ergo ille est iniquissimus, quem nec poenae corporales deterrent ab immundis operibus sordidae voluptatis; ita ille justissimus, qui nec poenarum corporalium terrore revocatur a sanctis operibus luminosissimae charitatis.

7. Quae charitas Dei, quod perpetua cogitatione tenendum est, diffunditur in cordibus nostris per Spiritum sanctum qui datus est nobis (Rom. V, 5), ut qui gloriatur, in Domino glorietur. Cum ergo nos hujus charitatis qua lex verissime impletur, pauperes egentesque sentimus, non de inopia nostra divitias ejus exigere, sed orando petere, quaerere, pulsare debemus; ut ille, apud quem est fons vitae, det nobis inebriari ab ubertate domus suae, et voluptatis suae potari torrente (Psal. XXXV, 9, 10): quo inundati atque vegetati, non solum tristitia non absorbeamur, verum etiam gloriemur in tribulationibus, scientes quia tribulatio patientiam operatur, patientia probationem, probatio spem, spes vero non confundit (Rom. V, 3-5); non quia per nos ipsos hoc possumus, sed quoniam charitas Dei diffusa est in cordibus nostris per Spiritum sanctum qui datus est nobis.

8. Delectavit me ista saltem per litteras loqui tecum, quae cum praesente non potui: et hoc non propter te, qui non alta sapiens consentis humilibus (Id. XII, 16); sed propter quosdam qui nimium arrogant humanae voluntati, quam lege data putant ad eam implendam sibi posse sufficere, nulla super doctrinam legis gratia sanctae inspirationis adjutam: per quorum disputationem infirmitati hominum miserae atque indigae suadetur, ut nec orare debeamus ne intremus in tentationem. Non quia hoc audent aperte dicere; sed eorum sententiam, velint, nolint, hoc utique sequitur. Nam utquid nobis dicitur, Vigilate et orate ne intretis in tentationem (Matth. XXVI, 41)? utquid etiam secundh hanc exhortationem, cum doceret orare, praecepit ut dicamus, Ne nos inferas in tentationem (Id. VI, 13); si hoc non impletur ex adjutorio gratiae divinae, sed id totum est in arbitrio voluntatis humanae? Quid plura? Saluta fratres qui tecum sunt, et orate pro nobis, ut salvi simus secundum illam salutem de qua dicitur: Non est opus sanis medicus, sed male habentibus; non veni vocare justos, sed peccatores (Id. IX, 12, 13).

Then, having commemorated those things which seem to have violence, and yet have not the power of separating, he so concluded that he called the same charity of God which he had called of Christ. And what is "from the charity of Christ," except from the charity of justice? for of Him indeed it was said: "Who was made unto us wisdom from God, and justice, and sanctification, and redemption; that, as it is written, He who glories, let him glory in the Lord" (1 Cor. 1:30, 31, and Jer. 9:24). As therefore he is most iniquitous, whom not even corporal punishments deter from the unclean works of sordid pleasure; so he is most just, who is not recalled from the holy works of most luminous charity even by the terror of corporal punishments.

7. Which charity of God, as must be held by perpetual thought, is diffused in our hearts through the Holy Spirit who has been given to us (Rom. 5:5), so that he who glories, may glory in the Lord. When therefore we feel ourselves poor and needy of this charity by which the law is most truly fulfilled, we ought not to exact its riches from our own want, but to ask, seek, knock by praying; so that He, with whom is the fountain of life, may give us to be inebriated from the abundance of His house, and to be given to drink from the torrent of His pleasure (Ps. 35:9, 10): by which inundated and quickened, not only may we not be absorbed by sadness, but even glory in tribulations, knowing that "tribulation works patience, and patience trial, and trial hope, but hope does not confound" (Rom. 5:3-5); not because we can do this through ourselves, but because the charity of God has been diffused in our hearts through the Holy Spirit who has been given to us.

8. It has delighted me to speak these things with you at least through letters, which I could not with you present: and this not because of you, who "not minding high things consent to the humble" (Rom. 12:16); but because of some who arrogate too much to the human will, which they think can be sufficient for itself for fulfilling the law when it has been given, aided by no grace of holy inspiration above the doctrine of the law: by whose disputation it is persuaded to the miserable and indigent infirmity of men, that we ought not even to pray lest we enter into temptation. Not because they dare to say this openly; but this indeed follows their sentence, whether they will or no. For why is it said to us, "Watch and pray lest you enter into temptation" (Matt. 26:41)? why also according to this exhortation, when He was teaching to pray, did He command that we say, "Lead us not into temptation" (Matt. 6:13); if this is not fulfilled from the help of divine grace, but all that is in the choice of the human will? Why more? Salute the brothers who are with you, and pray for us, that we may be safe according to that salvation of which it is said: "They that are whole need not a physician, but they that are sick; I came not to call the just, but sinners" (Matt. 9:12, 13).

Orate ergo pro nobis, ut justi simus; quod quidem homo non potest nisi norit et velit, et erit continuo qui plene voluerit: sed hoc ipsum in eo non erit, nisi gratia Spiritus sanetur, et adjuvetur ut possit.

Epistola CXLVI.

Pelagium resalutat, et pro litteris ipsius officiosis gratiam habet.

Domino dilectissimo, et desideratissimo fratri PELAGIO, AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

Gratias ago plurimum quod me litteris tuis exhilarare dignatus es, et certum facere de salute vestra. Retribuat tibi Dominus bona, quibus semper sis bonus, et cum illo aeterno vivas in aeternum, domine dilectissime, et desideratissime frater. Ego autem etsi in me non agnosco praeconia de me tua, quae tuae Benignitatis epistola continet; benevolo tamen animo erga exiguitatem meam ingratus esse non possum: simul admonens ut potius ores pro me, quo talis a Domino fiam, qualem me jam esse arbitraris. Et alia manu: Memor nostri, incolumis Domino placeas, domine dilectissime, et desideratissime frater

DE DUABUS PROXIME SEQUENTIBUS EPISTOLIS. (LIB. II RETRACT. CAPUT XLI.) De Videndo Deo scripsi librum, ubi de spirituali corpore quod erit in resurrectione sanctorum, inquisitionem diligentiorem distuli, utrum vel quomodo Deus qui spiritus est, etiam per corpus tale videatur: sed eam postea quaestionem sane difficillimam in novissimo, id est in vicesimo et secundo libro de Civitate Dei, satis quantum arbitror explicavi. Inveni etiam in quodam nostro codice, in quo et iste libro est, quoddam Commonitorium a me factum de hac re ad episcopum Siccensem Fortunatianum, quod in opusculorum meorum indiculo, nec inter libros, nec inter epistolas est notatum. Hic liber sic incipit: «Memor debiti.» Illud autem: «Sicut praesens rogavi.»

DE VIDENDO DEO LIBER, SEU EPISTOLA CXLVII . Docet Deum corporeis oculis videri non posse. AUGUSTINUS PAULINAE, salutem .

1. Memor debiti quod ex tua petitione et mea promissione factum est, religiosa famula Dei Paulina, persolutionis quoque ejus negligens esse non debui. Cum enim petivisses ut de invisibili Deo, utrum per oculos corporeos possit videri, prolixe aliquid copioseque ad te scriberem, negare non potui, ne sanctum tuum studium offenderem; sed promissum distuli, sive propter alias occupationes meas, sive quod a me id flagitaretur, unde aliquanto diutius cogitari oportebat.

Pray therefore for us, that we may be just; which indeed man cannot be unless he should know and will, and he will immediately be who shall have fully willed: but this very thing will not be in him, unless he be healed by the grace of the Spirit, and aided so that he may be able.

Epistle CXLVI.

He returns the greeting to Pelagius, and gives thanks for his officious letters.

To my most beloved lord and most longed-for brother PELAGIUS, AUGUSTINE [sends] greeting in the Lord.

I give very many thanks that you have deigned to exhilarate me with your letters, and to make me certain of your welfare. May the Lord repay you with good things, by which you may always be good, and live with Him eternal for eternity, my most beloved lord and most longed-for brother. But although I do not recognize in myself those praises of yours concerning me, which the letter of your Benignity contains; nevertheless with a benevolent mind I cannot be ungrateful toward my insignificance: at the same time admonishing that you should rather pray for me, that I may become such from the Lord as you already suppose me to be. And in another hand: Mindful of us, may you please the Lord in safety, my most beloved lord and most longed-for brother.

CONCERNING THE TWO IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING EPISTLES. (BOOK II RETRACTATIONS, CHAPTER XLI.) I wrote a book *On Seeing God*, where concerning the spiritual body which will be in the resurrection of the saints, I deferred a more diligent inquiry, whether or in what way God who is a spirit, may be seen even through such a body: but that question, certainly most difficult, I afterward sufficiently, as I think, explained in the last, that is in the twenty-second book of *The City of God*. I found also in a certain codex of ours, in which that book also is, a certain *Commonitorium* made by me concerning this matter to the bishop of Sicca, Fortunatianus, which in the index of my small works is noted neither among the books nor among the epistles. This book begins thus: "Mindful of the debt." But that one: "As present I asked."

THE BOOK ON SEEING GOD, OR EPISTLE CXLVII. It teaches that God cannot be seen with corporal eyes. AUGUSTINE TO PAULINA, greeting.

1. Mindful of the debt which has been made from your petition and my promise, religious servant of God Paulina, I ought not to be negligent of its payment. For when you had petitioned that I should write something at length and copiously to you concerning the invisible God, whether He can be seen through corporal eyes, I could not deny it, lest I should offend your holy zeal; but I deferred the promise, either because of my other occupations, or because that was demanded of me, concerning which it was necessary to think somewhat longer.

Sed cum tanta res esset quae, cogitando non tam quid de ea sentiendum dicendumve esset, quam quonam modo persuadendum iis qui diversa sentirent, fieret difficilior; finem aliquando dilationi adhibendum putavi, sperans divinum adjutorium magis mihi scribenti quam differenti adfuturum. Quamobrem primum mihi videtur plus valere in hac inquisitione vivendi quam loquendi modum. Nam qui didicerunt a Domino Jesu Christo mites esse et humiles corde (Matth. XXI, 29), plus cogitando et orando proficiunt, quam legendo et audiendo. Nec ideo tamen agere partes suas sermo cessaverit, sed cum plantator et rigator officium sui gesserit muneris, caetera illi qui dat incrementum, relinquit: ille quippe etiam ipsum plantatorem rigatoremque formavit.

2. Secundum interiorem igitur hominem percipe verba intellectus. Ipse enim renovatur de die in diem, etiam cum exterior iste corrumpitur (II Cor. IV, 16), sive castigatione abstinentiae, sive aliqua morbida valetudine, sive quolibet casu, vel certe, quod necesse est etiam iis qui sano corpore diu vivunt, ipso aetatis accessu. Erige itaque spiritum mentis tuae, qui renovatur in agnitione Dei secundum imaginem ejus qui creavit eum (Coloss. III, 10); ubi per fidem in te habitat Christus (Eph. III, 17); ubi non est Judaeus et Graecus, servus et liber, masculus et femina (Galat. III, 28); ubi non morieris, cum solvi corpore coeperis, quia nec ibi marcuisti, cum sis annis gravis. Hoc interiore tuo erecta intende, et vide quae loquor. Nolo auctoritatem meam sequaris, ut ideo putes tibi aliquid necesse esse credere, quoniam a me dicitur: sed aut Scripturis canonicis credas, si quid nondum quam verum sit vides, aut interius demonstranti veritati, ut hoc plane videas.

3. Exempli gratia dicam aliquid quo ad haec certius praestruaris, et inde potissimum unde nobis in hoc ipso opere propositus est disputandi labor. Credimus videri Deum, non quia videmus vel per oculos corporis sicut videmus hunc solem, vel mentis obtutu sicut se quisque interius videt viventem, videt volentem, videt quaerentem, videt scientem, videt nescientem. Tu itaque lectis ipsa his litteris, solem quidem te vidisse recolis per oculos corporis, potes etiam statim videre, si est id temporis, et eo loci es ubi ex ea parte coelum oculis tuis usque ad solem contuendum patet.

But when it was such a great matter which, by thinking not so much what was to be felt or said about it as in what way it was to be persuaded to those who felt differently, became more difficult; I thought a limit should at length be applied to the delay, hoping that divine help would rather be present to me writing than to me deferring. Wherefore first it seems to me that the mode of living prevails more in this inquiry than the mode of speaking. For those who have learned from the Lord Jesus Christ to be "meek and humble of heart" (Matt. 11:29), profit more by thinking and praying than by reading and hearing. Nor yet therefore should speech cease to act its parts, but when the planter and the waterer shall have done the duty of their office, they leave the rest to Him who gives the increase: for He indeed formed the planter and waterer himself.

2. According to the inner man therefore perceive the words of understanding. For he is renewed from day to day, even when this outer man is corrupted (2 Cor. 4:16), either by the chastisement of abstinence, or by some morbid health, or by any accident, or certainly, what is necessary even to those who live long with a healthy body, by the very access of age. Erect therefore the spirit of your mind, which is "renewed in the knowledge of God according to the image of Him who created him" (Col. 3:10); where through faith Christ dwells in you (Eph. 3:17); where there is not Jew and Greek, slave and free, male and female (Gal. 3:28); where you shall not die, when you have begun to be dissolved in body, because neither there have you withered, although you are heavy with years. With this inner part of yours erect, attend and see what I speak. I do not wish you to follow my authority, so as to think anything necessary for you to believe because it is said by me: but either believe the canonical Scriptures, if you do not yet see how true it is, or believe the truth demonstrating interiorly, so that you may see this clearly.

3. For example, I will say something by which you may be more certainly prepared for these things, and especially from that source whence the labor of disputing was proposed to us in this very work. We believe that God is seen, not because we see Him either through the eyes of the body, as we see this sun, or by the intuition of the mind, as everyone sees himself interiorly living, sees himself willing, sees himself seeking, sees himself knowing, sees himself being ignorant. You, therefore, having read these very letters, recollect that you have indeed seen the sun through the eyes of the body; you can even see it immediately, if it is at that time, and you are in that place where the sky is open to your eyes for beholding the sun from that part.

Ad illa vero videnda quae mente conspici dixi, id est quod vivas, quod videre Deum velis, quod id requiras, quod te vivere et velle et quaerere scias, quomodo autem Deus videatur nescias; ad haec, inquam, omnia videnda non oculos corporis adhibes, nec intervallum loci per quod intendatur obtutus, ut ad ea cernenda perveniat, sentis aut quaeris: sic vides vitam tuam, voluntatem, inquisitionem, scientiam, ignorantiam, quia nec ipsa est contemnenda visio, videre quod nescias. Sic, inquam, vides haec omnia, ut in te videas, apud te habeas, ac sine ullis figurarum lineamentis colorumque nitoribus, tanto clarius et certius, quanto simplicius interiusque conspicias. Cum igitur nec corporis oculis, sicut corpora sive coelestia, sive terrestria, nec mentis aspectu, sicut ea sunt, quorum nonnulla commemoravi, quae apud temetipsam certissime intueris, nunc videamus Deum; cur credimus eum videri, nisi quia Scripturae accommodamus fidem, ubi legitur, Beati mundo corde; quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt (Matth. V, 8); et si qua alia in hanc sententiam eadem divina auctoritate conscripta sunt, cui non credere nefas ducimus; credere autem pietatis esse minime dubitamus?

4. Hanc itaque distinctionem tene, ut si quid te admonuero, disserendo, quod ita videas oculis carnis, vel ullo alio sensu ejus sentias, seu te sensisse recolas sicut sentiuntur colores, fragores, odores, sapores, fervores, et si quid aliud per corpus cernendo, audiendo, olfaciendo, gustando, tangendo sentiamus; aut ita videas mentis intuitu, ut vides vitam, voluntatem, cogitationem, memoriam, intelligentiam, scientiam, fidem tuam, et quidquid aliud mente conspicis, atque ita esse non tantum credendo, sed plane vivendo non dubitas; hoc me judices ostendisse. Quod autem non sic ostendero, ut aut corporis, aut animi sensu visum perceptumque teneatur, et tamen dixero aliquid quod aut verum quidem, aut falsum esse necesse sit, sed nullo illorum duûm genere videatur; restat ut tantummodo credatur vel non credatur. Sed si divinarum Scripturarum, earum scilicet quae canonicae in Ecclesia nominantur, perspicua firmatur auctoritate, sine ulla dubitatione credendum est. Aliis vero testibus vel testimoniis, quibus aliquid credendum esse suadetur, tibi credere vel non credere liceat, quantum ea momenti ad faciendum fidem vel habere vel non habere perpenderis.

But for seeing those things which I said are perceived by the mind—that is, that you live, that you wish to see God, that you seek that, that you know that you live and wish and seek, but you do not know how God is seen—for seeing all these things, I say, you do not employ the eyes of the body, nor do you feel or seek a distance of space through which the gaze may be stretched so that it may reach to discerning them: thus you see your life, your will, your inquiry, your knowledge, your ignorance, because that vision is not to be despised, to see what you do not know. Thus, I say, you see all these things, so that you see them in yourself, have them with you, and without any outlines of figures and brightness of colors, you behold them so much more clearly and certainly as you behold them more simply and interiorly. Since, therefore, we do not now see God either with the eyes of the body, as we see bodies whether celestial or terrestrial, nor with the gaze of the mind, as those things are which I have mentioned some of, which you intuit most certainly within yourself; why do we believe that He is seen, except because we accommodate faith to the Scripture where it is read: "Blessed are the pure in heart; for they shall see God" (Matt. 5:8); and if there are any other things written to this effect by the same divine authority, which we judge it a nefas not to believe, but we do not at all doubt that to believe is an act of piety?

4. Hold this distinction therefore, so that if I shall admonish you of anything in discoursing which you see thus with the eyes of the flesh, or feel by any other of its senses, or recollect that you have felt as colors, sounds, odors, flavors, heats are felt, and if there is anything else we feel through the body by seeing, hearing, smelling, tasting, touching; or you see thus by the intuition of the mind, as you see your life, will, thought, memory, understanding, knowledge, your faith, and whatever else you perceive with the mind, and you do not doubt that it is so not only by believing, but plainly by living; judge that I have shown this. But what I shall not have shown thus, so that it is held seen and perceived by the sense of either the body or the soul, and yet I shall have said something which must necessarily be either true or false, but is seen by neither of those two kinds; it remains that it only be believed or not believed. But if it is confirmed by the clear authority of the divine Scriptures, those namely which are called canonical in the Church, it is to be believed without any doubt. But to other witnesses or testimonies, by which anything is persuaded to be believed, it may be allowed to you to believe or not to believe, according as you shall have weighed how much weight they have or do not have for creating faith.

5. Si enim ea quae non vidimus, hoc est, in praesenti apparentia non sensimus vel mente vel corpore, neque de Scripturis sanctis vel legendo vel audiendo didicimus, nulla omnino credidissemus; unde sciremus esse civitates ubi nunquam fuimus; vel a Romulo conditam Romam, vel, ut de propioribus loquar, Constantinopolim a Constantino?, unde postremo sciremus quinam parentes nos procreavissent, quibus patribus, avis, majoribus geniti essemus? Talium quippe cum plurima sciamus, non tamen ea vel ullo sensu praesentia, sicut solem, sicut nostri animi voluntatem, vel canonicorum eloquiorum auctoritate, sicut Adam fuisse primum hominem, aut Christum in carne natum passumque resurrexisse didicimus; sed aliis referentibus, de quorum testimonio in hoc duntaxat rerum genere minime dubitandum esse putavimus. In quibus si alicubi fallimur, credendo vel ita esse quod non ita est, vel non ita esse quod ita est, nihil periculi esse judicamus, si non sit contra illam fidem qua pietas informatur. Haec praelocutio mea nondum propositam discutit quaestionem, sed te atque alios qui ista lecturi sunt, praestruit quales seu meorum seu quorumlibet scriptorum judices esse debeatis; ne vel scire vos opinemini quod nescitis, vel temere credatis quod neque corporis sensibus aut animi contuitu in ejusdem rei quae cognoscenda est, evidentia percepistis, neque canonicarum Scripturarum auctoritate, etiamsi non adfuit sensibus vel animi vel corporis vestri, tamen credendum esse didicistis.

CAP. PRIMUM.

6. Jamne ergo venimus ad causam? an adhuc lecturus instruendus est? Nonnulli enim putant ipsum quod dicimus credere, cum res vera creditur, hoc solum esse mente contueri. Quod si ita est, fallitur ista nostra superior praelocutio, in qua distinximus aliud esse aliquid sentire per corpus, sicut in coelo solem, et in terra montem, arborem, corpusve quodlibet; et aliud mentis intuitu rem nihilominus evidentem, sicut nostra voluntas a nobismetipsis intus aspicitur cum aliquid volumus, vel cogitatio cum cogitamus, vel memoria dum recordamur, vel tale aliquid in animo sine corpore: aliud autem credere quod in corporis mentisve conspectu nec adest nec adfuisse recolitur; sicut sine parentibus creatum Adam, et natum ex Virgine passumque resurrexisse Christum.

5. For if we had believed nothing at all of those things which we have not seen —that is, which we have not felt in the present appearance either with the mind or the body, nor learned from the holy Scriptures by reading or hearing—how should we know that there are cities where we have never been; or that Rome was founded by Romulus, or, to speak of nearer things, Constantinople by Constantine? Finally, how should we know who were the parents that procreated us, from what fathers, grandfathers, ancestors we were begotten? Since we know very many such things, yet we have not learned them as present by any sense, like the sun, like the will of our mind, nor by the authority of the canonical discourses, as we have learned that Adam was the first man, or that Christ was born in the flesh and having suffered rose again; but by others reporting them, of whose testimony in this kind of things at least we thought there was very little to be doubted. In which if we are anywhere deceived, by believing either that it is so which is not so, or that it is not so which is so, we judge there is no danger, if it be not against that faith by which piety is formed. This preface of mine does not yet discuss the proposed question, but prepares you and others who are to read these things, what kind of judges you ought to be of my writings or those of anyone else; lest you should either think you know what you do not know, or rashly believe what you have perceived neither by the senses of the body nor by the intuition of the mind in the evidence of the very thing which is to be known, nor learned that it is to be believed by the authority of the canonical Scriptures, even if it was not present to the senses of either your mind or your body.

CHAPTER 1.

6. Have we then already come to the cause? or is the reader still to be instructed? For some think that very thing which we call believing, when a true thing is believed, is this alone: to behold with the mind. But if it is so, that former preface of ours is deceived, in which we distinguished that it is one thing to feel something through the body, as the sun in the sky, and a mountain, a tree, or any body whatever on the earth; and another thing to see by the intuition of the mind a thing nevertheless evident, as our will is seen within by ourselves when we will something, or thought when we think, or memory while we remember, or any such thing in the mind without the body: but another thing to believe what is neither present to the sight of the body or mind, nor is recollected to have been present; as that Adam was created without parents, and that Christ was born of a Virgin and having suffered rose again.

Haec enim etiam corporaliter facta sunt, et videri per corpus, si tunc adessemus, utique potuerunt: nunc autem non adsunt, sicut adest ista lux quae oculis cernitur, aut voluntas qua nunc aliquid volumus, quae mente conspicitur. Sed quia haec distinctionis falsa non est, profecto illa praestructio minus habebat, quod inter credere, et aliquid praesens mente conspicere, ne omnino unum atque idem putaretur, parum clara fuerat elocutione discretum.

CAPUT II.

7. Quid ergo dicimus? Num satis est ut inter videre et credere hoc distare dicamus, quia praesentia videntur, creduntur absentia? Plane forsitan satis est, si praesentia illa hoc loco intelligamus dicta, quae praesto sunt sensibus sive animi sive corporis, unde etiam ducto vocabulo praesentia nominantur. Sic enim hanc lucem corporis sensu, sic et meam voluntatem plane video, quia praesto est animi sensibus, atque intus mihi praesens est. Si quis vero mihi indicet voluntatem suam, cujus os et vox mihi praesens est; tamen quia ipsa voluntas quam mihi indicat, latet sensum corporis et animi mei, credo, non video: aut si eum mentiri existimo, non credo, etsi forte, ut dicit, ita sit. Creduntur ergo illa quae absunt a sensibus nostris, si videtur idoneum quod eis testimonium perhibetur. Videntur autem quae praesto sunt, unde et praesentia nominantur vel animi vel corporis sensibus. Nam cum sint quinque corporis sensus, cernendi, audiendi, olfaciendi, gustandi, tangendi; visus quidem in eis praecipue oculis attributus est, verumtamen hoc verbo utimur et in caeteris. Non enim tantum dicimus, Vide quid luceat; sed etiam, Vide quid sonet, Vide quid oleat, Vide quid sapiat, Vide quid caleat. Nec quia dixi ea credi quae absunt a sensibus nostris, sic accipiatur ut inter illa deputentur quae aliquando vidimus, et nos vidisse retinemus certique sumus, quamvis tunc non praesto sint cum recoluntur a nobis. Neque enim inter credita, sed inter visa deputantur; et ideo nota sunt, non quia fidem habuimus aliis testibus, sed quia nos vidisse sine dubio recordamur et scimus.

CAPUT III.

For these things were even done corporally, and could certainly have been seen through the body if we had been present then: but now they are not present, as this light is present which is discerned by the eyes, or the will by which we now will something, which is perceived by the mind. But because this distinction is not false, surely that preparation was deficient, because it had been distinguished with too little clear elocution between believing and beholding something present with the mind, lest they should be thought altogether one and the same thing.

CHAPTER 2.

7. What then do we say? Is it enough that we say this distance exists between seeing and believing, because present things are seen, and absent things are believed? Plainly perhaps it is enough, if we understand those things to be called present in this place which are ready to the senses either of the mind or of the body, whence also by a word derived from being ready (*praesto*) they are called present (*praesentia*). For thus I plainly see this light by the sense of the body, and thus also my own will, because it is ready to the senses of the mind, and is interiorly present to me. But if anyone should indicate to me his will, whose mouth and voice are present to me; yet because the will itself which he indicates to me lies hid from the sense of my body and mind, I believe, I do not see: or if I think him to be lying, I do not believe, even if perhaps it be so as he says. Those things therefore are believed which are absent from our senses, if that which is offered as testimony to them seems suitable. But those things are seen which are ready, whence also they are called present either to the senses of the mind or of the body. For although there are five senses of the body—of discerning, hearing, smelling, tasting, touching—sight indeed is chiefly attributed to the eyes in them, nevertheless we use this word also in the others. For we do not only say, "See what shines"; but also, "See what sounds," "See what smells," "See what tastes," "See what is hot." Nor because I said those things are believed which are absent from our senses, let it be so taken as if among them were reckoned those things which we once saw, and retain that we have seen them and are certain of it, although they are not then ready when they are recollected by us. For they are not reckoned among things believed, but among things seen; and therefore they are known, not because we have had faith in other witnesses, but because we remember and know without doubt that we have seen them.

CHAPTER 3.

8. Constat igitur nostra scientia ex visis rebus et creditis: sed in iis quae vidimus vel videmus, nos ipsi testes sumus; in his autem quae credimus, aliis testibus movemur ad fidem, cum earum rerum quas nec vidisse nos recolimus, nec videmus, dantur signa vel in vocibus, vel in litteris, vel in quibusque documentis, quibus visis non visa credantur. Non autem immerito scire nos dicimus non solum ea quae vidimus aut videmus, verum et illa quae idoneis ad quamque rem commoti testimoniis vel testibus credimus. Porro si scire non incongruenter dicimur etiam illud quod certissimum credimus, hinc factum est ut etiam recte credita, etsi non adsint sensibus nostris, videre mente dicamur. Scientia quippe menti tribuitur; sive per corporis sensus, sive per ipsum animum aliquid perceptum cognitumque retineat: et fides ipsa mente utique videtur, quamvis hoc fide credatur quod non videtur. Unde et apostolus Petrus dicit, In quem modo non videntes creditis (I Pet. I, 8): et ipse Dominus, Beati qui non viderunt, et crediderunt (Joan. XX, 29).

9. Cum itaque dicitur homini, Crede Christum resurrexisse a mortuis; si credit, attende quid videat, attende quid credat, et utrumque discerne. Videt hominem cujus audit vocem; et ipsa vox in visis corporalibus deputatur, secundum ea quae supra diximus. Haec duo sunt, testis, et testimonium: quorum ad oculos unum, ad aures alterum pertinet. Sed hunc testem fortasse aliorum testimoniorum auctoritas confirmat, divinarum scilicet Scripturarum, vel quorumlibet aliorum, quibus est motus ad fidem. Scripturae ad visa pertinent corporis oculorum, si eas legit; vel aurium, si audivit. Videt autem animo quidquid figuris litterarum sonisve significari intellexit. Videt ipsam fidem suam, qua se credere sine cunctatione respondet. Videt cogitationem, qua cogitat quid ei possit prodesse quod credit. Videt voluntatem, qua accessit ad suscipiendam religionem. Videt etiam ipsius resurrectionis quamdam imaginem in animo suo factam, sine qua intelligi non potest quidquid factum corporaliter dicitur, sive credatur, sive non credatur.

CAPUT IV.

Sed, ut puto, distinguis quomodo videat fidem suam qua credit, et quomodo videat illam resurrectionis imaginem in animo suo factam, quam, si hoc audit, videt etiam qui non credit.

8. It is certain therefore that our knowledge consists of things seen and things believed: but in those things which we have seen or do see, we ourselves are witnesses; but in those things which we believe, we are moved to faith by other witnesses, when signs are given, either in voices, or in letters, or in any documents whatever, of those things which we neither recollect to have seen nor do see, by which signs being seen the things not seen are believed. But not without merit do we say that we know not only those things which we have seen or do see, but also those which we believe, being moved by suitable testimonies or witnesses to each thing. Furthermore, if we are not incongruously said to know even that which we most certainly believe, hence it has come to pass that we are also said to see with the mind things rightly believed, even if they are not present to our senses. For knowledge is attributed to the mind, whether it retains anything perceived and known through the senses of the body or through the mind itself: and faith itself is certainly seen by the mind, although that is believed by faith which is not seen. Whence also the apostle Peter says, "In whom now not seeing you believe" (1 Pet. 1:8): and the Lord himself, "Blessed are they who have not seen, and have believed" (John 20:29).

9. When therefore it is said to a man, "Believe that Christ has risen from the dead"; if he believes, attend to what he sees, attend to what he believes, and discern both. He sees the man whose voice he hears; and that voice itself is reckoned among corporal things seen, according to those things which we said above. These two are the witness and the testimony: of which one pertains to the eyes, the other to the ears. But perhaps the authority of other testimonies confirms this witness, namely of the divine Scriptures, or of any others whatever, by which he is moved to faith. The Scriptures pertain to the things seen of the eyes of the body, if he reads them; or of the ears, if he has heard them. But he sees with the mind whatever he has understood to be signified by the figures of letters or sounds. He sees his own faith, by which he answers without hesitation that he believes. He sees the thought by which he thinks what may profit him that which he believes. He sees the will by which he has approached to receiving religion. He sees also a certain image of the resurrection itself made in his mind, without which whatever is said to have been done corporally cannot be understood, whether it be believed or not believed.

CHAPTER 4.

But, as I think, you distinguish how he sees his own faith by which he believes, and how he sees that image of the resurrection made in his mind, which even he sees who does not believe, if he hears this.

10. Haec ergo omnia videt, partim corpore, partim mente. Voluntatem vero ejus a quo audit ut credat, et ipsam Christi resurrectionem non videt, sed credit; et tamen eam videre dicitur quodam mentis obtutu, magis secundum testimoniorum fidem, quam rerum praesentia creditarum. Illa enim quae videt, adsunt sensibus vel animi vel corporis; quae autem credit, absunt a sensibus et animi et corporis. Quamvis voluntas ejus a quo audit ut credat, non sit praeterita, sed maneat in loquente: quam in seipso idem ipse qui loquitur videt; ille vero qui audit, non eam videt sed credit. Resurrectio autem Christi praeterita est, quam nec illi viderunt homines qui tunc fuerunt. Nam qui viderunt viventem Christum quem viderant morientem, ipsam tamen resurrectionem cum fieret non viderunt, sed eam certissime crediderunt, videndo et tangendo vivum quem noverant mortuum. Nos totum credimus, et quod resurrexerit, et quod ab hominibus tunc visus et contrectatus sit, et quod nunc vivat in coelis, nec jam moriatur, et mors illi ultra non dominetur. Res autem ipsa nec corporis nostri sensibus adest, sicut adest hoc coelum et terra, nec nostrae mentis obtutibus, sicut adest fides ipsa qua hoc credimus.

11. Sed jam satis, ut puto, ista mea praelocutione recognovisti quid sit videre vel mente vel corpore, et quid ab eis distet credere. Quod quidem fit mente, et videtur mente; quoniam menti nostrae fides nostra conspicua est. Sed tamen quod eadem fide creditur, abest et ab aspectu corporis nostri, sicut abest corpus in quo Christus resurrexit; et ab aspectu mentis alterius, sicut abest ab aspectu mentis meae fides tua, quamvis eam esse in te credam, cum eam non videam corpore, quod nec tu potes; nec mente, quod tu potes, sicut ego meam, quam tu non potes. Nemo enim scit quid agatur in homine, nisi spiritus hominis qui in ipso est (I Cor. II, 11), donec veniat Dominus, et illuminet abscondita tenebrarum, et manifestet cogitationes cordis (Id. IV, 5), ut eas non solum quisque suas videat, sed et aliorum. Secundum hoc enim dixit Apostolus neminem scire quid agatur in homine, nisi spiritum hominis qui in ipso est secundum quod videmus in nobis: nam secundum id quod credimus nec videmus, et multos fideles esse novimus, et multis noti sumus.

CAPUT V.

10. All these things, therefore, he sees, partly with the body, partly with the mind. But he does not see the will of him from whom he hears that he may believe, and the resurrection of Christ itself, but believes them; and yet he is said to see it with a certain gaze of the mind, rather according to the faith of testimonies than by the presence of the things believed. For those things which he sees are present to the senses either of the mind or of the body; but those things which he believes are absent from the senses both of the mind and of the body. Although the will of him from whom he hears that he may believe is not past, but remains in the speaker: which the same one who speaks sees in himself; but he who hears does not see it, but believes it. But the resurrection of Christ is past, which even those men who were then did not see. For those who saw the living Christ whom they had seen dying, yet did not see the resurrection itself when it happened, but believed it most certainly, by seeing and touching the living one whom they had known dead. We believe the whole: both that He rose again, and that He was then seen and handled by men, and that He now lives in the heavens, and dies no more, and death no longer has dominion over Him. But the thing itself is not present to the senses of our body, as this heaven and earth are present, nor to the gazes of our mind, as faith itself is present by which we believe this.

11. But now enough, as I think, you have recognized by this preface of mine what it is to see either with the mind or with the body, and how believing differs from them. Which indeed is done by the mind, and is seen by the mind; since our faith is conspicuous to our mind. But nevertheless what is believed by the same faith is absent both from the sight of our body, as the body is absent in which Christ rose again; and from the sight of another's mind, as your faith is absent from the sight of my mind, although I believe it to be in you, since I do not see it with the body, which neither can you; nor with the mind, which you can do, as I can mine, which you cannot. For "no one knows what is done in a man, except the spirit of the man which is in him" (1 Cor. 2:11), until the Lord comes, and "brings to light the hidden things of darkness, and makes manifest the thoughts of the heart" (1 Cor. 4:5), so that each one may see not only his own, but also those of others. For according to this the Apostle said that no one knows what is done in a man except the spirit of the man which is in him, according to what we see in ourselves: for according to that which we believe and do not see, we both know many to be faithful, and we are known to many.

CHAPTER 5.

12. Si ergo jam ista distincta sunt, veniamus ad causam. Scimus posse Deum videri, quoniam scriptum est: Beati mundo corde; quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt (Matth. V, 8). An forte non debui dicere, Scimus; sed Credimus: quoniam Deum nec corpore aliquando vidimus, sicut hanc lucem; nec mente, sicut ipsam in nobis, qua id credimus, fidem; sed tantum quia scriptum est in ea Scriptura cujus fideles sumus, quod verum sit minime dubitamus? Apostolus tamen Joannes cum tale aliquid diceret, Scimus, inquit, quia cum apparuerit, similes ei erimus; quoniam videbimus eum sicuti est (I Joan. III, 2): ecce scire se dixit quod nondum factum fuerat, nec videndo, sed credendo cognoverat. Recte itaque diximus, Scimus Deum posse videri; quamvis eum non viderimus, sed divinae auctoritati quae sanctis Libris continetur, crediderimus.

13. Quid ergo est quod eadem dicit auctoritas, Deum nemo vidit unquam (Joan. I, 18, et I Joan. IV, 12)? An fortasse respondetur quod illa testimonia de videndo Deo sunt, non de viso? Ipsi enim Deum videbunt, dictum est; non, Viderunt: et non, Vidimus; sed, videbimus eum sicuti est. Proinde his sententiis non est contrarium, Deum nemo vidit unquam. Videbunt enim quem non viderunt, qui mundo corde filii Dei esse voluerint. Quid est ergo, Vidi Deum facie ad faciem, et salva facta est anima mea (Gen. XXXII, 30)? An et hoc non est contrarium illi quod dictum est, Deum nemo vidit unquam (Joan. I, 18)? Et illud quod de Moyse scriptum est, quia loquebatur cum Deo facie ad faciem, sicut quis loquitur ad amicum suum (Exod. XXXIII, 11); et illud quod propheta Isaias de seipso loquens ait, Vidi Dominum sabaoth sedentem in throno (Isai. VI, 1): et si qua alia solent similia testimonia ex eadem auctoritate proferri, quomodo non sunt contraria sententiae qua dictum est, Deum nemo vidit unquam? Quanquam et ipsum Evangelium potest putari sibi esse contrarium. Quomodo enim verum est, quod in eo dicitur, Qui me vidit, vidit et Patrem (Joan. XIV, 9), si Deum nemo vidit unquam? quomodo verum est, Angeli eorum semper vident faciem Patris mei (Matth. XVIII, 10), si Deum nemo vidit unquam?

14. Qua igitur regula intelligentiae ista veluti contraria et repugnantia, non esse contraria nec repugnare probabimus? Neque enim fieri ullo modo potest ut haec Scripturarum auctoritas aliqua ex parte mentiatur. Si dicimus in eo quod scriptum est, Deum nemo vidit unquam, homines tantummodo intelligendos, sicut etiam illud dictum est, Nemo scit quid agatur in homine, nisi spiritus hominis qui in ipso est (I Cor. II, 11); nemo utique, sed hominum: neque enim hoc de Deo accipi potest, cum de Christo scriptum sit non opus fuisse ut quisquam illi testimonium perhiberet de homine. quoniam ipse sciebat quid esset in homine (Joan. II, 25). Nam hoc Apostolus planius explicans, Quem nemo, inquit, hominum vidit, nec videre potest (I Tim. VI, 16).

12. If therefore these things are now distinguished, let us come to the cause. We know that God can be seen, because it is written: "Blessed are the pure in heart; for they shall see God" (Matt. 5:8). Or perhaps I ought not to have said, "We know"; but, "We believe": since we have never seen God with the body, as we see this light; nor with the mind, as we see that faith itself in us by which we believe this; but only because it is written in that Scripture to which we are faithful, which we do not at all doubt is true? Yet the apostle John when he said something such, said, "We know that when He shall appear, we shall be like Him; for we shall see Him as He is" (1 John 3:2): behold, he said he knew what had not yet been done, nor had he known it by seeing, but by believing. Rightly therefore we said, "We know that God can be seen"; although we have not seen Him, but have believed the divine authority which is contained in the holy Books.

13. What therefore is it that the same authority says, "No one has ever seen God" (John 1:18, and 1 John 4:12)? Or perhaps it is answered that those testimonies are concerning the seeing of God, not concerning His having been seen? For it was said, "They shall see God"; not, "They have seen": and not, "We have seen"; but, "We shall see Him as He is." Therefore it is not contrary to these sentences, "No one has ever seen God." For they shall see Him whom they have not seen, who with a pure heart shall have wished to be the children of God. What then is this: "I have seen God face to face, and my soul has been made safe" (Gen. 32:30)? Is not even this contrary to that which was said, "No one has ever seen God" (John 1:18)? And that which is written of Moses, that "he spoke with God face to face, as someone speaks to his friend" (Exod. 33:11); and that which the prophet Isaiah says, speaking of himself, "I saw the Lord of sabaoth sitting on a throne" (Isa. 6:1): and if there are any other similar testimonies usually brought forward from the same authority, how are they not contrary to the sentence by which it was said, "No one has ever seen God"? Although even the Gospel itself can be thought to be contrary to itself. For how is it true, what is said in it, "He who has seen me has seen also the Father" (John 14:9), if "no one has ever seen God"? how is it true, "Their angels always see the face of my Father" (Matt. 18:10), if "no one has ever seen God"?

14. By what rule of understanding therefore shall we prove that these things, as if contrary and repugnant, are not contrary and do not repugn? For it can in no way happen that this authority of the Scriptures should lie in any part. If we say that in that which is written, "No one has ever seen God," only men are to be understood, just as it was also said, "No one knows what is done in a man, except the spirit of the man which is in him" (1 Cor. 2:11); no one indeed, but of men: for this cannot be taken of God, since it is written of Christ that there was no need that anyone should bear witness to Him of man, because He Himself knew what was in man (John 2:25). For the Apostle explaining this more plainly says, "Whom no one of men has seen, nor can see" (1 Tim. 6:16).

Si ergo ita dictum est, Deum nemo vidit unquam, ac si diceretur, Nemo hominum; hactenus illa quaestio soluta videbitur, ut non sit huic sententiae contrarium quod Dominus ait, Angeli eorum semper vident faciem Patris mei: ut scilicet Angelos Deum videre credamus, quem nemo vidit unquam, sed hominum. Quomodo ergo Deum vidit Abraham (Gen. XVIII, 1), Isaac (Id. XXVI, 2), Jacob (Id. XXXII, 30). Job (Job XXXVIII, 1), Moyses (Exod. XXXIII, 11), Michaeas (III Reg. XXII, 19), Isaias (Isai. VI, 1), et si qui alii sunt, de quibus veracissima Scriptura testatur quod Deum viderint, si Deum nemo unquam hominum vidit nec videre potest?

15. Quanquam nonnulli volentes etiam probare impios visuros Deum, a diabolo quoque ipso Deum visum putant; sic accipientes quod scriptum est in libro Job, venisse cum Angelis et diabolum in conspectum Dei (Job I, 6, et II, 1): ut jam et illud veniat in quaestionem, quomodo dictum sit, Beati mundo corde, quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt (Matth. V, 8); et illud, Pacem sectamini cum omnibus et sanctificationem, sine qua nemo poterit videre Deum (Hebr. XII, 14). Multum enim miror, si eo usque progrediuntur qui existimant impios visuros Deum, et a diabolo visum Deum, ut eos et mundo corde esse, et pacem et sanctificationem cum omnibus assectari asseverent.

16. Nam quod Dominus ait, Qui me vidit, vidit et Patrem (Joan. XIV, 9), potest paulo attentius consideratum non videri esse contrarium ei quod dixit, Deum nemo vidit unquam (Id. I, 18). Neque enim dixit, Quia vidistis me, vidistis et Patrem; sed dicendo, Qui me vidit, vidit et Patrem, ostendere voluit unitatem substantiae Patris et Filii, ne in aliquo inter se putarentur esse dissimiles: ac per hoc quoniam vere dictum est, Qui me vidit, vidit et Patrem; profecto quoniam Deum nemo hominum vidit unquam, nec Patrem quisquam putandus est vidisse, nec Filium secundum quod Deus est et Filius, et cum Patre unus Deus. Nam secundum id quod homo est, utique in terra visus est, et cum hominibus conversatus est (Baruch III, 38, et Joan. I, 14).

CAPUT VI.

17. Sed magna quaestio est, quomodo non sit contrarium quia tot antiqui viderunt Deum, si Deum nemo unquam vidit, quem nemo hominum vidit, nec videre potest? Vides quam difficilem mihi proposueris quaestionem, unde me aliquid prolixe copioseque scribere voluisti ex occasione brevis epistolae meae, quae tibi visa est diligentius et uberius explicanda. Visne ergo attendere quae apud alios interim comperi divinarum Scripturarum egregios tractatores, quid de visione Dei senserint, ne forte sufficiant desiderio tuo, quamvis ea forsitan noveris? Pauca ergo ista attende, si placet.

If therefore it was so said, "No one has ever seen God," as if it were said, "No one of men"; so far that question will seem solved, so that what the Lord says is not contrary to this sentence, "Their angels always see the face of my Father": that we may believe namely that angels see God, whom no one has ever seen, but of men. How then did Abraham see God (Gen. 18:1), Isaac (Id. 26:2), Jacob (Id. 32:30), Job (Job 38:1), Moses (Exod. 33:11), Micaiah (1 Kings 22:19), Isaiah (Isa. 6:1), and if there are any others of whom the most true Scripture testifies that they saw God, if no one of men has ever seen God nor can see Him?

15. Although some, wishing also to prove that the wicked shall see God, think that God was seen by the devil himself; thus taking what is written in the book of Job, that the devil also came into the sight of God with the Angels (Job 1:6, and 2:1): so that now that also comes into question, how it is said, "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God" (Matt. 5:8); and that, "Follow peace with all men and sanctification, without which no one can see God" (Heb. 12:14). For I wonder much if they who think that the wicked shall see God, and that God was seen by the devil, go so far as to assert that they are also pure in heart, and follow peace and sanctification with all men.

16. For what the Lord says, "He who has seen me has seen also the Father" (John 14:9), can, if considered a little more attentively, not seem to be contrary to what He said, "No one has ever seen God" (Id. 1:18). For He did not say, "Because you have seen me, you have seen also the Father"; but by saying, "He who has seen me has seen also the Father," He wished to show the unity of substance of the Father and the Son, lest they should be thought to be in anything dissimilar from each other: and through this because it was truly said, "He who has seen me has seen also the Father"; surely since no one of men has ever seen God, neither is anyone to be thought to have seen the Father, nor the Son according to that which He is God and the Son, and one God with the Father. For according to that which He is man, He was certainly seen on earth, and conversed with men (Baruch 3:38, and John 1:14).

CHAPTER 6.

17. But it is a great question, how it is not contrary that so many ancients saw God, if no one has ever seen God, whom no one of men has seen, nor can see? You see how difficult a question you have proposed to me, concerning which you wished me to write something at great length and copiously on the occasion of a short letter of mine, which seemed to you to need to be explained more diligently and abundantly. Do you wish therefore to attend to what I have found meanwhile in other excellent tractators of the divine Scriptures, what they have thought concerning the vision of God, lest perhaps they may suffice for your desire, although perhaps you may know them? Attend therefore to these few things, if you please.

Cum Evangelium exponens beatus Ambrosius, Mediolanensis episcopus, venisset ad eum locum ubi Angelus apparuit in templo Zachariae sacerdoti, ex hac occasione, vide quanta et qualia de Dei etiam visione disseruit.

18. Non immerito, inquit, Angelus videtur in templo; quia veri sacerdotis jam nuntiabatur adventus, et coeleste sacrificium parabatur, in quo Angeli ministrarent. Et bene apparuisse dicitur ei qui eum repente conspexit. Hoc specialiter, aut de Angelis, aut de Deo Scriptura divina tenere consuevit, ut quod non potest praevideri, apparere dicatur. Sic enim habes: «Apparuit Deus Abrahae ad ilicem Mambre» (Gen. XVIII, 1). Nam quia ante non praesentitur, sed repentino videtur aspectu, apparere memoratur. Non enim similiter sensibilia videntur, et is in cujus voluntate situm est videri, et cujus naturae est non videri, voluntatis videri. Nam si non vult, non videtur; si vult, videtur. Apparuit enim Deus Abrahae, quia voluit; aliis, quia noluit, non apparuit. Visum est etiam Stephano, cum lapidaretur a populo, aperiri coelum : visus est etiam Jesus stans ad dexteram Dei (Act. VII, 55), et non visus est a populo. Vidit Isaias Deum sabaoth (Isai. VI, 1); sed alius videre non potuit, quia cui placuit apparuit. Et quid de hominibus loquimur, cum etiam de ipsis coelestibus Virtutibus et Potestatibus legerimus quia «Deum nemo vidit unquam?» et addit quod ultra coelestes est Potestates, «Unigenitus Filius, qui est in sinu Patris, ipse narravit.» Aut acquiescatur igitur necesse est, si Deum Patrem nemo vidit unquam, Filium visum esse in Veteri Testamento; et desinant haeretici ex Virgine ei principium dare, qui antequam nasceretur ex Virgine videbatur. Aut certe refelli non potest, vel Patrem, vel Filium, vel certe Spiritum sanctum, si tamen est Spiritus sancti visio, ea specie videri, quam voluntas elegerit, non natura Sormaverit; quoniam Spiritum quoque visum accepimus in columba (Matth. III, 16). Et ideo «Deum nemo vidit unquam,» quia eam quae in Deo habitat, plenitudinem divinitatis nemo conspexit, nemo mente aut oculis comprehendit: «Vidit» enim, ad utrumque referendum est. Denique cum additur, «Unigenitus Filius ipse narravit,» mentium magis quam oculorum visio declaratur.

When the blessed Ambrose, bishop of Milan, expounding the Gospel, had come to that place where the Angel appeared in the temple to Zechariah the priest, on this occasion, see how many and what kind of things he discussed concerning the vision of God also.

18. "Not without merit," he says, "is the Angel seen in the temple; because the advent of the true priest was already being announced, and the celestial sacrifice was being prepared, in which Angels should minister. And it is well said to have appeared to him who suddenly beheld him. Divine Scripture has been accustomed to hold this specifically, either concerning Angels or concerning God, so that what cannot be foreseen is said to appear. For thus you have: 'God appeared to Abraham at the oak of Mamre' (Gen. 18:1). For because He is not perceived beforehand, but is seen by a sudden look, He is mentioned to appear. For sensible things are not seen in the same way as He in whose will it is placed to be seen, and whose nature it is not to be seen, but whose will it is to be seen. For if He does not wish, He is not seen; if He wishes, He is seen. For God appeared to Abraham because He wished; to others, because He did not wish, He did not appear. It was also seen by Stephen, when he was being stoned by the people, that heaven was opened: Jesus also was seen standing at the right hand of God (Acts 7:55), and He was not seen by the people. Isaiah saw the God of sabaoth (Isa. 6:1); but another could not see, because He appeared to whom it pleased Him. And why do we speak of men, when we have read even of the celestial Virtues and Powers themselves that 'no one has ever seen God'? and he adds what is beyond the celestial Powers, 'The only-begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, He has declared Him.' Either therefore it is necessary to acquiesce, if no one has ever seen God the Father, that the Son was seen in the Old Testament; and let the heretics cease to give Him a beginning from the Virgin, who was seen before He was born of the Virgin. Or certainly it cannot be refuted that either the Father, or the Son, or certainly the Holy Spirit, if yet there is a vision of the Holy Spirit, is seen in that species which the will shall have chosen, not nature formed; since we have received that the Spirit also was seen in a dove (Matt. 3:16). And therefore 'no one has ever seen God,' because no one has beheld, no one has comprehended with mind or eyes, that fullness of divinity which dwells in God: for 'He has seen' is to be referred to both. Finally, when it is added, 'The only-begotten Son Himself has declared Him,' a vision of minds rather than of eyes is declared.

Species enim videtur; virtus vero narratur: illa oculis, haec mente comprehenditur. Sed quid de Trinitate dicam? Seraphim quando voluit, apparuit: et vocem ejus Isaias solus audivit. Apparuit angelus, et nunc praesto est, sed non videtur. Neque enim in potestate nostra est videre, sed in potestate illius apparere. Tamen etsi potestas non est videndi, est gratia promerendi ut videre possimus. Et ideo qui habuit gratiam, meruit copiam: nos copiam non meremur, quia Deum videndi gratiam non habemus. Et quid mirum si in praesenti saeculo, nisi quando vult, Dominus non videtur? In ipsa quoque resurrectione non facile est Deum videre, nisi iis qui corde sint mundo: et ideo «beati mundo corde; ipsi enim Deum videbunt» (Matth. V, 8). Quantos beatos jam numeraverat, et tamen videndi his Deum non promiserat facultatem! Si ergo ii qui mundo sunt corde, Deum videbunt; utique alii non videbunt. Neque enim indigni Deum videbunt; neque is qui Deum videre noluerit, potest Deum videre. Nec in loco Deus videtur, sed mundo corde; nec corporalibus oculis Deus quaeritur, nec circumscribitur visu, nec tactu tenetur, nec auditur affatu, nec sentitur incessu. Et cum absens putatur, videtur; et cum praesens est, non videtur. Denique nec Apostoli omnes Christum videbant; et ideo ait, «Tanto tempore vobiscum sum, et adhuc me non cognovistis» (Joan. XIV, 9)! Qui enim cognovit quae sit latitudo, et longitudo, et altitudo, et profundum, et supereminentem scientiae charitatem Christi, vidit et Christum, vidit et Patrem. Nos enim jam secundum carnem non novimus Christum (II Cor. V, 16), sed secundum spiritum. Spiritus enim ante faciem nostram Christus Dominus (Thren. IV, 20) qui nos in omnem plenitudinem Dei misericordia sua implere dignetur (Eph. III, 18, 19) ut videri possit a nobis (Ambrosius, super Luc. lib 1, c. I, 11).

CAPUT VII.

19. Si haec verba intelligis, quid restat quod a me amplius requiratur, cum jam illa quae difficilis videbatur, soluta sit quaestio? Discretum est quippe quomodo dictum sit, Deum nemo vidit unquam, et quomodo Deum justi antiqui viderint. Sed illud propterea dictum est, quoniam Deus natura invisibilis est. Illi autem ideo viderunt, quicumque Deum viderunt, quia cui voluerit, sicut voluerit, apparet ea specie quam voluntas elegerit, etiam latente natura.

For the species is seen; but the power is declared: the former is comprehended by the eyes, the latter by the mind. But what shall I say of the Trinity? A Seraph appeared when he wished: and Isaiah alone heard his voice. An angel appeared, and is now ready, but is not seen. For it is not in our power to see, but in his power to appear. Yet even if there is not the power of seeing, there is the grace of meriting so that we may be able to see. And therefore he who had grace, merited the abundance: we do not merit the abundance, because we do not have the grace of seeing God. And what wonder if in the present world, except when He wishes, the Lord is not seen? In the resurrection itself also it is not easy to see God, except for those who are pure in heart: and therefore 'blessed are the pure in heart; for they shall see God' (Matt. 5:8). How many blessed ones had He already numbered, and yet He had not promised them the faculty of seeing God! If therefore those who are pure in heart shall see God, surely others shall not see Him. For neither shall the unworthy see God; nor can he who shall have been unwilling to see God, see God. Nor is God seen in a place, but with a pure heart; nor is God sought with corporal eyes, nor circumscribed by sight, nor held by touch, nor heard by address, nor felt by walking. And when He is thought absent, He is seen; and when He is present, He is not seen. Finally, not even all the Apostles saw Christ; and therefore He says, 'So long a time have I been with you, and yet you have not known me' (John 14:9)! For he who has known what is the breadth, and length, and height, and depth, and the supereminent charity of the knowledge of Christ, has seen also Christ, has seen also the Father. For we no longer know Christ according to the flesh (2 Cor. 5:16), but according to the spirit. For 'the Spirit before our face is Christ the Lord' (Lam. 4:20) who may deign by His mercy to fill us unto all the fullness of God (Eph. 3:18, 19) so that He may be able to be seen by us" (Ambrose, on Luke, book 1, c. 1, 11).

CHAPTER 7.

19. If you understand these words, what remains that is further required from me, since that question which seemed difficult has already been solved? For it has been distinguished how it was said, "No one has ever seen God," and how the just ancients saw God. But the former was said because God is invisible by nature. But those saw Him, whoever saw God, because He appears to whom He shall have willed, as He shall have willed, in that species which the will shall have chosen, even while nature lies hid.

Nam si, quando patres Deum viderunt, ipsa illis natura ejus apparuit, quamvis si noluisset utique non apparuisset: quomodo Deum nemo vidit unquam, cum eo volente ipsa ejus a tot patribus natura conspecta sit? Quod si dicitur Filius a patribus visus, ut de Deo Patre accipiatur dictum, quod eum nemo unquam viderit; non quidem amisit occasionem Ambrosius, ut hinc quosdam haereticos redargueret, id est Photinianos, qui principium Filio Dei ex utero Virginis tribuunt, nec volunt credere quod et antea fuerit. Sed quia videbat alios, id est Arianos, perniciosius insidiantes, quorum procul dubio error adstruitur, si Patris natura invisibilis, Filii vero visibilis creditur; utriusque unam pariterque invisibilem asseruit esse naturam, adjungens etiam Spiritus sancti. Quod breviter quidem, sed admirabiliter intimavit, ubi secutus ait: Aut certe refelli non potest, vel Patrem, vel Filium, vel certe Spiritum sanctum, si tamen est Spiritus sancti visio, ea specie videri, quam voluntas elegerit, non natura formaverit. Potuit dicere, Non natura monstraverit; sed maluit dicere, formaverit, ne ipsam speciem in qua Deus elegit apparere, de sua natura formare putaretur, et ex hoc utique convinceretur convertibilis esse mutabilisque substantiae: quod ipse Deus a fide piorum misericors et benignus averterit!

CAPUT VIII.

20. Invisibilis est igitur natura Deus, non tantum Pater, sed et ipsa Trinitas, unus Deus. Et quia non tantum invisibilis, verum etiam incommutabilis; sic apparet quibus voluerit, in qua voluerit specie, ut apud eum integra maneat ejus invisibilis incommutabilisque natura. Desiderium autem veraciter piorum, quo videre Deum cupiunt, et inhianter ardescunt, non, opinor, in eam speciem contuendam flagrat, qua ut vult apparet, quod ipse non est; sed in eam substantiam, qua ipse est quod est. Hujus enim desiderii sui flammam sanctus Moyses, fidelis famulus ejus ostendit, ubi ait Deo, cum quo ut amicus facie ad faciem loquebatur: Si inveni gratiam ante te, ostende mihi temetipsum (Exod. XXXIII, 13, sec. LXX). Quid ergo? ille non erat ipse? Si non esset ipse, non ei diceret, ostende mihi temetipsum; sed, Ostende mihi Deum: et tamen si ejus naturam substantiamque conspiceret, multo minus diceret, ostende mihi temetipsum. Ipse ergo erat in ea specie qua apparere voluerat; non autem ipse apparebat in natura propria, quam Moyses videre cupiebat.

For if, when the fathers saw God, His nature itself appeared to them, although if He had been unwilling it would certainly not have appeared: how is it that "no one has ever seen God," since when He willed it His nature itself was beheld by so many fathers? But if it is said that the Son was seen by the fathers, so that it may be taken as said of God the Father that no one has ever seen Him; Ambrose indeed did not lose the occasion to refute certain heretics from here, that is the Photinians, who attribute a beginning to the Son of God from the womb of the Virgin, and do not wish to believe that He also was before. But because he saw others, that is the Arians, more pernicously lying in wait, whose error is undoubtedly established if the nature of the Father is believed invisible, but the nature of the Son visible; he asserted that the nature of both is one and equally invisible, adding also that of the Holy Spirit. Which indeed he intimated briefly, but admirably, where he followed and said: "Or certainly it cannot be refuted that either the Father, or the Son, or certainly the Holy Spirit, if yet there is a vision of the Holy Spirit, is seen in that species which the will shall have chosen, not nature formed." He could have said, "nature showed"; but he preferred to say, "formed," lest He should be thought to form from His own nature the very species in which God chose to appear, and from this He should certainly be convicted of being of a changeable and mutable substance: which may God Himself, merciful and benign, avert from the faith of the pious!

CHAPTER 8.

20. God is therefore invisible in nature, not only the Father, but also the Trinity itself, one God. And because He is not only invisible, but also unchangeable; He so appears to whom He has willed, in whatever species He has willed, that His invisible and unchangeable nature remains integral with Him. But the desire of the truly pious, by which they wish to see God, and burn with longing, does not, I think, flare up for the beholding of that species by which He appears as He wills, which He Himself is not; but for that substance by which He is what He is. For holy Moses, His faithful servant, showed the flame of this desire of his, where he said to God, with whom he spoke as a friend face to face: "If I have found grace before thee, show me thyself" (Exod. 33:13, according to LXX). What then? was that not He Himself? If it were not He Himself, he would not say to Him, "show me thyself"; but, "Show me God": and yet if he beheld His nature and substance, much less would he say, "show me thyself." He was therefore Himself in that species in which He had willed to appear; but He Himself was not appearing in His own nature, which Moses desired to see.

Ea quippe promittitur sanctis in alia vita. Unde quod responsum est Moysi verum est, quia nemo potest faciem Dei videre, et vivere; id est, nemo potest eum in hac vita videre vivens sicuti est. Nam multi viderunt; sed quod voluntas elegit, non quod natura formavit. Et illud quod Joannes ait, si recte intelligitur, Dilectissimi, nunc filii Dei sumus, et nondum apparuit quod erimus. Scimus quia cum apparuerit, similes ei erimus; quoniam videbimus eum sicuti est (I Joan. III, 2): non sicut eum homines viderunt, quando voluit, in specie qua voluit, non in natura, qua in semetipso, etiam cum videretur, latuit; sed sicuti est, quod ab eo petebatur, cum ei diceretur, ostende mihi temetipsum, ab eo qui cum illo facie ad faciem loquebatur.

21. Non quia Dei plenitudinem quisquam, non solum oculis corporis, sed vel ipsa mente aliquando comprehendit.

CAPUT IX.

Aliud est enim videre, aliud est totum videndo comprehendere. Quandoquidem id videtur, quod praesens utcumque sentitur: totum autem comprehenditur videndo, quod ita videtur ut nihil ejus lateat videntem, aut cujus fines circumspici possunt; sicut te nihil latet praesentis voluntatis tuae, circumspicere autem potes fines annuli tui. Exempli gratia duo posui, quorum alterum ad mentis obtutum, alterum ad corporales oculos pertinet: visus enim, sicut ille ait, ad utrumque referendus est, id est et ad oculos et ad mentem.

22. Porro si propterea Deum nemo vidit unquam, quia, sicut ait disputator cujus verba consideramus, Plenitudinem divinitatis ejus nemo conspexit, nemo mente aut oculis comprehendit; «vidit» enim, ad utrumque referendum est: restat inquirere quomodo Angeli Deum videant, propter illud quod ex Evangelio commemoravi, Angeli eorum semper vident faciem Patris mei (Matth. XVIII, 10). Si enim et ipsis non sicuti est, sed latente sua natura, in specie qua voluerit apparet; magis magisque requirendum est quomodo eum nos videbimus sicuti est, et sicut Moyses desideravit, cum peteret ut Deus, qui in conspectu ejus erat, ostenderet illi semetipsum. Hoc enim nobis summum praemium in resurrectione promittitur, quod erimus aequales Angelis Dei (Luc. XX, 36): ac per hoc si nec ipsi eum vident sicuti est, quomodo nos ita visuri sumus, cum eis aequales in resurrectione facti fuerimus?

For that is promised to the saints in another life. Whence what was answered to Moses is true, because no one can see the face of God and live; that is, no one living can see Him in this life as He is. For many have seen; but what the will chose, not what nature formed. And that which John says, if it is rightly understood: "Dearly beloved, now are we the sons of God, and it hath not yet appeared what we shall be. We know that when he shall appear, we shall be like to him; because we shall see him as he is" (1 John 3:2): not as men saw Him, when He willed, in the species in which He willed, not in the nature in which He lay hid in Himself, even when He was seen; but "as he is," which was asked of Him when it was said to Him, "show me thyself," by him who spoke with Him face to face.

21. Not because anyone has ever comprehended the fullness of God, not only with the eyes of the body, but even with the mind itself.

CHAPTER 9.

For it is one thing to see, another thing to comprehend the whole by seeing. For that is seen which is in some way felt as present: but the whole is comprehended by seeing, which is so seen that nothing of it lies hid from the viewer, or whose limits can be looked around; just as nothing of your present will lies hid from you, but you can look around the limits of your ring. For the sake of example I have put two things, of which one pertains to the gaze of the mind, the other to the corporal eyes: for vision, as he says, is to be referred to both, that is both to the eyes and to the mind.

22. Furthermore, if "no one has ever seen God" because, as the disputant whose words we are considering says, "no one has beheld the fullness of His divinity, no one has comprehended it with mind or eyes"; for "seen" is to be referred to both: it remains to inquire how the Angels see God, on account of that which I have commemorated from the Gospel: "Their angels always see the face of my Father" (Matt. 18:10). For if He appears also to them not as He is, but with His nature lying hid, in the species in which He has willed; it must be inquired more and more how we shall see Him as He is, and as Moses desired, when he asked that God, who was in his sight, should show him Himself. For this highest reward is promised to us in the resurrection, that "we shall be equal to the angels of God" (Luke 20:36): and by this, if they themselves do not see Him as He is, how are we so to see Him, when we shall have been made equal to them in the resurrection?

Sed vide quid consequenter dicat noster Ambrosius: Denique, inquit, cum additur, «Unigenitus Filius ipse narravit;» mentium magis quam oculorum visio declaratur. Species enim videtur; virtus vero narratur: illa oculis, haec mente comprehenditur. Qui paulo ante dixerat visionem ad utrumque referendam, nunc eam non menti, sed oculis dedit: non, ut opinor, negligenter sua verba respiciens; sed quia usitatius in loquendo solemus oculis attribuere visionem, sicut speciem corpori. Nam et hic mos loquendi crebrius usurpatur in rebus quae locis continentur, varianturque coloribus. Sed si nulla species esset mente contuenda, non diceretur ille speciosus forma prae filiis hominum (Psal. XLIV, 3). Neque enim hoc secundum carnem dictum est, et non secundum speciem spiritualem. Dicitur ergo et species pertinens ad mentis obtutum; sed quia usitatius in corporibus dicitur, vel in similitudinibus corporum, ideo dixit: Species videtur; virtus vero narratur: illa oculis, haec mente comprehenditur. Proinde narrante Unigenito, qui est in sinu Patris, narratione ineffabili, creatura rationalis munda et sancta impletur visione Dei ineffabili, quam tunc consequemur cum aequales Angelis facti fuerimus. Quia sicut videntur ista visibilia, corporis sensibus nota, Deum nemo vidit unquam: quoniam si aliquando eo modo visus est, non, sicut ista, natura videtur, sed voluntate visus est; specie qua voluit apparens, latente natura atque in se incommutabiliter permanente. Eo autem modo quo videtur sicuti est, nunc fortasse videtur a quibusdam Angelis: a nobis autem tunc ita videbitur, cum eis facti fuerimus aequales.

CAPUT X.

23. Deinde cum addidisset quia nec Potestates coelorum, sicut Seraphim, nisi cum volunt et quemadmodum volunt videntur, ut hinc etiam conjiceretur quanta sit invisibilitas Trinitatis, Tamen, inquit, etsi potestas non est videndi, est gratia promerendi ut videre possimus. Et ideo qui habuit gratiam, meruit copiam: nos copiam non meremur, quia Deum videndi gratiam non habemus. His itaque verbis quia non sua docet, sed Evangelium exponit, non hoc voluit intelligi quod quidam eorum videbunt Deum, quidam vero non videbunt, quibus credentibus dedit potestatem filios Dei fieri; cum ad eos omnes pertineat quod dictum est, Videbimus eum sicuti est:

But see what our Ambrose says consequently: "Finally," he says, "when it is added, 'The only-begotten Son himself hath declared it;' the vision of minds rather than of eyes is declared. For the species is seen; but power is declared: the former is comprehended by the eyes, the latter by the mind." He who a little before had said vision was to be referred to both, now gave it not to the mind, but to the eyes: not, I think, carelessly looking back at his own words; but because more usually in speaking we are accustomed to attribute vision to the eyes, just as species to the body. For also this manner of speaking is more frequently used in things which are contained in places, and are varied with colors. But if there were no species to be contemplated by the mind, he would not be called "beautiful in form above the sons of men" (Psalm 44:3). For neither was this said according to the flesh, and not according to the spiritual species. Species is therefore also said pertaining to the gaze of the mind; but because it is more usually said in bodies, or in the similitudes of bodies, therefore he said: "The species is seen; but power is declared: the former is comprehended by the eyes, the latter by the mind." Therefore, the Only-begotten narrating, who is in the bosom of the Father, with an ineffable narration, the rational creature, clean and holy, is filled with the ineffable vision of God, which we shall then obtain when we shall have been made equal to the Angels. Because just as these visible things are seen, known to the senses of the body, no one has ever seen God: since if sometimes He was seen in that way, He is not seen by nature, as these things are, but was seen by will; appearing in the species in which He willed, with His nature lying hid and remaining incommutably in itself. But in that way in which He is seen as He is, now perhaps He is seen by certain Angels: but by us He will then be so seen, when we shall have been made equal to them.

CHAPTER 10.

23. Then when he had added that neither the Powers of the heavens, such as the Seraphim, are seen except when they will and in what manner they will, so that from this also might be conjectured how great is the invisibility of the Trinity, "Nevertheless," he says, "although there is not the power of seeing, there is the grace of deserving that we may be able to see. And therefore he who had the grace, deserved the abundance: we do not deserve the abundance, because we do not have the grace of seeing God." Therefore by these words, because he does not teach his own, but expounds the Gospel, he did not wish this to be understood, that some of them will see God, but others will not see Him, to whom believing He gave power to become the sons of God; since to all of them belongs what was said, "We shall see him as he is:"

sed dicendo, nos copiam non meremur, quia Deum videndi gratiam non habemus, de hoc saeculo se loqui significavit, ubi quibusdam Deus, licet non in sua natura, sed in qua voluit specie, dignatus est apparere, sicut Abrahae, sicut Isaiae, aliisque similibus; caeteris vero innumerabilibus, quamvis ad suum populum et haereditatem aeternam pertinentibus, nulla vel tali specie se demonstrat. In futuro autem saeculo, qui regnum accepturi sunt quod eis ab initio praeparatum est, omnes eum corde mundo videbunt; nec in illo regno nisi tales erunt.

CAPUT XI.

24. Attende itaque quid adjungat, jam de illo saeculo dicere incipiens: Et quid mirum, inquit, si in praesenti saeculo, nisi quando vult, Dominus non videtur? In ipsa quoque resurrectione non facile est Deum videre, nisi iis qui mundo sint corde: et ideo «beati mundo corde; ipsi enim Deum videbunt.» Qantos beatos jam numeraverat, et tamen his videndi Deum non promiserat facultatem! Si ergo ii qui mundo sunt corde, Deum videbunt; utique alii non videbunt. Neque enim indigni Deum videbunt; neque is qui Deum videre noluerit, potest Deum videre. Cernis quam circumspecte loquatur jam de iis qui in futuro saeculo videbunt Deum: neque enim omnes, sed qui digni sunt. Resurgent enim et digni et indigni regno illo ubi videbitur Deus: quoniam omnes qui in monumentis sunt, audient vocem ejus et procedent; sed cum magna differentia: nam qui bene fecerunt, in resurrectionem vitae; qui vero male egerunt, in resurrectionem judicii (Joan. V, 28, 29). Hic judicium poenam aeternam significat: sicut etiam illud dictum est, Qui non credit, jam judicatus est (Id. III, 18).

25. Quod ergo ait sanctus Ambrosius, neque is qui Deum videre noluerit, potest Deum videre, quid aliud intelligi voluit, nisi quia is qui mundando cordi curam tantae rei dignam non vult impendere, non vult Deum videre? Vide proinde quid adjungat: Nec in loco, inquit, Deus videtur, sed mundo corde. Quid evidentius, quid expressius dici potuit? Ab hac igitur visione diabolus et angeli ejus, et omnes cum eis impii, sine ulla nebula dubitationis exclusi sunt; quoniam mundo corde non sunt: ac per hoc quod scriptum est in libro Job, venisse Angelos in conspectum Dei, et venisse cum eis diabolum (Job. I, 6, et II, 1), non ideo diabolus Deum vidisse credendus est. Ipsi enim dicti sunt venisse in conspectum Dei, not Deus in conspectum eorum. Veniunt autem in conspectum nostrum quae videmus, non a quibus videmur.

but by saying, "we do not deserve the abundance, because we do not have the grace of seeing God," he signified that he was speaking of this world, where to some God, although not in His own nature, but in the species in which He willed, has deigned to appear, as to Abraham, as to Isaiah, and to others like them; but to the innumerable rest, although belonging to His people and eternal inheritance, He demonstrates Himself in no such species. But in the future world, those who are to receive the kingdom which has been prepared for them from the beginning, all shall see Him with a pure heart; nor in that kingdom shall there be any but such.

CHAPTER 10.

24. Attend therefore to what he subjoins, already beginning to speak of that world: "And what wonder," he says, "if in the present world, unless when He wills, the Lord is not seen? In the resurrection itself also it is not easy to see God, except for those who are pure in heart: and therefore 'blessed are the pure in heart; for they shall see God.'" How many blessed ones had he already numbered, and yet to these he had not promised the faculty of seeing God! If therefore those who are pure in heart shall see God; certainly others shall not see Him. For neither shall the unworthy see God; nor can he who shall have been unwilling to see God, see God. You perceive how circumspectly he already speaks of those who in the future world shall see God: for neither all, but those who are worthy. For both the worthy and the unworthy shall rise for that kingdom where God shall be seen: since "all who are in the monuments shall hear his voice and shall come forth;" but with a great difference: for "they who have done well, unto the resurrection of life; but they who have done evil, unto the resurrection of judgment" (John 5:28, 29). Here judgment signifies eternal punishment: just as that also was said, "He who believeth not is already judged" (John 3:18).

25. That therefore which holy Ambrose said, "nor can he who shall have been unwilling to see God, see God," what else did he wish to be understood, except that he who does not wish to expend upon cleansing the heart a care worthy of so great a thing, does not wish to see God? See therefore what he subjoins: "Nor in a place," he says, "is God seen, but by a pure heart." What could be said more evidently, what more expressly? From this vision therefore the devil and his angels, and all the impious with them, are excluded without any cloud of doubt; since they are not of a pure heart: and by this, that which is written in the book of Job, that the Angels came into the sight of God, and the devil came with them (Job 1:6, and 2:1), the devil is not therefore to be believed to have seen God. For they themselves are said to have come into the sight of God, not God into their sight. For those things come into our sight which we see, not by which we are seen.

Venerunt ergo, sicut in multis codicibus legitur, ut assisterent coram Deo, non ut coram ipsis Deus. Nec est opus hoc loco immorari, ut pro viribus nostris conemur ostendere quomodo et hoc temporaliter fiat, cum in Dei conspectu sint omnia semper.

26. Nunc enim quaeritur quomodo videatur Deus; non ea specie qua et in isto saeculo quibusdam voluit apparere, quando non solum cum Abraham aliisque justis, verum etiam cum Cain fratricida locutus est (Gen. XVIII, 1, et IV, 6-15): sed quomodo videatur in illo regno, ubi eum videbunt filii ejus sicuti est. Tunc quippe satiabitur in bonis desiderium eorum: quo desiderio flagrabat Moyses, cui loqui ad Deum facie ad faciem non sufficiebat, et dicebat, Ostende mihi temetipsum manifeste, ut videam te (Exod. XXXIII, 13); tanquam diceret, quod in Psalmo ex eodem desiderio canitur, Satiabor cum manifestabitur gloria tua (Psal. XVI, 15). Quo desiderio ardebat et Philippus, et sic satiari cupiebat, dicens: Ostende nobis Patrem, et sufficit nobis (Joan. XIV, 8). De hac visione loquens ejus etiam ipse amator et desiderator Ambrosius: Non in loco, inquit, Deus videtur, sicut ad ilicem Mambre, sicut in monte Sina; sed mundo corde. Et sequitur, sciens quid desideret, et quid aestuet, et quid speret: Nec corporalibus, inquit, oculis Deus quaeritur, quibus se ostendit Abrahae, Isaac, Jacob, et aliis in hoc saeculo; nec circumscribitur visu, propter illud quod dictum est, Posteriora mea videbis (Exod. XXXIII, 23); nec tactu tenetur, sicut luctatus etiam est cum Jacob (Gen. XXXII, 24-30); nec auditur affatu, sicut non solum a tot sanctis, verum etiam a diabolo auditus est; nec sentitur incessu, sicut aliquando cum in paradiso deambularet ad vesperam (Id. III, 8).

27. Vides quemadmodum vir santo enitatur nostras mentes ab omnibus carnis sensibus sevocare, ut aptas faciat ad videndum Deum. Et tamen quid agit talis extrinsecus plantator et rigator, nisi intrinsecus operetur qui dat incrementum Deus (I Cor. III, 7)? Quis enim sine adjutorio Spiritus Dei cogitare valeat esse aliquid, magisque esse quam omnia quae per corpus sentiuntur, quod nec in loco videatur, nec quaerendum sit oculis, nec audiatur affatu, nec tactu teneatur, nec sentiatur incessu, et videatur tamen, sed mundo corde? Neque enim de hac vita ille loquebatur, cum hoc diceret; quandoquidem ab hoc saeculo, in quo Deus apparuit, not as He is, sed in specie qua voluit, quibus voluit, satis discrevit saeculi futuri vitam, discretione apertissima, ubi ait: Et quid mirum si in praesenti saeculo, nisi quando vult, Dominus non videtur? In ipsa quoque resurrectione non facile est Deum videre, nisi iis qui corde mundo sint: et ideo «beati mundo corde; quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt.»

They came therefore, as it is read in many codices, to stand before God, not that God was before them. Nor is there need to linger in this place, that we should endeavor according to our powers to show how even this is done temporally, since in God's sight all things are always.

26. For now it is inquired how God is seen; not in that species in which also in this world He willed to appear to some, when not only with Abraham and other just men, but even with Cain the fratricide He spoke (Gen. 18:1, and 4:6-15): but how He is seen in that kingdom, where His sons shall see Him as He is. For then indeed their desire shall be satisfied with good things: with which desire Moses was burning, to whom to speak to God face to face was not sufficient, and he said, "Show me thyself manifestly, that I may see thee" (Exod. 33:13); as if he were saying, what is sung in the Psalm from the same desire, "I shall be satisfied when thy glory shall be manifested" (Psalm 16:15). With which desire Philip also was burning, and so desired to be satisfied, saying: "Show us the Father, and it sufficeth us" (John 14:8). Speaking of this vision, its very lover and desiderer Ambrose: "Not in a place," he says, "is God seen," as at the oak of Mamre, as on mount Sinai; "but by a pure heart." And he follows, knowing what he desires, and what he seethes with, and what he hopes for: "Neither with corporal eyes," he says, "is God sought," with which He showed Himself to Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and others in this world; "nor is he circumscribed by sight," on account of that which was said, "Thou shalt see my back parts" (Exod. 33:23); "nor is he held by touch," as he even wrestled with Jacob (Gen. 32:24-30); "nor is he heard by speech," as he was heard not only by so many saints, but even by the devil; "nor is he felt by walking," as once when he was walking in paradise at evening (Gen. 3:8).

27. You see how the holy man strives to call away our minds from all the senses of the flesh, that he may make them apt for seeing God. And yet what does such an external planter and waterer do, unless God who gives the increase works within (1 Cor. 3:7)? For who without the help of the Spirit of God can think that something is, and more so is than all things which are felt through the body, which is neither seen in a place, nor is to be sought with eyes, nor is heard by speech, nor is held by touch, nor is felt by walking, and yet is seen, but by a pure heart? For he was not speaking of this life when he said this; since from this world, in which God appeared, not as He is, but in the species in which He willed, to whom He willed, he sufficiently distinguished the life of the future world, with a most open distinction, where he says: "And what wonder if in the present world, unless when He wills, the Lord is not seen? In the resurrection itself also it is not easy to see God, except for those who are pure in heart: and therefore 'blessed are the pure in heart; for they shall see God.'"

Hinc jam de illo saeculo dicere exorsus est, ubi Deum videbunt, non omnes qui resurgent, sed qui resurgent ad vitam aeternam: non indigni, de quibus dictum est, Tollatur impius, ne videat claritatem Domini (Isai. XXVI, 10, sec. LXX); sed digni, de qualibus dixit ipse Dominus, cum praesens non videretur, Qui diligit me, mandata mea custodit; et, Qui diligit me, diligetur a Patre meo, et ego diligam eum, et ostendam meipsum illi (Joan. XIV, 21, 23): nec ii quibus dicetur, Ite in ignem aeternum, qui praeparatus est diabolo et angelis ejus; sed ii quibus dicetur, Venite, benedicti Patris mei; percipite regnum quod vobis praeparatum est ab initio mundi. Illi quippe ibunt in ambustionem aeternam; justi autem in vitam aeternam (Matth. XXV, 41, 34, 46). Et quae est vita aeterna, nisi quod ipsa Vita alibi dicit, Haec est autem vita aeterna, ut cognoscant te unum Deum verum, et quem misisti Jesum Christum (Joan. XVII, 3)? sed sic quomodo promisit ostensurum seipsum dilectoribus suis cum Patre unum Deum, non quomodo in hoc saeculo in corpore visus est a bonis et a malis.

28. Et in judicio enim futuro, quo sic venturus est quomodo visus est iens in coelum, hoc est in eadem forma filii hominis, eamdem formam videbunt, quibus dicturus est, Esurivi, et non dedistis mihi manducare (Matth. XXV, 42) (quia et Judaei videbunt in quem pupugerunt (Zach. XII, 10); not illam Dei formam, in qua non rapinam arbitratus est esse aequalis Deo (Philipp. II, 6). In illa Dei forma tunc videbunt eum, qui videbunt eum sicuti est. Nec ideo videbunt, quia pauperes spiritu in hac vita fuerunt, quia mites, quia lugentes, quia esurientes et sitientes justitiam, quia misericordes, quia pacifici, quia persecutionem passi propter justitiam, quamvis et haec omnia iidem ipsi sint; sed quia mundo sunt corde. Ideo quippe inter illas beatitudines, cum omnia faciant qui cor mundum habent, non est tamen alicubi positum, Deum videbunt, nisi ubi dictum est, Beati mundo corde; quoniam mundo corde videbitur qui nec in loco videtur, nec oculis corporalibus quaeritur, nec circumscribitur visu, nec tactu tenetur, nec auditur affatu, nec sentitur incessu. Deum enim nemo vidit unquam, vel in hac vita, sicut ipse est, vel etiam in Angelorum vita, sicut visibilia ista quae corporali visione cernuntur; quia unigenitus Filius, qui est in sinu Patris, ipse narravit. Unde non ad oculorum corporalium, sed ad mentium visionem dictum est pertinere quod narrat.

CAPUT XII.

From here he has already begun to speak of that world, where those shall see God, not all who rise, but who rise to eternal life: not the unworthy, of whom it was said, "Let the impious be taken away, lest he see the brightness of the Lord" (Isa. 26:10, according to LXX); but the worthy, of such as the Lord Himself said, when He was present and not seen, "He who loveth me, keepeth my commandments;" and, "He who loveth me shall be loved by my Father, and I will love him, and will show myself to him" (John 14:21, 23): nor those to whom it shall be said, "Go ye into eternal fire, which is prepared for the devil and his angels;" but those to whom it shall be said, "Come, ye blessed of my Father; perceive the kingdom which is prepared for you from the beginning of the world. For those shall go into eternal burning; but the just into eternal life" (Matt. 25:41, 34, 46). And what is eternal life, except what Life itself says elsewhere, "And this is life eternal, that they may know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent" (John 17:3)? but in that way how He promised He would show Himself to His lovers with the Father as one God, not in that way how in this world He was seen in the body by the good and by the evil.

28. For also in the future judgment, in which He is so to come as He was seen going into heaven, that is in the same form of the son of man, those shall see that same form to whom He is to say, "I was hungry, and ye gave me not to eat" (Matt. 25:42) (because even the Jews shall see him whom they pierced (Zech. 12:10); not that form of God, in which He thought it not robbery to be equal to God (Phil. 2:6). In that form of God then those shall see Him who shall see Him as He is. Nor therefore shall they see Him because they were poor in spirit in this life, because meek, because mourning, because hungering and thirsting for justice, because merciful, because peaceful, because they suffered persecution for justice's sake, although all these same ones are those same; but because they are pure in heart. For therefore among those beatitudes, though those who have a pure heart do all things, yet it is nowhere placed, "They shall see God," except where it was said, "Blessed are the pure in heart;" since by a pure heart He shall be seen who is neither seen in a place, nor is sought with corporal eyes, nor is circumscribed by sight, nor is held by touch, nor is heard by speech, nor is felt by walking. For "no one has ever seen God," either in this life, as He is, or even in the life of the Angels, as these visible things which are beheld by corporal vision; because "the only-begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared it." Whence it was said that what He declares pertains not to the vision of corporal eyes, but of minds.

CHAPTER XII.

29. Sed rursus ne desiderium nostrum a corporis sensu ad alium corporis sensum migraret, hoc est ad aures ab oculis; ideo cum dixisset, Nec corporalibus Deus oculis quaeritur, nec circumscribitur visu, nec tactu tenetur; addidit etiam, nec auditur affatu: ut, si possumus, unigenitum Filium, qui est in sinu Patris, sic intelligamus narrantem, quomodo et Verbum est, non sonus auribus instrepens, sed imago mentibus innotescens, ut illic interna et ineffabili luce clarescat quod dictum est, Qui me vidit, vidit et Patrem (Joan. XIV, 9); quod hic Philippo dicebatur, quando videbat, et non videbat. Sequitur enim hujus visionis eximius concupitor Ambrosius, dicens: Et cum absens putatur, videtur; et cum praesens est, non videtur. Non dixit, Cum absens est; sed, cum absens putatur: nusquam enim absens est qui coelum et terram implet; nec spatiis includitur parvis, magnisve diffunditur, sed ubique totus est, et nullo continetur loco. Hoc qui excedente mente intelligit, videt Deum, et cum absens putatur. Qui autem hoc non potest, oret et agat ut posse mereatur; nec ad hominem disputatorem pulset, ut quod non legit legat, sed ad Deum Salvatorem, ut quod non valet valeat. Unde autem dixerit, et cum praesens est non videtur, consequenter aperuit, dicens: Denique nec Apostoli omnes Christum videbant; et ideo ait, «Tanto tempore vobiscum sum, et adhuc me non cognovistis!» Ecce quomodo Deus praesens erat et non videbatur.

30. Sed quare non ausus est dicere, Denique nec Apostoli Christum videbant, sed ait, nec Apostoli omnes, tanquam aliqui tunc viderent ea visione in qua ipse et Pater unum sunt? An forte illud attendit quod cum Petrus dixisset, Tu es Christus Filius Dei vivi; responsum accepit, Beatus es Simon Bar Jona, quia non tibi revelavit caro et sanguis, sed Pater meus qui in coelis est? quamvis illa revelatio utrum per fidem tantae rei creditae, an per visionem conspectae facta in ejus mente fuerit, non mihi videatur elucere; cum et ipse Petrus tam parvulum se adhuc illi ostenderit, ut timeret ne amitteret morientem, quem Filium Dei vivi, hoc est vitae fontem fuerat paulo ante confessus (Matth. XVI, 16, 17, 21, 22).

CAPUT XIII.

31. Deinde potest movere quomodo jam ipsa Dei substantia videri potuerit a quibusdam in hac vita positis, propter illud quod dictum est ad Moysen, Nemo potest faciem meam videre, et vivere (Exod. XXXIII, 20): nisi quia potest humana mens divinitus rapi ex hac vita ad angelicam vitam, antequam per istam communem mortem carne solvatur.

29. But again, lest our desire should migrate from one sense of the body to another sense of the body, that is, from the eyes to the ears; therefore when he had said, "God is neither sought with corporal eyes, nor is circumscribed by sight, nor is held by touch," he added also, "nor is heard by speech": so that, if we can, we may understand the only-begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, so declaring as He is also the Word, not a sound clattering in the ears, but an image becoming known to minds, so that there may shine forth in that internal and ineffable light what was said, "He who has seen me, has seen also the Father" (John 14:9); which was said here to Philip, when he saw, and did not see. For Ambrose, that eminent desirer of this vision, follows, saying: "And when He is thought absent, He is seen; and when He is present, He is not seen." He did not say, "When He is absent"; but, "when He is thought absent": for He is nowhere absent who fills heaven and earth; nor is He included in small spaces, or diffused in large ones, but is everywhere whole, and is contained in no place. He who understands this with an exceeding mind, sees God, even when He is thought absent. But he who cannot do this, let him pray and act that he may deserve to be able; nor let him knock at a human disputer, that he may read what he does not read, but at God the Savior, that he may be able what he is not able. But whence he said, "and when He is present He is not seen," he subsequently opened, saying: "Finally, not even all the Apostles saw Christ; and therefore He says, 'So long a time am I with you, and yet you have not known me!'" Behold how God was present and was not seen.

30. But why did he not dare to say, "Finally, not even the Apostles saw Christ," but said, "nor all the Apostles," as if some then saw by that vision in which He and the Father are one? Or perhaps he attended to that which, when Peter had said, "Thou art the Christ the Son of the living God," he received the answer, "Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jona, because flesh and blood hath not revealed it to thee, but my Father who is in heaven"? although whether that revelation was made in his mind through faith in so great a thing believed, or through vision of it beheld, does not seem to me to be clear; since Peter himself showed himself yet so little to Him, that he feared lest he should lose Him dying, whom he had a little before confessed as the Son of the living God, that is, the fountain of life (Matt. 16:16, 17, 21, 22).

CHAPTER XIII.

31. Then it can move [one to ask] how the very substance of God could already be seen by some placed in this life, on account of that which was said to Moses, "No one can see my face and live" (Exod. 33:20): unless because the human mind can be divinely snatched from this life to the angelic life, before it is released from the flesh by this common death.

Sic enim raptus est qui audivit illic ineffabilia verba quae non licet homini loqui: ubi usque adeo facta est ab hujus vitae sensibus quaedam intentionis aversio, ut sive in corpore, sive extra corpus fuerit, id est, utrum, sicut solet in vehementiori ecstasi, mens ab hac vita in illam vitam fuerit alienata, manente corporis vinculo, an omnino resolutio facta fuerit, qualis in plena morte contingit, nescire se diceret (II Cor. XII, 2-4). Ita fit ut et illud verum sit, quod dictum est, Nemo potest faciem meam videre, et vivere; quia necesse est abstrahi ab hac vita mentem, quando in illius ineffabilitatem visionis assumitur; et non sit incredibile quibusdam sanctis nondum ita defunctis, ut sepelienda cadavera remanerent, etiam istam excellentiam revelationis fuisse concessam. Quod existimo cogitasse illum qui noluit dicere, Nec Apostoli Christum videbant; sed ait, nec Apostoli omnes Christum videbant: credens quibusdam eorum divinitatis quoque ipsius visionem de qua loquebatur, etiam tunc potuisse donari; certe propter beatum Paulum, quia et ipse quamvis novissimus, utique apostolus erat, qui de sua illa ineffabili revelatione non tacuit.

32. Quanquam et illi fidelissimo antiquo famulo Dei Moysi, mirum nisi in hac terra laboraturo, populumque illum adhuc recturo, concessum est quod petivit, ut claritatem Domini videret, qui dixerat: Si inveni gratiam ante te, ostende mihi temetipsum manifeste. Accepit enim in praesentia congruum responsum, quod faciem Dei videre non posset, quam nemo videret, et viveret; hoc modo significante Deo alterius potioris vitae illam esse visionem. Deinde in verbis Dei, futurae Christi Ecclesiae mysterium figuratum est. Gestavit quippe Moyses typum populi Judaeorum, in Christum passum postea credituri; ideo dictum est illi, Cum transiero, posteriora mea videbis: et caetera quae ibi dicuntur, mirabili sacramento praenuntiant Ecclesiam post futuram, unde modo longum est disputare. Quod autem dicere instituerat, desiderio ejus etiam illud quod petierat, fuisse concessum, in libro Numerorum postea demonstratum est; ubi Dominus arguit contumaciam sororis ipsius, et dicit aliis Prophetis in visione se apparere et in somno, Moysi autem per speciem, non per aenigmata: ubi etiam addidit dicens: Et gloriam Domini vidit (Num. XII, 6-8). Quid ergo est quod eum sic fecit exceptum, nisi forte quia illa contemplatione dignum etiam tunc habuit populi sui talem rectorem, et ministrum in tota domo sua fidelem, ut quemadmodum concupiverat, videret Deum sicuti est; quae contemplatio cunctis filiis in fine promittitur?

CAPUT XIV.

For so was he snatched who heard there ineffable words which it is not lawful for a man to speak: where a certain aversion of intention was made from the senses of this life to such an extent, that whether he was in the body, or out of the body, that is, whether, as is wont in a more vehement ecstasy, the mind was alienated from this life into that life, the bond of the body remaining, or an entire resolution was made, such as happens in full death, he said he did not know (2 Cor. 12:2-4). So it happens that that also is true, which was said, "No one can see my face and live"; because it is necessary that the mind be abstracted from this life, when it is assumed into the ineffability of that vision; and it is not incredible that to certain saints not yet so deceased, that corpses remained to be buried, even this excellence of revelation was granted. Which I think that man thought who did not want to say, "Nor did the Apostles see Christ"; but said, "nor all the Apostles saw Christ": believing that to certain of them the vision of the divinity itself also, of which he was speaking, could even then be given; certainly on account of the blessed Paul, because even he, although the last, was certainly an apostle, who was not silent about that ineffable revelation of his.

32. Although even to that most faithful ancient servant of God, Moses—wonderful if he were not to labor on this earth, and still to rule that people—that which he asked was granted, that he might see the brightness of the Lord, who had said: "If I have found grace before thee, show me thyself manifestly." For he received in presence a congruous answer, that he could not see the face of God, which no one might see, and live; in this way God signifying that that vision belongs to another more powerful life. Then in the words of God, the mystery of the future Church of Christ was figured. For Moses bore the type of the people of the Jews, later to believe in Christ having suffered; therefore it was said to him, "When I shall have passed, thou shalt see my back parts": and the other things which are said there, by a wonderful sacrament foretell the Church to be after, concerning which it is now a long matter to dispute. But what I had begun to say, that to his desire even that which he had asked had been granted, was afterwards demonstrated in the book of Numbers; where the Lord rebukes the contumacy of his sister, and says that He appears to other Prophets in vision and in sleep, but to Moses by species, not by enigmas: where He also added, saying: "And he saw the glory of the Lord" (Num. 12:6-8). What therefore is it that made him so excepted, unless perhaps because He held such a ruler of His people worthy even then of that contemplation, and a faithful minister in all His house, so that just as he had desired, he might see God as He is; which contemplation is promised to all the sons in the end?

CHAPTER XIV.

33. Ista credo considerans vir ille sanctus cujus verba tractamus, nec Apostoli, inquit, omnes Christum videbant, quoniam forte aliqui eorum etiam ipso tempore viderant, secundum ista quae dixi. Ut autem probaret quod dixit, quia non omnes videbant, continuo subjecit: Et ideo ait, «Tanto tempore vobiscum sum et adhuc me non cognovistis» Deinde subjungens a qualibus Deus videatur illa contemplatione sicuti est: Qui enim cognovit, inquit, quae sit latitudo, et longitudo, et altitudo, et profundum, et supereminentem scientiae charitatem Christi, vidit et Christum, vidit et Patrem.

34. Ego haec verba apostoli Pauli sic intelligere soleo: in latitudine, bona opera charitatis; in longitudine, perseverantiam usque in finem; in altitudine, spem coelestium praemiorum; in profundo, inscrutabilia judicia Dei, unde ista gratia in homines venit: et hunc intellectum coaptare etiam sacramento crucis; ut in latitudine accipiatur transversum lignum quo extenduntur manus, propter operum significationem; in longitudine, ab ipso usque in terram, ubi totum corpus crucifixum stare videtur, quod significat persistere, hoc est longanimiter permanere; in altitudine, ab ipso transverso ligno sursum versus quod ad caput eminet, propter exspectationem supernorum, ne illa bona opera atque in eis perseverantia, propter beneficia Dei terrena atque temporalia, facienda credantur, sed potius propter illud quod desuper sempiternum sperat fides, quae per dilectionem operatur; in profundo autem, pars illa ligni quae in terrae abdito defixa latet, sed inde consurgit omne illud quod eminet, sicut ex occulta Dei voluntate vocatur homo ad participationem tantae gratiae, alius sic, alius autem sic: supereminentem vero scientiae charitatem Christi, eam profecto ubi illa est pax quae praecellit omnem intellectum. Sed sive hoc in illis apostolicis verbis etiam ille senserit evangelicus disputator, sive aliud aliquid fortasse congruentius; vides tamen etiam hoc, ni fallor, a regula fidei non abhorrere.

35. Unde autem nunc agimus propter contuitum spiritualem, cum dixisset, Qui cognovit quae sit latitudo, et longitudo, et altitudo, et profundum, et supereminentem scientiae charitatem Christi, vidit et Christum, vidit et Patrem; ne alicui tardissimo de corporali visione dicere videretur, Nos enim, inquit, jam secundum carnem non novimus Christum, sed secundum spiritum. Spiritus enim ante faciem nostram Christus Dominus.

33. Considering these things, I believe, that holy man whose words we are treating, says, "nor all the Apostles saw Christ," because perhaps some of them had seen even at that time, according to these things which I have said. But that he might prove what he said, because not all were seeing, he immediately subjoined: "And therefore He says, 'So long a time am I with you and yet you have not known me.'" Then subjoining by what kind of people God is seen by that contemplation as He is: "For he who has known," he says, "what is the breadth, and length, and height, and depth, and the supereminent charity of the knowledge of Christ, has seen both Christ, and has seen the Father."

34. I am accustomed thus to understand these words of the apostle Paul: in the breadth, the good works of charity; in the length, perseverance even unto the end; in the height, the hope of celestial rewards; in the depth, the inscrutable judgments of God, whence this grace comes into men: and to fit this understanding also to the sacrament of the cross; so that in the breadth may be received the transverse wood on which the hands are extended, on account of the signification of works; in the length, from the transverse itself even to the earth, where the whole crucified body is seen to stand, which signifies to persist, that is, to remain longanimously; in the height, from that same transverse wood upwards toward what stands out at the head, on account of the expectation of supernal things, lest those good works and perseverance in them should be believed to be done on account of the earthly and temporal benefits of God, but rather on account of that which faith, which works through love, hopes for from above as everlasting; but in the depth, that part of the wood which lies hidden fixed in the secret of the earth, but from there rises all that which stands out, just as from the occult will of God a man is called to the participation of so great a grace, one thus, but another thus: but the supereminent charity of the knowledge of Christ, that indeed where that peace is which surpasses all understanding. But whether that evangelical disputer also felt this in those apostolic words, or some other thing perhaps more congruous; yet you see also this, if I am not mistaken, not to be abhorrent from the rule of faith.

35. But whence we are now treating on account of spiritual intuition, when he had said, "He who has known what is the breadth, and length, and height, and depth, and the supereminent charity of the knowledge of Christ, has seen both Christ, and has seen the Father"; lest he should seem to speak of corporal vision to any very slow person, he says, "For we now know Christ no longer according to the flesh, but according to the spirit. For Christ the Lord is the Spirit before our face."

Quod ait hoc loco, novimus, secundum fidem dixit, quae nunc est; non secundum contemplationem, quae tunc erit: quia et illud novimus quidquid fide non ficta, etiamsi nondum per speciem contuendo, jam tamen inconcus e credendo retinemus. Denique cum dixisset, jam non se secundum carnem Christum nosse, sicut Apostolus ait; et addidisset testimonium de propheta, Spiritus enim ante faciem nostram Christus Dominus, continuo subjecit: Qui nos in omnem plenitudinem Dei misericordia sua implere dignetur, ut videri possit a nobis. Certe manifestum est quod illam notitiam, ubi dixerat, novimus, ex fide posuit, ex qua modo justus vivit (Hebr. X, 38); non ex contemplatione, qua Deum videbimus sicuti est. Hanc enim sibi et nobis consequenter optavit, futuramque significavit, dicendo: Qui nos in omnem plenitudinem Dei misericordia sua implere dignetur, ut videri possit a nobis.

CAPUT XV.

36. Hanc plenitudinem Dei quidam in sermone Apostoli sic intellexerunt, ut putarent nos hoc futuros omnino quod Deus est. Haec enim verba, sicut recognoscis, Apostolus posuit ita loquens: Cognoscere etiam supereminentem scientiae charitatem Christi, ut impleamini in omnem plenitudinem Dei (Ephes. III, 19). Quapropter, inquiunt, si aliquid minus quam Deus habebimus, et in aliquo minores erimus, quomodo implebimur in omnem plenitudinem Dei? sed quoniam implebimur, profecto erimus aequales. Aversaris istum utique et detestaris humanae mentis errorem, scio, et recte facis. Sed quomodo intelligenda sit ista plenitudo, qua dictum est implendos nos esse in omnem plenitudinem Dei, postea. si Deus voluerit, pro viribus quas dederit, disseremus.

37. Nunc autem quod mihi proposueras, et ad explicandum difficile videbatur, utrum explicatum sit, diligenter attende recolendo quae dicta sunt. Si enim quaeris utrum possit Deus videri; respondeo: potest. Si quaeris unde sciam; respondeo: quia in veracissima Scriptura legitur, Beati mundo corde; quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt; et caetera talia. Si quaeris quomodo dictus sit invisibilis, si videri potest; respondeo invisibilem esse natura, videri autem cum vult, sicut vult: plurimis enim visus est, non sicuti est, sed quali specie illi placuit apparere. Si quaeris quomodo eum vidit vel Cain sceleratus, quando de suo scelere ab illo interrogatus et judicatus est (Genes. IV, 6); vel etiam ipse diabolus, quando venit cum Angelis, ut coram illo assisteret, si beati mundi cordes, quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt; respondeo non quidem esse consequens ut etiam videant Deum, qui voces ab eo factas aliquando audiunt; neque enim viderunt eum, qui audierunt quando dixit ad Filium, Et clarificavi, et clarificabo iterum (Joan. XII, 28):

What he said in this place, "we know," he said according to faith, which is now; not according to contemplation, which will be then: because we know even that whatever by unfeigned faith, although not yet by beholding through species, yet now by holding with unshaken believing we retain. Finally, when he had said, that he no longer knew Christ according to the flesh, as the Apostle says; and had added testimony from the prophet, "For Christ the Lord is the Spirit before our face," he immediately subjoined: "Who by His mercy may deign to fill us into all the fullness of God, so that He may be able to be seen by us." Certainly it is manifest that that knowledge, where he had said, "we know," he placed from faith, from which the just now lives (Heb. 10:38); not from contemplation, by which we shall see God as He is. For he subsequently desired this for himself and for us, and signified it to be future, by saying: "Who by His mercy may deign to fill us into all the fullness of God, so that He may be able to be seen by us."

CHAPTER XV.

36. This fullness of God some have so understood in the discourse of the Apostle, as to think that we shall be altogether this which God is. For these words, as you recognize, the Apostle placed speaking thus: "To know also the supereminent charity of the knowledge of Christ, that you may be filled into all the fullness of God" (Eph. 3:19). Wherefore, they say, if we shall have anything less than God, and shall be in anything less, how shall we be filled into all the fullness of God? but since we shall be filled, certainly we shall be equal. You certainly averse and detest this error of the human mind, I know, and you do rightly. But how this fullness is to be understood, by which it was said we are to be filled into all the fullness of God, we shall afterwards, if God wills, according to the powers which He shall give, discuss.

37. Now, however, that which you had proposed to me, and which seemed difficult to explain, whether it has been explained, attend diligently by recollecting what has been said. For if you ask whether God can be seen; I respond: He can. If you ask whence I know; I respond: because it is read in the most true Scripture, "Blessed are the pure in heart; for they shall see God;" and other such things. If you ask how He is said to be invisible, if He can be seen; I respond that He is invisible by nature, but is seen when He wills, as He wills: for He was seen by very many, not as He is, but in what species it pleased Him to appear. If you ask how even the wicked Cain saw Him, when he was interrogated and judged by Him concerning his crime (Gen. 4:6); or even the devil himself, when he came with the Angels, that he might assist before Him, if "blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God"; I respond that it is indeed not a consequence that they also see God, who sometimes hear voices made by Him; for neither did they see Him, who heard when He said to the Son, "And I have glorified, and will glorify again" (John 12:28):

verumtamen non esse mirandum, si aliqui etiam non mundi corde vident Deum in specie quam voluntas ejus fecerit, latente invisibili et apud se incommutabili manente natura. Si quaeris utrum etiam sicuti est possit aliquando videri; respondeo, filiis hoc esse promissum, de quibus dictum est: Scimus quia cum apparuerit, similes ei erimus; quoniam videbimus eum sicuti est. Si quaeris unde eum videbimus; respondeo: unde Angeli vident, quibus tunc erimus aequales. Sicut enim videntur ista quae visibilia nominantur, Deum nemo vidit unquam, nec videre potest, quoniam lucem habitat inaccessibilem, et est natura invisibilis sicut incorruptibilis: quae contextim posuit Apostolus dicens, Regi autem saeculorum invisibili, incorruptibili (I Tim. I, 17, et VI, 16); quia sicut nunc incorruptibilis, nec postea corruptibilis, ita non solum nunc, sed etiam semper invisibilis. Nec in loco enim videtur, sed mundo corde: nec corporalibus oculis quaeritur, nec circumscribitur visu, nec tactu tenetur, nec auditur affatu, nec sentitur incessu. Unigenitus autem Filius, qui est in sinu Patris, deitatis naturam atque substantiam insonabiliter narrat, et ideo dignis idoneisque tanto conspectu oculis etiam invisibiliter monstrat. Ipsi enim sunt oculi, de quibus Apostolus dicit, illuminatos oculos cordis vestri (Ephes. I, 18). Et de quibus dicitur, Illumina oculos meos, ne unquam obdormiam in morte (Psal. XII, 4). Dominus enim spiritus est (II Cor. III, 17): unde qui adhaeret Domino unus spiritus est (I Cor. VI, 17). Proinde qui potest Deum invisibiliter videre, ipse Deo potest incorporaliter adhaerere.

CAPUT XVI

38. Puto jam non esse in quaestione quam proposuisti, amplius quod requiras. Sed in hac tota nostra disputatione considera quid videris, quid credideris; quid adhuc nescias, sive quia non dixi, sive quia non intellexisti, sive quia non judicasti esse credendum. Et ea quae vera esse vidisti, adhuc discerne unde videris: utrum recolendo illa te vidisse per corpus, sicut corpora coelestia vel terrestria; an vero nunquam corporalibus ea attigeris visibus, sed sola mente intuens, vera et certa esse perspexeris, sicut voluntatem tuam, de qua ego tibi credere loquenti possum, eam vero, ut abs te videtur, videre ipse non possum. Et cum haec utraque discreveris, etiam id attende unde discernas.

nevertheless it is not to be wondered at, if some even not pure in heart see God in a species which His will has made, the invisible and in itself incommutable nature remaining hidden. If you ask whether He can also sometimes be seen as He is; I respond, that this is promised to the sons, of whom it was said: "We know that when He shall appear, we shall be like Him; because we shall see Him as He is." If you ask whence we shall see Him; I respond: whence the Angels see, to whom we shall then be equal. For as these things which are named visible are seen, no one has ever seen God, nor can see, since He inhabits inaccessible light, and is by nature invisible as He is incorruptible: which things the Apostle placed in context saying, "But to the King of ages invisible, incorruptible" (1 Tim. 1:17, and 6:16); because as now He is incorruptible, nor afterwards corruptible, so He is not only now, but even always invisible. For He is not seen in a place, but by a pure heart: nor is He sought with corporal eyes, nor is He circumscribed by sight, nor is He held by touch, nor is He heard by speech, nor is He felt by walking. But the only-begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, declares the nature and substance of the deity without sound, and therefore shows it even invisibly to eyes worthy and fit for so great a sight. For they are the eyes, of which the Apostle says, "the eyes of your heart being enlightened" (Eph. 1:18). And of which it is said, "Enlighten my eyes, lest I ever sleep in death" (Ps. 12:4). For the Lord is a spirit (2 Cor. 3:17): whence he who adheres to the Lord is one spirit (1 Cor. 6:17). Therefore he who can see God invisibly, he can adhere to God incorporally.

CHAPTER XVI.

38. I think there is now nothing more in the question which you proposed that you should require. But in this whole disputation of ours, consider what you have seen, what you have believed; what you as yet do not know, either because I have not said it, or because you have not understood it, or because you have not judged it to be believed. And those things which you have seen to be true, distinguish yet whence you see them: whether by recollecting that you have seen them through the body, as celestial or terrestrial bodies; or whether you have never touched them with corporal visions, but beholding with the mind alone, you have perceived them to be true and certain, as your will, concerning which I can believe you speaking, but that itself, as it is seen by you, I cannot see myself. And when you have distinguished both of these, attend also to that whence you distinguish them.

Quamvis enim alia corpore, alia mente videamus; horum tamen duorum generum ipsa discretio videtur mente, non corpore; et ea quae mente conspiciuntur, non indigent ullo corporis sensu, ut ea vera esse noverimus. Quae autem per corpus videntur, nisi mens adsit quae talia nuntiata suscipiat, nulla possunt scientia contineri; et quae nuntiata quasi suscipiere perhibetur, foris ea relinquit. Sed eorum imagines, id est, incorporeas similitudines corporum, incorporaliter commendat memoriae; unde cum voluerit et potuerit, velut de custodia productas atque in conspectum cogitationis exhibitas judicet. Et cum valet, etiam ista duo discernit, quid in specie corporali foris reliquerit, quid ejus simile intus aspiciat; et illud absens, hoc praesens esse dignoscit: sicut me absente faciem mei corporis cogitas, et illa tibi est imago praesens, absens autem facies cujus imago est; et haec corpus, illa vero incorporea corporis similitudo est.

39. Iis ergo quae vides, diligenter fidenterque perspectis atque distinctis, attende quae credis in hoc ipso sermone toto, ex quo ad te loqui his litteris coepi; et in eis ipsis quibus non visis accommodas fidem, ipsa testium pondera discernendo perpende. Neque enim mihi sic credis quemadmodum Ambrosio, de cujus libris tanta illa testimonia posui. Aut si ambobus nobis aequa lance putas esse credendum, numquid ullo modo Evangelio nos comparabis, aut scripta nostra Scripturis canonicis coaequabis? Profecto si recte in dijudicando sapis, longe nos infra vides ab illa auctoritate distare. Et me quidem longius, sed utrique nostrum quantumlibet credas, utrumque illi excellentiae nequaquam comparas. Quocirca, id quod scriptum est, Deum nemo vidit unquam; et, Lucem habitat inaccessibilem; quem nemo hominum vidit, nec videre potest; et, Beati mundo corde, quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt; et quidquid aliud ex illis Libris sanctis commemoravi, firmius credis quam id quod dixit Ambrosius: Nec in loco Deus videtur, nec corporalibus oculis quaeritur, nec circumscribitur visu, nec tactu tenetur, nec auditur affatu, nec sentitur incessu. Talem quippe esse vel intellexit vel credidit Deum, qui mundo corde conspicitur: hanc autem etiam meam sententiam esse confiteor.

40. Aliter ergo ista, aliter illa divina verba in fide recipis. De nobis enim tibi subest fortasse aliquis scrupulus, ne in his divinis eloquiis aliquid minus dilucide intelligamus, et non sicut dicta sunt, sed sicut suspicamur, exponantur a nobis. Forte enim dicis apud teipsam: Quid. si et mundo corde videtur Deus, et in loco tamen videtur? aut, Quid, si oculis etiam corporalibus Deum videbunt qui mundo sunt corde, cum corruptibile hoc induerit incorruptionem, quando erimus aequales Angelis Dei?

For although we see some things with the body, others with the mind; yet the distinction itself of these two kinds is seen by the mind, not by the body; and those things which are discerned by the mind, do not need any sense of the body, that we may know them to be true. But those things which are seen through the body, unless the mind be present which may receive such things reported, can be contained by no knowledge; and that which it is said to receive as reported, it leaves outside. But it incorporates their images, that is, the incorporeal similitudes of bodies, into the memory; whence when it wills and can, it may judge them as if produced from custody and exhibited in the sight of thought. And when it is able, it also distinguishes these two, what it left outside in corporal species, what it looks upon within like it; and it discerns that to be absent, this to be present: just as when I am absent you think of the face of my body, and that image is present to you, but the face of which it is the image is absent; and this is a body, but that is an incorporeal similitude of a body.

39. These things, therefore, which you see, being diligently and confidently perceived and distinguished, attend to what you believe in this whole discourse itself, from which I began to speak to you by these letters; and in those same things to which, not seen, you accommodate faith, weigh the very weights of the witnesses by distinguishing them. For neither do you believe me in the same way as Ambrose, from whose books I have placed those so great testimonies. Or if you think we both are to be believed with an equal balance, will you in any way compare us to the Gospel, or equal our writings to the canonical Scriptures? Certainly if you are rightly wise in judging, you see us to stand far below that authority. And me indeed further off, but however much you believe each of us, you by no means compare either to that excellence. Wherefore, that which is written, "No one has ever seen God"; and, "He inhabits inaccessible light; whom no man has seen, nor can see"; and, "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God"; and whatever else I have commemorated from those holy Books, you believe more firmly than that which Ambrose said: "God is neither seen in a place, nor sought with corporal eyes, nor circumscribed by sight, nor held by touch, nor heard by speech, nor felt by walking." For he indeed either understood or believed God to be such, who is discerned by a pure heart: but I confess this to be my opinion also.

40. Differently therefore you receive those [words of ours], and differently those divine words in faith. For concerning us there underlies you perhaps some scruple, lest in these divine elocutions we understand something less clearly, and they be expounded by us not as they were said, but as we suspect. For perhaps you say within yourself: What if God is both seen with a pure heart, and yet is seen in a place? or, What if those who are pure in heart shall see God even with corporal eyes, when this corruptible shall have put on incorruption, when we shall be equal to the Angels of God?

Quantum ergo nobis credere debeas, vel non debeas, fortassis ignoras; et vel plus vel minus quam debes nobis credendo, ne fallaris attendis: divinis autem Scripturis, etiam nondum perspicue intellectis, credendum esse non dubitas. Sed hanc considerationem credendi vel non credendi, et difficultatem scientiae, et dubitationis aestus, et piam fidem quae divinis debetur affatibus, in tua mente, ita ut sunt, attendis et vides: nec de his omnino quod apud te ita sint, sive ut ego dixi, sive ut ipsa potius nosti, aliquid ambigis. Vides itaque fidem tuam, vides dubitationem tuam, vides studium tuum voluntatemque discendi; et cum auctoritate divina movearis ad credenda quae non vides, haec te tamen credere incunctanter vides: distribuis et discernis haec omnia.

CAPUT XVII.

41. Num ergo iis oculis cordis tui, quibus haec omnia vera et certa esse contueris, tibique praesentia invisibiliter cernis atque discernis, ullo modo corporeos oculos comparabis? cum etiam de ipsis rebus visibilibus quae corporalium oculorum acie quodammodo radiantur, et de ipsis corporeis oculis eorumque acie, qualiscumque et quantacumque sit, quantum distet ab invisibilibus, non excellentioribus, quibus etiam non visis fidem debes, sed ab iis quae commemoravi, quae non credis absentia, sed praesentia mente contueris, non iisdem ipsis carnis oculis, sed illis interioribus judices. Cum ergo interiores oculi judices sivi oculorum exteriorum, isti autem illis quodam officio nuntiandi et ministerio famulentur, multaque illi videant quae isti non vident, nihil isti videant, unde non illi tanquam praesides judicent; quis non illos istis incomparabili aestimatione praeponat?

42. Quae cum ita sint, obsecro te, cum agitur in teipsa hoc tam grande negotium; cum ab exterioribus interiora distinguis, atque illa istis ineffabiliter anteponis; cumque istis foris relictis, in illis intrinsecus demoraris, et ea suis quibusdam incorporalibus finibus metiendo judicas, in nulla te putas, an in aliqua luce versari? Ego enim existimo quod tanta tibi et talia, tam vera, tam clara, tam certa videri sine luce non possunt. Ipsam igitur lucem in qua cuncta illa perspicis, intuere; et vide utrum ad eam possit accedere ullus corporeorum radius oculorum: profecto non potest.

How much therefore you ought to believe us, or ought not, perhaps you do not know; and by believing us either more or less than you ought, you attend lest you be deceived: but you do not doubt that the divine Scriptures are to be believed, even those not yet clearly understood. But this consideration of believing or not believing, and the difficulty of knowledge, and the surges of doubt, and the pious faith which is owed to divine speeches, you attend to and see in your mind, just as they are: nor concerning these at all do you hesitate, that they are so with you, whether as I have said, or as you yourself rather know. You see therefore your faith, you see your doubt, you see your study and will of learning; and when you are moved by divine authority to believe things which you do not see, you nevertheless see yourself to believe these without hesitation: you distribute and distinguish all these things.

CHAPTER XVII.

Will you therefore in any way compare corporal eyes to those eyes of your heart, with which you behold all these things to be true and certain, and invisibly discern and distinguish them as present to you? when even concerning those visible things themselves which are in some way irradiated by the sharp edge of corporal eyes, and concerning those corporal eyes themselves and their sharp edge, whatever and however great it be, how much it differs from invisible things—not from more excellent ones, to which even not seen you owe faith, but from these which I have commemorated, which you do not believe as absent, but behold with the mind as present—you judge not by those same eyes of the flesh, but by those interior ones. Since therefore the interior eyes are the judges of the exterior eyes, and these latter serve the former by a certain office of reporting and by ministry, and the former see many things which the latter do not see, while the latter see nothing whence the former do not judge as presidents; who would not prefer those to these by an incomparable estimation?

Since these things are so, I beseech you, when this so great business is transacted in yourself; when you distinguish interior things from exterior things, and ineffably prefer those to these; and when, these being left outside, you dwell in those within, and judge them by measuring them by certain incorporeal limits of theirs, do you think yourself to be conversant in no light, or in some light? For I think that so many and such things, so true, so clear, so certain, cannot be seen without light. Behold therefore that very light in which you perceive all those things; and see whether any ray of corporal eyes can approach to it: certainly it cannot.

Attende etiam; et utrum in ea videas ulla locorum spatia vel intervalla, responde. Nihil ibi tale, ut arbitror, invenis, si vigilanter abigis ab aspectu intimo quidquid imaginum corporalium exterioris hominis sensus invexit: sed forte difficile est. Irruit enim de consuetudine carnalis vitae, in ipsos quoque interiores oculos turba phantasmatum in similitudinibus corporum: cui resistere conatus, saltem auctoritate divina exclamavi, dolens in illa brevi epistola, et dixi: Audiat caro carnalibus cogitationibus ebria, «Spiritus est Deus» (Epist. 92, n. 5). Neque enim cujusquam magis quam etiam ipsam meam mentem ab hujusmodi vanitate, illa increpatione compescui. Facilius quippe inclinamur ad solita, et amicum est infirmitati humanae animae corporalem conversationem introrsus vel mittere vel admittere, non ubi sana consistat, sed ubi languida quodammodo aut incumbat aut jaceat.

43. Proinde si non potes aciem mentis tuae a corporearum similitudinum quasi nubilo perspicue serenare, eas ipsas apud teipsam vigilanter attende: intuere coelum et terram cogitando, sicut oculis corporeis cernendo consuesti; easque imagines coeli et terrae quae ante oculos cogitationis productae sunt, vide similitudines corporum esse, non corpora. Sic ergo judica contra teipsam pro teipsa, si non potes omnifariam corporalium qualitatum imaginarias formas ab acie tuae mentis abigere; et unde vinceris, inde convince. Neque enim est, ut opinor, quisquam etiam talibus imaginationibus ita deditus, ut credat sic esse in memoria sua, vel in ipso conspectu cogitationis suae, solem, lunam, stellas, amnes, maria, montes, colles, urbes, parietes denique domus suae, vel etiam cubiculi sui, et quidquid per oculos corporis tale cognovit et tenet, ut locorum spatiis atque intervallis sive stent, sive moveantur. Porro si ea quae in animo nostro sunt corporibus locisque simillima, non tamen locorum spatiis atque finibus continentur, nec intervallis localibus in nostra memoria reponuntur; quanto magis illa quae nullam gerunt similitudinem corporum, charitas, gaudium, longanimitas, pax, benignitas, bonitas, fides, mansuetudo, continentia, nulla locorum spatia tenent, nulla intercapedine separantur, aut aliqua oculi cordis, quo radios suos mittant et ea videant, intervalla conquirunt! Nonne omnia in uno sunt sine angustia, et suis terminis nota sunt, sine circuitu regionum?

Attend also; and respond whether you see in it any spaces or intervals of places. You find nothing such there, as I suppose, if you vigilantly drive away from the intimate aspect whatever images of corporal things the sense of the exterior man has brought in: but perhaps it is difficult. For there rushes in from the custom of carnal life, even into the interior eyes themselves, a crowd of phantasms in the similitudes of bodies: to resist which endeavoring, I at least exclaimed by divine authority, grieving in that short epistle, and said: "Let the flesh drunk with carnal thoughts hear, 'God is a Spirit'" (Epistle 92, n. 5). For neither did I restrain the mind of anyone else more than even my own from vanity of this kind by that rebuke. For we are more easily inclined to accustomed things, and it is friendly to the infirmity of the human soul either to send or to admit corporal conversation within, not where it may consist as healthy, but where as languid it may in some way either lean or lie.

Therefore if you cannot clearly serene the sharp edge of your mind from the cloud as it were of corporal similitudes, attend to those same things vigilantly within yourself: behold heaven and earth by thinking, as you have been accustomed by perceiving with corporal eyes; and see those images of heaven and earth which have been produced before the eyes of thought to be similitudes of bodies, not bodies. So therefore judge against yourself for yourself, if you cannot in every way drive away the imaginary forms of corporal qualities from the sharp edge of your mind; and whence you are conquered, from there convince [yourself]. For neither is there, as I suppose, anyone so given even to such imaginations, as to believe that there are thus in his memory, or in the very sight of his thought, the sun, moon, stars, rivers, seas, mountains, hills, cities, finally the walls of his own house, or even of his own bedroom, and whatever such thing he has known and holds through the eyes of the body, so that by spaces and intervals of places they either stand or are moved. Furthermore if those things which are in our soul most like to bodies and places, are nevertheless not contained by spaces and limits of places, nor are they laid up in our memory in local intervals; how much more those things which bear no similitude of bodies, charity, joy, longanimity, peace, benignity, goodness, faith, mildness, continence, hold no spaces of places, are separated by no interval, nor do they seek any intervals of the eye of the heart, whither they may send their rays and see them! Are not all things in one without narrowness, and are known by their own limits, without the circuit of regions?

Aut dic in quo loco videas charitatem; quae tamen in tantum tibi cognita est, in quantum eam potes mentis acie contueri: quam non ideo magnam nosti, quia ingentem aliquam molem conspiciendo lustrasti; nec cum tibi intus loquitur, ut secundum eam vivas, ullis perstrepit sonis; nec ut eam cernas, corporalium lumen erigis oculorum; nec ut eam fortiter teneas, corporalium vires praeparas lacertorum; nec cum tibi venit in mentem, sentis ejus incessum.

44. Ecce etiam charitas quantulacumque in nostra voluntate consistit, nobisque conspicua est, nec in loco videtur, nec corporalibus oculis quaeritur, nec circumscribitur visu, nec tactu tenetur, nec auditur affatu, nec sentitur incessu: quanto magis Deus ipse, cujus hoc pignus in nobis est!

Nam si interior homo noster, quantulacumque imago ejus, non de illo genita, sed ab illo creata, quamvis adhuc renovetur de die in diem, jam tamen in tali luce habitat, quo nullus oculorum corporalium sensus accedit; si ea quae in illa luce cordis oculis intuemur, et discernuntur inter se, et nullis locorum spatiis separantur: quanto magis Deus, qui lucem habitat inaccessibilem, corporis sensibus, quo nec ipsius nisi mundi potest esse cordis accessus! Cum igitur lucem istam omni corporali luci, non solum judicio rationis, sed amoris quoque appetitu praeposuerimus; quanto id magis valebimus, tanto melius valebimus, donec sanentur omnes languores animae nostrae ab illo qui propitius fit omnibus iniquitatibus nostris. In hac enim vivaciore vita facti spirituales, poterimus omnia dijudicare; ipsi vero a nemine dijudicari. Animalis autem homo non percipit quae sunt spiritus Dei: stultitia enim est illi; et non potest scire, quoniam spiritualiter dijudicatur (I Cor. II, 14, 15).

CAPUT XVIII.

45. Quod si nondum possumus praeferre lucem judicantem ei luci de qua judicatur, praeferre vitam intelligentem vitae tantummodo sentienti, praeferre naturam non alibi hoc et alibi aliud, sed omnia quae habet in uno simul habentem, sicuti est nostra ipsa intelligentia, ei naturae quae ita partibus constat, ut minor sit dimidia quam tota, sicuti est omne corpus; superfluo de rebus tantis ac talibus disputamus. Si autem hoc jam possumus; aliquid melius quam intellectum nostrum Deum esse credamus ut pax ejus quae praecellit omnem intellectum, custodiat corda nostra et intelligentias nostras in Christo Jesu (Philipp. IV, 7). Ipsa pax quae praecellit omnem intellectum, non est utique minor nostro intellectu, ut cum iste sit oculis corporalibus invisibilis, illa putetur esse visibilis.

Or say in what place you see charity; which nevertheless is so far known to you, as much as you can behold it with the sharp edge of the mind: which you do not know to be great for this reason, because you have surveyed some huge mass by beholding; nor when it speaks to you within, that you may live according to it, does it clatter with any sounds; nor that you may discern it, do you raise the light of corporal eyes; nor that you may hold it strongly, do you prepare the strengths of corporal arms; nor when it comes into your mind, do you feel its walking.

Behold even charity, however small it consists in our will, and is conspicuous to us, is neither seen in a place, nor sought with corporal eyes, nor circumscribed by sight, nor held by touch, nor heard by speech, nor felt by walking: how much more God Himself, whose pledge this is in us!

For if our interior man, however small His image, not begotten of Him, but created by Him, although it is still renewed from day to day, yet now inhabits in such light, whither no sense of corporal eyes reaches; if those things which we behold in that light with the eyes of the heart, are both distinguished among themselves, and are separated by no spaces of places: how much more God, who inhabits inaccessible light, to the senses of the body, whither there can be no access even of Himself except of a pure heart! When therefore we shall have preferred this light to all corporal light, not only by the judgment of reason, but also by the appetite of love; the more we shall be able to do this, the better we shall be able, until all the languors of our soul are healed by Him who becomes propitious to all our iniquities. For in this more lively life having been made spiritual, we shall be able to judge all things; but ourselves to be judged by no one. But the animal man does not perceive the things which are of the Spirit of God: for they are foolishness to him; and he cannot know, since he is spiritually judged (1 Cor. 2:14, 15).

CHAPTER XVIII.

But if we cannot yet prefer the judging light to that light concerning which it is judged, prefer the intelligent life to the life only sensing, prefer the nature not having this in one place and another in another, but having all things which it has together in one, just as is our own intelligence itself, to that nature which so consists of parts, that the half is less than the whole, as is every body; we dispute in vain concerning so great and such things. But if we can now do this; let us believe God to be something better than our intellect, so that His peace which surpasses all understanding, may guard our hearts and our intelligences in Christ Jesus (Phil. 4:7). That peace itself which surpasses all understanding, is certainly not less than our intellect, so that when the latter is invisible to corporal eyes, that should be thought to be visible.

An aliud pax Dei, aliud splendor Dei? cum idem ipse sit unigenitus Filius, cujus et illa charitas quae supereminet scientiae, cujus cognitione implebimur in omnem plenitudinem Dei, non est nostrae mentis luce inferior, quae illa illuminante tribuitur. Porro si ista inaccessibilis est oculis carnis; quanto magis illa, huic incomparabiliter supereminens! ac per hoc cum sit aliquid nostrum visibile, sicut hoc corpus, aliquid vero invisibile, sicut homo interior; et cum optimum nostrum, hoc est mens atque intelligentia, invisibile sit oculis corporis; quomodo id quod est melius optimo nostro, visibile erit inferiori nostro?

CAPUT XX.

48. Ad eam vero visionem qua videbimus Deum sicuti est, mundanda corda commonuit. Quia enim corpora consuetudine loquendi visibilia nominantur, propterea Deus invisibilis dicitur, ne corpus esse credatur: non quia corda munda suae substantiae contemplatione fraudabit; cum haec magna et summa merces Deum colentibus et diligentibus promittatur, dicente ipso Domino, quando corporalibus oculis visibiliter apparebat, et invisibilem se contuendum mundis cordibus promittebat, Qui diligit me, diligetur a Patre meo; et ego diligam eum, et ostendam meipsum illi (Joan. XIV, 21). Haec quippe natura ejus aequaliter cum Patre invisibilis, sicut aequaliter incorruptibilis est: quae, sicut supra dictum est, continuatim Apostolus posuit; divinam substantiam, qua potuit hominibus praedicatione, commendans (I Tim. I, 17). Quam si oculi corporales in resurrectione mutata corporum qualitate conspicient, viderint qui hoc possunt adstruere: me plus movet illius sententia, qui nec in ipsa resurrectione hoc corporalibus oculis, sed mundis cordibus tribuit.

CAPUT XXI.

49. Et de spiritualis quidem corporis qualitate, quod resurrecturis promittitur, vel discere aliquid adhuc, vel quaerere non recuso: si tamen de hac re disputantes illis vitiis carere possimus, quae plerumque studiis humanis et concertationibus excitantur, dum supra quam scriptum est unus pro altero infletur adversus alterum: ne dum altercando quaerimus investigare quomodo possit videri Deus, ipsam pacem sanctificationemque perdamus, sine qua nemo poterit videre Deum; quod ipse avertat a cordibus nostris, ut ea suae contemplationi munda reddat atque custodiat.

Or is the peace of God one thing, the splendor of God another? when the only-begotten Son is the same Himself, whose also that charity which supereminates knowledge, by the cognition of which we shall be filled into all the fullness of God, is not inferior to the light of our mind, which is given by that light illuminating. Furthermore if that is inaccessible to the eyes of the flesh; how much more this, incomparably supereminating that! and through this since there is something of ours visible, as this body, but something invisible, as the interior man; and since our best part, that is the mind and intelligence, is invisible to the eyes of the body; how shall that which is better than our best, be visible to our inferior part?

CHAPTER XX.

48. Indeed, for that vision by which we shall see God as He is, he reminded that hearts must be cleansed. For because bodies are called visible by the custom of speaking, therefore God is called invisible, lest He be believed to be a body: not because He will defraud pure hearts of the contemplation of His substance; since this great and highest reward is promised to those who worship and love God, the Lord Himself saying, when He appeared visibly to corporal eyes, and promised that He would be beheld as invisible by pure hearts, He who loves me, shall be loved by my Father; and I will love him, and will manifest myself to him (John 14:21). For this nature of His is equally invisible with the Father, just as it is equally incorruptible: which, as was said above, the Apostle placed continuously; commending the divine substance to men by preaching as much as he could (1 Tim. 1:17). Which if corporal eyes shall behold in the resurrection, the quality of bodies having been changed, let those see who can assert this: I am more moved by the opinion of him who assigns this neither in the resurrection itself to corporal eyes, but to pure hearts.

CHAPTER XXI.

49. And indeed concerning the quality of the spiritual body, which is promised to those who shall rise again, I do not refuse either to learn something still, or to inquire: if only in disputing about this thing we can be free from those vices which for the most part are excited by human zeal and contentions, while one is puffed up for another against another beyond what is written: lest while by wrangling we seek to investigate how God can be seen, we lose that peace and sanctification itself, without which no one shall be able to see God; which may He Himself avert from our hearts, that He may render them pure for His contemplation and guard them.

Illud tamen quia non dubito, non requiro, quod Dei natura nunquam videatur in loco. Jam utrum possit hujus corporis oculis videri aliquid quod in loco non videtur, ab eis qui hoc valent disserendo monstrare, cum pace dilectionis audire paratus sum, et quod me movet in commune conferre. Sunt enim quidam, qui Deum ipsum omnino corpus esse praesumunt, putantes quidquid corpus non est, nullam prorsus esse substantiam: istos omni modo aversandos censeo. Sunt autem alii, Deum quidem ipsum corpus non esse minime dubitantes; sed ideo eos qui ad vitam aeternam resurgent, etiam per corpus Deum visuros putant, quoniam talem sperant spiritualis corporis qualitatem, ut etiam ipsa quae caro fuerat, spiritus fiat. Quod si ita est, quantum distet a superiori opinione, et quam hoc sit tolerabilius, etiamsi verum non sit, puto facillime judicari. Primo, quia multum interest utrum de Creatore an de creatura aliter aliquid sentiatur quam veritas habet. Deinde, quia conatus mentis utcumque ferendus est, volentis corpus convertere in spiritum, non in corpus Deum. Postremo, quia id quod ego in illa epistola mea dixi de istis nostrae carnis oculis, quia neque nunc possunt, neque tunc poterunt Deum videre (Epist. 92, n. 3), etiam sic verum est: non enim dictum est nisi de oculis corporalibus, quod tunc non erunt si corpus ipsum spiritus erit; ac per hoc corporei oculi nunquam Deum videbunt, quia cum videbitur, spiritus eum, non corpus videbit.

50. Tota igitur quaestio jam remansit de corpore spirituali, quatenus induat incorruptionem et immortalityem hoc corruptibile atque mortale, et quatenus ex animali in spirituale mutetur. Quae diligentius sollicitiusque tractanda est; maxime propter corpus ipsius Domini, qui transfigurat corpus humilitatis nostrae, conforme corpori gloriae suae (Philipp. III, 21), ut possit sibi subjicere omnia. Cum enim et Deus Pater videat Filium, et Filius Patrem; procul dubio non sunt audiendi qui visionem nolunt tribuere nisi corporibus. Neque enim dici fas est quod Filium Pater non videat; aut, et ut ipse videat, corpore indutus est, si nonnisi ad corpus pertinet visus. Quid quod in ipso mundi exordio, antequam a Filio esset ulla forma servi suscepta, vidit Deus lucem quia bona est; et firmamentum, et mare, et aridam, et omne fenum, atque omne lignum, solem, lunam, stellas, reptilia animarum vivarum, volatilia coeli, animam vivam: postremo vidit Deus omnia quae fecit; et ecce bona valde (Gen. I, 4-31)?

Yet that because I do not doubt, I do not require, that the nature of God is never seen in a place. Now whether there can be seen by the eyes of this body something which is not seen in a place, I am prepared to hear from those who are able to show this by discoursing, with the peace of love, and to contribute in common what moves me. For there are some who presume that God Himself is altogether a body, thinking that whatever is not a body is no substance at all: these I judge must be turned away from in every way. But there are others, doubting not at all indeed that God Himself is not a body; but therefore they think that those who shall rise to eternal life will see God even through the body, because they hope for such a quality of the spiritual body, that even that very thing which had been flesh may become spirit. Which if it be so, how much it differs from the former opinion, and how much more tolerable this is, even if it be not true, I think is very easily judged. First, because it matters much whether concerning the Creator or concerning a creature something is felt otherwise than the truth has. Then, because the endeavor of the mind is somehow to be borne, wishing to convert the body into spirit, not God into a body. Lastly, because that which I said in that letter of mine concerning these eyes of our flesh, that neither now can they, nor then will they be able to see God (Epist. 92, n. 3), is true even thus: for it was not said except of corporal eyes, which then will not be if the body itself shall be spirit; and through this corporeal eyes will never see God, because when He shall be seen, the spirit will see Him, not the body.

50. The whole question therefore has now remained concerning the spiritual body, how far this corruptible and mortal thing may put on incorruption and immortality, and how far it may be changed from animal into spiritual. Which must be treated more diligently and more carefully; especially on account of the body of the Lord Himself, who transfigures the body of our humility, conformed to the body of His glory (Phil. 3:21), that He may be able to subject all things to Himself. For since both God the Father sees the Son, and the Son the Father; without doubt those are not to be heard who wish to attribute vision only to bodies. For it is not lawful to be said that the Father does not see the Son; or, that he himself may see, he is clothed with a body, if sight belongs only to the body. What of the fact that in the very beginning of the world, before any form of a servant was taken by the Son, God saw the light because it is good; and the firmament, and the sea, and the dry land, and all grass, and every tree, the sun, moon, stars, creeping things of living souls, the fowls of heaven, the living soul: lastly God saw all things which He made; and behold they were very good (Gen. 1:4-31)?

Quod cum per quasque creaturas Scriptura toties repetisset, miror unde nata fuerit illa opinio qua putatum est tantum ad corpora pertinere visionem. Quae opinio de quocumque loquendi more orta sit, Scripturae tamen sanctae non sic loqui solent; quae nisi, non tantum corpori, verum etiam spiritui, magisque spiritui quam corpori tribuerent visionem, non Prophetas proprie Videntes (I Reg. IX, 9) appellavissent, qui non corpore sed spiritu etiam futura viderunt.

CAPUT XXII.

51. Sed cogitandum est ne quid insolenter audeamus, si dixerimus corpus non solum mortalitatem et corruptibilitatem, verum etiam hoc ipsum quod corpus est per gloriam resurrectionis amittere, et spiritum fieri. Eo modo quippe, aut conduplicabitur substantia spiritus, si et corpus spiritus erit; aut si unus erit spiritus hominis, ita ut commutato et converso in spiritum corpore, neque geminatione neque incremento conduplicetur, nec omnino ullius accessu quantitatis augeatur; metuendum est ne nihil aliud dici videatur, quam corpora non illa mutatione immortalia mansura, sed nulla potius futura et omnino peritura. Quapropter donec diligenti inquisitione, si Dominus adjuverit, reperiatur quid secundum Scripturas de spirituali corpore quod in resurrectione promittitur, probabilius sentiendum sit, interim nobis sufficiat quod unigenitus Filius, idemque mediator Dei et hominum homo Christus Jesus (I Tim. II, 5) ita videt Patrem, sicut videtur a Patre. Nos autem ad illam visionem Dei quae nobis in resurrectione promittitur, non ex hoc mundo istam concupiscentiam oculorum transferre conemur, sed mundandis cordibus pio studeamus affectu: nec corporalem faciem cogitemus, cum dicit Apostolus, Videmus nunc per speculum in aenigmate; tunc autem facie ad faciem; praesertim quia Apostolus expressius dixit, Nunc scio ex parte; tunc autem cognoscam sicut et cognitus sum (I Cor. XIII, 12). Si ergo tunc corporali Deum facie cognoscemus, corporali ejus nunc facie cogniti sumus: Tunc enim cognoscam, inquit, sicut et cognitus sum. Unde quis eum non intelligat eo loco etiam nostram faciem illam significare voluisse, de qua dicit alio loco, Nos autem revelata facie gloriam Domini speculantes, in eamdem imaginem transformamur de gloria in gloriam, tanquam a Domini spiritu (Ibid. III, 18); de gloria scilicet fidei in gloriam contemplationis aeternae?

Which when Scripture had repeated so often through each of the creatures, I wonder whence that opinion was born by which it was thought that vision belongs only to bodies. From whatever manner of speaking that opinion arose, yet the holy Scriptures are not accustomed to speak thus; which unless they attributed vision not only to the body, but truly also to the spirit, and more to the spirit than to the body, they would not have properly called the Prophets Seers (1 Sam. 9:9), who saw even future things not with the body but with the spirit.

CHAPTER XXII.

51. But it must be considered lest we dare anything insolently, if we should say that the body loses not only mortality and corruptibility, but truly also this very thing which is a body through the glory of the resurrection, and becomes spirit. In that way indeed, either the substance of the spirit will be doubled, if the body also shall be spirit; or if there shall be one spirit of man, so that the body having been changed and converted into spirit, it be doubled neither by gemination nor by increase, nor be increased at all by the access of any quantity; it is to be feared lest nothing else seem to be said, than that bodies will remain immortal not by that change, but rather will be nothing and altogether perish. Wherefore until by diligent inquiry, if the Lord shall help, it be found what according to the Scriptures is to be more probably thought concerning the spiritual body which is promised in the resurrection, in the meantime let it suffice us that the only-begotten Son, and the same mediator of God and men the man Christ Jesus (1 Tim. 2:5) so sees the Father, as He is seen by the Father. But let us not endeavor to transfer that concupiscence of the eyes from this world to that vision of God which is promised to us in the resurrection, but let us study with pious affection to cleanse our hearts: nor let us think of a corporal face, when the Apostle says, We see now through a glass in a riddle; but then face to face; especially because the Apostle said more expressly, Now I know in part; but then I shall know just as I also have been known (1 Cor. 13:12). If therefore then we shall know God by a corporal face, we have been known by His corporal face now: for Then, he says, I shall know, just as I also have been known. Whence who would not understand that he wished in that place to signify even that face of ours, concerning which he says in another place, But we beholding with revealed face the glory of the Lord, are transformed into the same image from glory into glory, as by the spirit of the Lord (ibid. 3:18); from the glory namely of faith into the glory of eternal contemplation?

Hoc quippe agit haec transformatio, qua interior homo renovatur de die in diem (II Cor. IV, 16): de quo et apostolus Petrus, cum eum moneret ornari, Non quae aforis, inquit, ornentur capillorum incrispationibus, aut auro, aut margaritis, vel veste pretiosa; sed ille absconditus cordis homo, qui est ante Deum dives (I Petr. III, 3). In qua enim facie velamen habent Judaei non transeundo ad Christum, quoniam cum transierit quisque ad Christum auferetur velamen, ea nos facie revelata in eamdem imaginem transformamur. Apertissime autem dicit, Velamen super corda eorum positum est (II Cor. III, 15-18). Ibi est igitur facies, qua revelata, nunc in fide, quamvis per speculum et in aenigmate contuemur; tunc autem facie ad faciem.

Caput XXIII.

52.

Quae si approbas, tene mecum sancti viri Ambrosii sententiam, jam non ejus auctoritate, sed ipsa veritate firmatam. Neque enim et mihi propterea placet, quia per illius os potissimum me Dominus ab errore liberavit, et per illius ministerium gratiam mihi baptismi salutaris indulsit, tanquam plantatori et rigatori meo nimium faveam; sed quia de hoc re et ipse hoc dixit, quod pie cogitanti et recte intelligenti loquitur etiam ille qui incrementum dat Deus (I Cor. 3, 7). In ipsa ergo resurrectione non facile est Deum videre, nisi iis qui corde sint mundo: et ideo «beati mundo corde; ipsi enim Deum videbunt.» Quantos beatos jam numeraverat, et tamen videndi iis Deum non promiserat facultatem! Quantos beatos jam numeraverat, et tamen videndi iis Deum non promiserat facultatem! Si ergo ii qui mundo sunt corde, Deum videbunt, utique alii non videbunt. Neque enim indigni Deum videbunt; neque is qui Deum videre noluerit, potest eum videre. Nec in loco Deus videtur, sed mundo corde; nec corporalibus oculis Deus quaeritur, nec circumscribitur visu, nec tactu tenetur, nec auditur affatu, nec sentitur incessu. Et cum absens putatur, videtur; et cum praesens est, non videtur. Denique nec Apostoli omnes Christum videbant: et ideo ait, «Tanto tempore vobiscum sum, et adhuc me «non cognovistis!» Denique nec Apostoli omnes Christum videbant: et ideo ait, «Tanto tempore vobiscum sum, et adhuc me «non cognovistis!» Qui enim cognovit quae sit latitudo, et longitudo, et altitudo, et profundum, et supereminentem scientiae charitatem Christi, vidit et Christum, vidit et Patrem. Nos enim jam secundum carnem non novimus Christum, sed secundum spiritum. Spiritus enim ante faciem nostram Christus Dominus, qui nos in omnem plenitudinem Dei misericordia sua implere dignetur, ut videri possit a nobis. 53.

For this transformation effectuates this, by which the interior man is renewed from day to day (2 Cor. 4:16): concerning whom also the apostle Peter, when he advised him to be adorned, says, Not those things which are without, let them be adorned with crispings of hair, or gold, or pearls, or precious garment; but that hidden man of the heart, who is rich before God (1 Pet. 3:3). For in which face the Jews have a veil by not passing over to Christ, since when each one shall have passed over to Christ the veil shall be taken away, in that face revealed we are transformed into the same image. But most clearly he says, The veil is placed upon their heart (2 Cor. 3:15-18). There therefore is the face, which being revealed, now in faith, although through a glass and in a riddle, we behold; but then face to face.

CHAPTER XXIII.

52. Which things if you approve, hold with me the opinion of the holy man Ambrose, now not by his authority, but confirmed by the truth itself. For neither does it please me on this account, because through his mouth chiefly the Lord freed me from error, and through his ministry indulged me with the grace of salutary baptism, as if I should favor too much my planter and waterer; but because concerning this thing he himself said this, which also He who gives the increase, God, speaks to one thinking piously and understanding rightly (1 Cor. 3:7). In the resurrection itself therefore it is not easy to see God, except for those who are pure in heart: and therefore "blessed are the pure in heart; for they shall see God." How many blessed ones he had already numbered, and yet to them he had not promised the faculty of seeing God! If therefore those who are pure in heart shall see God, certainly others shall not see Him. For neither shall the unworthy see God; nor can he who would not wish to see God, see Him. Nor is God seen in a place, but with a pure heart; nor is God sought with corporal eyes, nor is He circumscribed by sight, nor held by touch, nor heard by speech, nor felt by approach. And when He is thought to be absent, He is seen; and when He is present, He is not seen. Finally, not even all the Apostles saw Christ: and therefore He says, "So long time am I with you, and yet you have not known me!" For he who has known what is the breadth, and length, and height, and depth, and the supereminent charity of the knowledge of Christ, has seen both Christ and has seen the Father. For we now know Christ not according to the flesh, but according to the spirit. For the spirit before our face is Christ the Lord, who may deign to fill us into all the fullness of God by His mercy, that He may be able to be seen by us.

Nos enim jam secundum carnem non novimus Christum, sed secundum spiritum. Spiritus enim ante faciem nostram Christus Dominus, qui nos in omnem plenitudinem Dei misericordia sua implere dignetur, ut videri possit a nobis. 53. Haec verba sancti viri, quae non carnalia sed spiritualia sunt, in quantum intelligis, et vera esse, non quia ipse dixit, sed quia veritas sine strepitu clamat, agnoscis; in tantum intelligis unde adhaereas Domino, teque ipsam intrinsecus praeparas incorporalem locum mansionis ejus ad audiendum silentium narrationis ejus, et videndam invisibilem formam ejus. Beati enim mundo corde; quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt. Non cum eis, sicut corpus, ex aliquo loci intervallo apparebit; sed cum venerit ad eos, et mansionem fecerit apud eos: quoniam sic implebuntur in omnem plenitudinem Dei, non cum fuerint et ipsi plenus Deus, sed cum perfecte fuerint pleni Deo. Si autem nonnisi corpora cogitamus, et nec illud saltem digne cogitare possumus, unde vel ipsa corpora cogitemus; non quaeramus quid adversum nos ipsos loquamur, sed ab hac potius carnali consuetudine orando, et in anteriora nos extendendo, corda mundemus. Ut enim non tantum quod beatus Ambrosius, verum etiam quod sanctus Hieronymus (Lib. 3 in Isai. 6), dicam: Non solum Patris divinitatem, sed nec Filii quidem, nec Spiritus sancti, quia una in Trinitate natura est, possunt oculi carnis aspicere, sed oculi mentis; de quibus ipse Salvator ait, «Beati mundo corde; quia ipsi Deum videbunt.» Namque sicut alibi idem Hieronymus breviter ac veraciter definivit, res incorporalis corporalibus oculis non videtur. Namque sicut alibi idem Hieronymus breviter ac veraciter definivit, res incorporalis corporalibus oculis non videtur.

54. Has sententias de re tanta virorum tantorum non ob hoc interponere volui, ut cujusquam hominis sensum, tanquam Scripturae canonicae auctoritatem, sequendum arbitreris; sed ut illi qui aliter sapiunt, conentur mente videre quod verum est, et in simplicitate cordis quaerere Deum, ne tam doctos divinorum eloquiorum tractatores temere reprehendant. Nec te moveat quod a quibusdam minus considerate dicitur: Quid tunc videbunt oculi corporales, si Deum non videbunt? an forte caeci erunt, vel sine causa erunt? Neque enim attendunt qui haec loquuntur, quia si non erunt corpora, nec illi corporales profecto oculi erunt: si autem erunt corpora, erit quod videre possint oculi corporales. Sed haec jam satis dicta sint, quae ab initio hujus opusculi mei diligenter lecta et relecta considerans, sine ulla fortasse dubitatione perspicies, ad videndum Deum per ejus auxilium, cor mundum te debere praeparare. De corpore vero spirituali, si Dominus juverit, opere alio experiemur quid disputare valeamus (De Civit. Dei, lib. 22, c. 29) .

EPISTOLA CXLVIII.

53. These words of the holy man, which are not carnal but spiritual, in so far as you understand, you recognize both to be true, not because he himself said them, but because truth cries out without noise; in so far as you understand whence you may adhere to the Lord, and you prepare yourself intrinsically as an incorporeal place of His dwelling for hearing the silence of His narration, and seeing His invisible form. For "blessed are the pure in heart; for they shall see God." He will not appear to them, as a body, from some interval of place; but when He shall have come to them, and shall have made His dwelling with them: since thus they shall be filled into all the fullness of God, not when they themselves shall be full God, but when they shall have been perfectly full of God. But if we think nothing but bodies, and cannot even think that worthily, whence we may think even the bodies themselves; let us not seek what we may speak against ourselves, but rather by praying from this carnal custom, and extending ourselves to the things before, let us cleanse our hearts. For that I may say not only what the blessed Ambrose, but truly also what the holy Jerome says (Book 3 on Isaiah 6): Not only the divinity of the Father, but truly not even of the Son, nor of the Holy Spirit, because there is one nature in the Trinity, can the eyes of the flesh behold, but the eyes of the mind; concerning which the Savior Himself says, "Blessed are the pure in heart; for they shall see God." For as elsewhere the same Jerome briefly and truly defined, an incorporeal thing is not seen with corporal eyes.

54. I did not wish to interpose these opinions of such great men on so great a matter for this reason, that you should think the judgment of any man is to be followed as the authority of canonical Scripture; but that those who think otherwise may strive to see with the mind what is true, and to seek God in simplicity of heart, lest they rashly reprehend such learned expositors of the divine words. Nor let it move you what is said by some less carefully: What then will the bodily eyes see, if they will not see God? Or will they perhaps be blind, or exist without purpose? For those who say these things do not consider that if there will not be bodies, then indeed those eyes will not be bodily either; but if there will be bodies, there will be something that bodily eyes can see. But let these things now be said sufficiently, which, considering them diligently read and reread from the beginning of this little work of mine, you will perceive perhaps without any doubt, that you ought to prepare a clean heart, through his help, for seeing God. But concerning the spiritual body, if the Lord shall help, we shall try in another work what we may be able to discuss (Of the City of God, book 22, chapter 29).

LETTER CXLVIII.

Augustinus Fortunatiano episcopo Siccensi, ut episcopum quemdam ipsi reconciliet, quem litteris asperioribus offenderat, praesertim hoc dicto quod scripserat, nos his corporeis oculis non visuros Deum: diligenter interim explicans quomodo Deus videatur, et quatenus. Apparet autem illum episcopum, quem non nominat, Anthropomorphitis favisse.

Commonitorium sancto fratri FORTUNATIANO .

CAPUT PRIMUM.

1. Sicut praesens rogavi, et nunc commoneo ut fratrem nostrum de quo collocuti sumus, videre et rogare digneris, ut ignoscat mihi si quid durius et asperius in se dictum accepit in ea epistola, quam me modo scripsisse non poenitet, quia dixi istius corporis oculos nec videre Deum, nec esse visuros. Causam quippe adjunxi cur hoc dixerim, ne scilicet Deus ipse corporeus esse credatur, et in loci spatio intervalloque visibilis; nihil enim videre aliter istius corporis oculus potest; et ne illud quod dictum est, Facie ad faciem (I Cor. XIII, 12), sic accipiatur, tanquam membris corporis terminatus sit Deus. Ideo me ergo dixisse illud non poenitet, ne de ipso Deo tam impie sentiamus, ut eum non ubique totum, sed per localia spatia divisibilem existimemus: talia quippe his oculis novimus.

2. Caeterum nihil tale de Deo sentiens, sed eum incommutabilem et incorporalem spiritum ubique totum esse credens, si tantam quisquam mutationem hujus corporis futuram putat, cum ex animali fuerit spirituale, ut etiam substantiam incorporalem, non locorum intervallis vel spatiis divisibilem, vel etiam membrorum lineamentis ac finibus terminatam, sed ubique totam, per tale corpus videre possimus; volo ut me doceat, si verum sapit: si autem in hoc falsum sentit, longe tolerabilius est corpori aliquid arrogare, quam Deo derogare. Et si vera est ista sententia, non erit contraria verbis meis, quae in illa epistola posui. Istius namque corporis oculos dixi non visuros Deum; hoc intuens, quod istius corporis oculi omnino non possunt cernere nisi corpora quae ab eis aliquo loci intervallo separata sunt: nam si nullum intervallum sit, nec ipsa corpora per eos videmus.

Augustine to Fortunatianus, bishop of Sicca, that he may reconcile to him a certain bishop, whom he had offended by rather harsh letters, especially by this statement which he had written, that we shall not see God with these bodily eyes: meanwhile explaining diligently how God is seen, and to what extent. It appears, moreover, that that bishop, whom he does not name, had favored the Anthropomorphites.

Commonitory to the holy brother Fortunatianus.

CHAPTER I.

1. As I asked when present, so now I urge you to deign to see our brother, of whom we have spoken, and to ask him to forgive me if he has taken anything said about him too harshly and severely in that letter which I do not now regret having written, because I said that the eyes of this body neither see God, nor will see him. For I added the reason why I said this: namely, lest God himself be believed to be corporeal, and visible in the space and interval of place—for the eye of this body cannot see anything otherwise—and lest that which is said, "Face to face" (I Cor. XIII, 12), be so understood as though God were bounded by the members of a body. Therefore I do not regret having said that, lest we think so impiously of God himself as to suppose him not wholly everywhere, but divisible through spatial locations: for such things we know by these eyes.

2. But, thinking nothing of the sort about God, but believing him to be an unchangeable and incorporeal spirit, wholly present everywhere, if anyone supposes that so great a change of this body is to come, when from animal it shall have become spiritual, that we shall be able to see through such a body even an incorporeal substance, not divisible by intervals or spaces of places, nor even bounded by the outlines and limits of members, but wholly present everywhere—I wish him to teach me, if he holds what is true; but if in this he holds something false, it is far more tolerable to ascribe too much to the body than to detract from God. And if that opinion is true, it will not be contrary to the words which I set down in that letter. For I said that the eyes of this body will not see God; considering this, that the eyes of this body can perceive nothing at all except bodies which are separated from them by some interval of place: for if there is no interval, we do not even see bodies themselves through them.

3. Porro autem si in tantam sui dissimilitudinem nostra corpora mutabuntur, ut oculos habeant, per quos videatur illa substantia quae non per locorum spatia vel diffunditur vel finitur, alibi habens aliam partem, alibi aliam, in minore loco minorem, in majore majorem, sed ubique incorporaliter tota est; longe aliud erunt haec corpora, et non erunt ipsa; nec sola detracta mortalitate atque corruptione et ponderis gravitate aliud erunt, sed in virtutem ipsius mentis quodammodo convertentur, si videre poterunt quomodo tunc menti, nunc autem nec ipsi menti videre concessum est. Si enim mutatis moribus dicimus hominem non esse qui fuit, si denique mutatis aetatibus ipsum corpus dicimus non esse quod fuit: quanto magis ipsum non erit, tanta conversione mutatum, ut non solum immortaliter vivat, verum etiam invisibilem videat? Quapropter si videbunt Deum, non istius corporis oculi videbunt; quia et in hoc non erit ipsum corpus usque in illam vim potentiamque mutatum: et non est contraria ista opinio illis verbis epistolae meae. Si autem hactenus non erit ipsum, quia nunc mortale, tunc immortale; nunc aggravans animam, tunc nullo pondere ad omnem motum erit facillimum: ad videnda vero ea quae locorum spatiis intervallisque cernuntur, si non aliud quam ipsum erit, substantiam incorporalem et ubique totam nullo modo videbit. Sive ergo hoc, sive illud verum sit, secundum utrumque verum est quod istius corporis oculi Deum non videbunt. Aut enim istius erunt, et non videbunt: aut non erunt istius, si videbunt; quoniam tanta commutatione longe alterius corporis erunt.

4. Sed paratus sum, si quid de hac re melius novit hic frater, vel ab ipso, vel ab illo a quo didicit, discere. Quod si irridenter dicerem, etiam illud de Deo corporali membrisque per loca divisibili, dicerem paratum me esse discere: quod non dico, quia non irridenter loquor, et talem Deum non esse omnino non ambigo, et ne talis esse crederetur, illam epistolam scripsi. In qua dum essem in admonendo sollicitus, quam nominibus tacitis conscripsi, in corripiendo nimius atque improvidus fui, nec fraternam et episcopalem personam sicut frater et episcopus, quemadmodum fuerat dignum, cogitavi: hoc non defendo, sed reprehendo; hoc non excuso, sed accuso. Ignoscatur, peto; recordetur nostram dilectionem pristinam, et obliviscatur offensionem novam. Faciat certe quod me non fecisse succensuit; habeat lenitatem in danda venia, quam ego non habui in illa epistola conscribenda.

3. Furthermore, if our bodies will be changed into so great an unlikeness to themselves, that they will have eyes through which that substance may be seen which is neither diffused nor bounded through spaces of places—having one part here, another there, smaller in a smaller place, larger in a larger place, but everywhere incorporeally whole—these bodies will be something far different, and will not be themselves; nor will they be something else merely by the removal of mortality and corruption and the heaviness of weight, but they will be converted in a certain manner into the power of the mind itself, if they shall be able to see in the way in which it has been granted to the mind then, though not now even to the mind itself, to see. For if, when the character has changed, we say that a man is not what he was; if finally, when the ages have changed, we say that the body itself is not what it was: how much more will it not be itself, changed by so great a transformation, that it may not only live immortally, but also see the invisible? Wherefore, if they shall see God, it will not be the eyes of this body that see him; because in this respect too the body will not be itself, changed as it will be into that power and faculty: and this opinion is not contrary to those words of my letter. But if it will not be itself only to this extent, that whereas now it is mortal, then it will be immortal; whereas now it weighs down the soul, then, with no weight, it will be most easy for every movement—yet for seeing those things which are discerned by the spaces and intervals of places, if it will be nothing other than itself, it will in no way see an incorporeal substance that is wholly present everywhere. Whether, therefore, this or that be true, according to either it is true that the eyes of this body will not see God. For either they will belong to this body, and will not see; or they will not belong to this body, if they see, since by so great a transformation they will belong to a body far different.

4. But I am ready, if this brother knows something better about this matter, to learn it either from him or from the one from whom he learned it. But if I were speaking mockingly, I would also say that I am ready to learn that about a corporeal God, divisible in his members through places; which I do not say, because I am not speaking mockingly, and I do not at all doubt that God is not such, and it was in order that he might not be believed to be such that I wrote that letter. In writing which — a letter which I composed with the names suppressed — while I was solicitous in admonishing, I was excessive and imprudent in reproving, and I did not, as would have been fitting, consider the fraternal and episcopal person as a brother and bishop should: this I do not defend, but reprehend; this I do not excuse, but accuse. Let it be forgiven, I ask; let him remember our former affection, and forget the recent offense. Let him certainly do what he was indignant that I did not do; let him have the gentleness in granting pardon which I did not have in composing that letter.

Hoc per tuam charitatem rogo, quod praesens praesentem rogare volueram, si ejus haberem copiam. Quod cum conatus essem, scribente ad eum viro venerabili, nobisque omnibus honore praeferendo, venire noluit, dolum forsitan in eum, sicut pleraque humana sunt, quantum existimo, suspicatus; a quo me longe abesse, tu illi fac fidem quantum potes, qui praesens facilius potes. Indica ei cum quanto et quam vero dolore de offensione animi ejus tecum fuerim collocutus. Noverit quam non eum contemnam, et quantum in illo Deum timeam, et cogitem caput nostrum in cujus corpore fratres sumus. Ad locum in quo habitat, ideo mihi putavi non esse veniendum, ne spectaculum faceremus ridendum alienis, nostris dolendum, nobis pudendum. Per tuam sanctitatem et charitatem totum recte agi potest: ab illo quippe agitur, qui per fidem suam habitat in corde tuo; quem credo quod non spernit in te, cum agnoscit in se.

5. Ego certe in hac causa quid melius facerem non inveni, quam ut veniam peterem a fratre, qui laesum se litterarum mearum asperitate conquestus est. Faciet et ipse, ut spero, quod sibi imperari novit ab eo qui per Apostolum loquens ait: Donantes vobismetipsis, si quis adversus aliquem habet querelam, sicut et Deus in Christo donavit vobis (Coloss. III, 13). Estote ergo imitatores Dei, sicut filii dilectissimi, et ambulate in charitate, sicut et Christus dilexit nos (Eph. V, 1, 2). In hac charitate ambulantes, si quid diligentius possumus, de spirituali corpore quod in resurrectione habebimus, concorditer inquiramus: quia et si quid aliter sapimus, hoc quoque nobis Deus revelabit, si in illo maneamus (Philipp. III, 15, 16). Qui autem manet in charitate, in Deo manet, et Deus in illo manet: quia Deus charitas est (I Joan. IV, 16); sive tanquam ejus fons ineffabiliter existendo, sive illam nobis per Spiritum suum largiendo. Si ergo doceri potest quod charitas corporalibus oculis aliquando videbitur; poterit fortassis et Deus: si autem ista nunquam poterit; multo minus ipse fons ejus, vel si quid dici excellentius et convenientius de tanta re potest.

CAPUT II.

6. Magni quidam viri et in Scripturis sanctis doctissimi, qui plurimum Ecclesiam et bona studia fidelium suis litteris adjuverunt, ubi eis occasio data est, dixerunt invisibilem Deum invisibiliter videri; hoc est per eam naturam quae in nobis quoque invisibilis est, munda scilicet mente vel corde. Beatus Ambrosius de Christo cum ageret, secundum id quod Verbum est, Non enim corporalibus, inquit, sed spiritualibus oculis Jesus videtur. Et paulo post, Non eum viderunt, inquit, Judaei; obcaecalum enim erat insipien: cor eorum (Lib. I in Luc. 1): hunc ostendens unde videatur.

This I ask through your charity, which, present, I had wished to ask of him present, if I had the opportunity. When I attempted this, a venerable man, to be preferred in honor to all of us, writing to him, he was unwilling to come, suspecting perhaps — as most human things are — some deceit on my part, as far as I can judge; that I am far from any such thing, do you make him believe as much as you can, since, being present, you can more easily do so. Show him with how great and how sincere a sorrow I have spoken with you about the offense to his mind. Let him know how far I am from despising him, and how greatly I fear God in him, and think of our head, in whose body we are brothers. I thought I should not go to the place where he lives, lest we should make a spectacle to be laughed at by outsiders, to be grieved over by our own, and to be shameful to ourselves. Through your holiness and charity everything can be rightly done: for indeed it is he who acts, who through his faith dwells in your heart; whom I believe does not spurn in you what he recognizes in himself.

5. As for me, in this matter I found nothing better to do than to ask pardon of a brother who complained that he had been wounded by the harshness of my letter. He too, I hope, will do what he knows is commanded of him by him who, speaking through the Apostle, says: Forgiving one another, if any have a complaint against another, even as God in Christ forgave you (Coloss. III, 13). Be therefore imitators of God, as most beloved sons, and walk in charity, as Christ also loved us (Eph. V, 1, 2). Walking in this charity, let us inquire together, as diligently as we can, concerning the spiritual body which we shall have in the resurrection: for if in anything we think otherwise, God will reveal this also to us, if we remain in him (Philipp. III, 15, 16). But he who abides in charity abides in God, and God abides in him: because God is charity (I Joan. IV, 16); whether by ineffably existing as its fount, or by bestowing it upon us through his Spirit. If, therefore, it can be taught that charity will at some time be seen with bodily eyes, then perhaps God too can be seen; but if this can never be, much less can its very fount, or whatever more excellent and fitting term can be used of so great a matter.

CHAPTER II.

6. Certain great men, most learned in the sacred Scriptures, who greatly aided the Church and the good pursuits of the faithful by their writings, said, wherever the occasion was given them, that the invisible God is seen invisibly; that is, through that nature which in us too is invisible, namely, a pure mind or heart. Blessed Ambrose, when speaking of Christ according to that which he is the Word, said: “For Jesus is seen not with bodily but with spiritual eyes.” And a little after he says: “The Jews did not see him; for their foolish heart was blinded” (Lib. I in Luc. 1), showing thereby whence he is seen.

Item cum de sancto Spiritu loqueretur, interposuit verba Domini dicentis: Rogabo Patrem, et alium Paracletum dabit vobis, qui vobiscum sit in aeternum; Spiritum veritatis, quem hic mundus non potest accipere, quia non videt eum, nec cognoscit eum (Joan. XIV, 16, 17). Merito ergo se, inquit, in corpore demonstravit, quoniam in divinitatis substantia non videtur. Vidimus Spiritum, sed in specie corporali: videamus et Patrem; sed quia videre non possumus, audiamus. Et paulo post, Audiamus ergo inquit, Patrem; invisibilis enim Pater; sed et Filius invisibilis secundum divinitatem; Deum enim nemo vidit unquam (I Joan. IV, 12): cum ergo Filius sit Deus, in eo utique quod Deus est Filius, non videtur (Lib. 2 in Luc. III, 22).

7. Sanctus autem Hieronymus ait: Videre Deum sicuti est in natura sua, oculus hominis non potest: non solum homo, nec Angeli, nec Throni, nec Potestates, nec Dominationes, nec omne nomen quod nominatur; neque enim creatura potest aspicere Creatorem suum. His verbis vir doctissimus satis ostendit quid etiam de futuro saeculo senserit, quod ad hanc rem attinet. Quantumlibet enim oculi corporis nostri mutentur in melius, Angelorum oculis aequabuntur. Hic autem et ipsis, et universae omnino coelesti creaturae invisibilem naturam dixit esse Creatoris. Aut si et hinc fit quaestio, et infertur ulla dubitatio, utrum non simus futuri Angelis potiores; ipsius Domini est hinc aperta sententia, ubi ait de resurrecturis in regnum: Erunt aequales Angelis Dei (Luc. XX, 36). Unde idem ipse sanctus Hieronymus alibi sic dicit: Homo igitur Dei faciem videre non potest; Angeli autem etiam minimorum in Ecclesia semper vident faciem Dei (Matth. XVIII, 10). Et nunc in speculo videmus, in aenigmate; tunc autem facie ad faciem (I Cor. XIII, 12), quando de hominibus in Angelos profecerimus, et potuerimus cum Apostolo dicere, «Nos autem omnes revelata facie gloriam Domini speculantes, in eamdem imaginem transformamur a gloria in gloriam, tanquam a Domini Spiritu» (II Cor. III, 18); licet faciem Dei juxta naturae suae proprietatem nulla videat creatura, et tunc mente cernatur, quando invisibilis creditur (Lib. 1 in Isai. 1).

8. In his verbis hominis Dei, multa consideranda sunt. Primum, quia secundum apertissimam Domini sententiam etiam ipse sentit tunc nos visuros faciem Dei, cum in Angelos profecerimus, id est, aequales Angelis facti fuerimus; quod erit utique in resurrectione mortuorum. Deinde apostolico testimonio satis aperuit non exterioris sed interioris hominis faciem intelligendam, cum videbimus facie ad faciem: de facie quippe cordis loquebatur Apostolus, cum diceret quod hinc commemoravit, Nos autem revelata facie gloriam Domini speculantes, in eamdem imaginem transformamur.

Likewise, when he was speaking of the Holy Spirit, he inserted the words of the Lord, who says: "I will ask the Father, and he will give you another Paraclete, that he may abide with you forever; the Spirit of truth, whom this world cannot receive, because it does not see him, nor know him" (John XIV, 16, 17). Rightly, therefore, he says, he showed himself in a body, since he is not seen in the substance of his divinity. We have seen the Spirit, but in bodily form: let us see the Father also; but since we cannot see him, let us hear him. And a little after he says: "Let us, then, hear the Father; for the Father is invisible; but the Son too is invisible according to his divinity; for no one has ever seen God" (I John IV, 12): since, therefore, the Son is God, in that very respect in which the Son is God, he is not seen (Lib. 2 in Luc. III, 22).

7. But Saint Jerome says: "The eye of man cannot see God as he is in his nature: not man alone, nor Angels, nor Thrones, nor Powers, nor Dominions, nor every name that is named; for no creature can behold its Creator." By these words that most learned man sufficiently showed what he thought even concerning the future age, so far as this matter is concerned. For however much the eyes of our body may be changed for the better, they will be made equal to the eyes of the Angels. But here he said that the nature of the Creator is invisible both to them and to the whole heavenly creation altogether. Or if a question also arises here, and some doubt is raised, as to whether we shall not in the future be superior to the Angels, on this point there is the clear statement of the Lord himself, where he says of those who are to rise again into the kingdom: "They will be equal to the Angels of God" (Luke XX, 36). Whence that same Saint Jerome says elsewhere as follows: "Man, therefore, cannot see the face of God; but the Angels even of the least ones in the Church always see the face of God" (Matth. XVIII, 10). And now we see in a mirror, in a riddle; but then face to face (I Cor. XIII, 12), when we shall have advanced from men into Angels, and shall be able to say with the Apostle, "But we all, beholding the glory of the Lord with unveiled face, are transformed into the same image from glory to glory, as by the Spirit of the Lord" (II Cor. III, 18); although according to the property of his nature no creature sees the face of God, and he is then discerned by the mind when he is believed to be invisible (Lib. 1 in Isai. 1).

8. In these words of the man of God, many things are to be considered. First, because in accordance with the most manifest sentence of the Lord, he too holds that we shall then see the face of God, when we shall have advanced into the Angels, that is, when we shall have been made equal to the Angels; which will certainly be at the resurrection of the dead. Then, by apostolic testimony, he sufficiently showed that it is not the face of the outer but of the inner man that is to be understood when we shall see face to face: for the Apostle was speaking of the face of the heart, when he said what he here recalled, "But we, beholding the glory of the Lord with unveiled face, are transformed into the same image."

Quod si quisquam dubitat, recenseat eumdem locum, et attendat unde Apostolus loquebatur; de velamine scilicet quod manet in lectione Veteris Testamenti, donec quisque transeat ad Christum, ut auferatur velamen. Ibi quippe dicit, Nos autem revelata facie gloriam Domini speculantes; quae facies in Judaeis non erat revelata: de quibus dicit, Velamen super cor eorum positum est, ut ostendat cordis faciem nobis esse revelatam, velamine ablato. Postremo, ne quisquam ista minus intuens, minusque discernens, visibilem Deum vel Angelis vel hominibus, cum aequales Angelis facti fuerimus, sive nunc esse, sive futurum esse crederet, evidentissime quid sentiret expressit, dicens quod faciem Dei juxta naturae suae proprietatem nulla videat creatura, et tunc mente cernatur, quando invisibilis creditur. Unde sufficienter significavit, quando visus est ab hominibus per oculos corporis, tanquam ipse corporeus, non eum secundum naturae suae proprietatem fuisse visum, in qua tunc mente cernitur, quando invisibilis creditur. Quibus invisibilis, nisi aspectibus corporalibus etiam coelestibus, sicut supra de Angelis et Potestatibus et Dominationibus dixit? quanto magis terrestribus!

9. Unde alio loco evidentius dicit, Non solum Patris divinitatem, sed nec Filii quidem et Spiritus sancti, quae una in Trinitate natura est, posse oculos carnis aspicere, sed oculos mentis: de quibus ipse Salvator ait, «Beati mundo corde; quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt» (Lib. 3 in Isai. 1). Quid hac manifestatione lucidius? Si enim tantummodo dixisset, Nec Patris, nec Filii, nec Spiritus sancti divinitatem posse oculos carnis aspicere, nec deinceps addidisset, sed oculos mentis; forte diceretur carnem jam non esse appellandum, cum corpus fuerit spirituale: addendo ergo, et dicendo, sed oculos mentis, ab omni genere corporis alienavit hujusmodi visionem. Ne quis autem putaret eum tantum de praesenti tempore locutum, subjecit etiam Domini testimonium, volens ostendere quos dixerat oculos mentis; quo testimonio non praesentis sed futurae visionis promissio declaratur: Beati mundo corde; quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt (Matth. V, 8).

10. Beatissimus quoque Athanasius, Alexandrinus episcopus, cum ageret adversus Arianos, qui tantummodo Deum Patrem invisibilem dicunt, Filium vero et Spiritum sanctum visibiles putant, aequalem Trinitatis invisibilitatem Scripturarum sanctarum testimoniis, et diligentia suae disputationis asseruit, instantissime suadens Deum non esse visum nisi assumptione creaturae: secundum Deitatis autem suae proprietatem omnino Deum esse invisibilem, id est Patrem, et Filium, et Spiritum sanctum, nisi quantum mente ac spiritu nosci potest.

But if anyone doubts this, let him examine that same passage, and consider from what point the Apostle was speaking; namely, of the veil which remains in the reading of the Old Testament, until each one passes over to Christ, so that the veil may be taken away. For there he says, "But we, beholding the glory of the Lord with unveiled face"; which face was not unveiled in the Jews: of whom he says, "A veil is placed over their heart," so as to show that the face of the heart has been unveiled for us, the veil having been removed. Finally, lest anyone, considering these things less attentively and discerning them less carefully, should believe God to be visible either to Angels or to men, whether now or in the future when we shall have been made equal to the Angels, he expressed most clearly what he thought, saying that no creature sees the face of God according to the property of His nature, and that He is then discerned by the mind when He is believed to be invisible. Hence he sufficiently indicated that, when He was seen by men through the eyes of the body, as though He himself were corporeal, He was not seen according to the property of His nature, in which He is then discerned by the mind when He is believed to be invisible. Invisible to what, if not to bodily sight, even the heavenly kind, as he said above concerning the Angels and Powers and Dominions? How much more, then, to earthly sight!

9. Hence in another place he says more evidently: "Not only can the eyes of the flesh not behold the divinity of the Father, but not even that of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, which is one nature in the Trinity, but only the eyes of the mind; concerning which the Savior himself says, 'Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God'" (Lib. 3 in Isai. 1). What could be clearer than this manifestation? For if he had said only, "Neither can the eyes of the flesh behold the divinity of the Father, nor of the Son, nor of the Holy Spirit," and had not further added, "but the eyes of the mind," perhaps it might be said that flesh should no longer be so called, once the body had become spiritual: therefore, by adding and saying, "but the eyes of the mind," he excluded a vision of this kind from every kind of body. But lest anyone should suppose that he was speaking only of the present time, he also added the Lord's testimony, wishing to show what he had meant by the eyes of the mind; by which testimony the promise of a vision is declared, not of the present, but of the future: "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God" (Matth. V, 8).

10. The most blessed Athanasius also, bishop of Alexandria, when he was arguing against the Arians, who say that only God the Father is invisible, but think the Son and the Holy Spirit to be visible, asserted the equal invisibility of the Trinity by the testimonies of the sacred Scriptures and by the diligence of his disputation, most earnestly persuading that God was not seen except by the assumption of a creature: but that, according to the property of His Deity, God is altogether invisible, that is, the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, except insofar as He can be known by mind and spirit.

Gregorius etiam, sanctus episcopus Orientalis , apertissime dicit Deum natura invisibilem, quando patribus visus est, sicut Moysi, cum quo facie ad faciem loquebatur, alicujus conspicabilis materiae dispositione assumpta, salva sua invisibilitate videri potuisse. Hoc est quod etiam noster dicit Ambrosius, et Patrem et Filium et Spiritum sanctum ea specie videri quam voluntas elegerit, non natura formaverit (In Luc. c. I, 11): ut et illud verum sit, quod Deum nemo vidit unquam (Joan. I, 18), quae vox ipsius Domini Christi est; et, Quem nemo hominum vidit, nec videre potest (I Tim. VI, 16), quae vox Apostoli, imo ejus per Apostolum Christi est; et illa non repudientur testimonia Scripturarum quibus Deus visus esse narratur, quia et invisibilis est per propriam Deitatis naturam, et cum vult videri potest per assumptam, sicut ei placuerit, creaturam.

CAPUT III.

11. Porro si naturae ipsius est invisibilitas sicut incorruptibilitas, non mutabitur utique in futuro saeculo illa natura, ut de invisibili visibilis fiat; quia neque poterit de incorruptibili corruptibilis fieri: simul enim et incommutabilis est. Et utique naturam ejus commendavit Apostolus, cum duo ista simul poneret, dicens: Regi autem saeculorum invisibili, incorruptibili, soli Deo honor et gloria in saecula saeculorum (I Tim. I, 17). Unde non audeo ego ita distinguere, ut dicam: Incorruptibili quidem in saecula saeculorum; invisibili autem non in saecula saeculorum, sed tantum in hoc saeculo. Verum quia nec ista testimonia falsa esse possunt, Beati mundo corde; quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt; et, Scimus quia cum apparuerit, similes ei erimus; quoniam videbimus eum sicuti est (I Joan. III, 2): negare non possumus filios Dei visuros Deum, sed sicut videntur invisibilia, sicut seipsum ostensurum promittebat qui hominibus apparebat in carne visibilis, quando dicebat, Et ego diligam eum, et ostendam meipsum illi (Joan. XIV, 21), cum ante oculos hominum conspicuus loqueretur. Unde autem invisibilia videntur, nisi oculis cordis? de quibus paulo ante dixi quid Hieronymus senserit ad videndum Deum.

Gregory also, a holy bishop of the East, most openly says that God, invisible by nature, when He was seen by the fathers, as by Moses, with whom He spoke face to face, was able to be seen—His invisibility being preserved—through the assumption of a disposition of some visible matter. This is also what our Ambrose says, that both the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit are seen in that form which the will has chosen, not which nature has formed (In Luc. c. I, 11): so that this too may be true, that no one has ever seen God (Joan. I, 18), which is the utterance of the Lord Christ Himself; and, Whom no man has seen, nor can see (I Tim. VI, 16), which is the utterance of the Apostle, or rather of Christ Himself through the Apostle; and that those testimonies of the Scriptures in which God is narrated to have been seen may not be rejected, because He is both invisible by the proper nature of His Deity, and, when He wills, can be seen through an assumed creature, as it has pleased Him.

CHAPTER III.

11. Furthermore, if invisibility is of His nature itself just as incorruptibility is, that nature will surely not be changed in the future world, so that from invisible it should become visible; because neither will it be able from incorruptible to become corruptible: for at the same time it is also incommutable. And surely the Apostle commended His nature, when he placed those two together, saying: Now to the King of ages, invisible, incorruptible, the only God, be honor and glory forever and ever (1 Tim. 1:17). Whence I do not dare so to distinguish, as to say: Incorruptible indeed forever and ever; but invisible not forever and ever, but only in this age. But because neither can those testimonies be false, Blessed are the pure in heart; for they shall see God; and, We know that when He shall appear, we shall be like Him; for we shall see Him as He is (1 John 3:2): we cannot deny that the sons of God shall see God, but just as invisible things are seen, just as He who appeared visible in the flesh to men was promising that He would show Himself, when He said, And I will love him, and will show myself to him (John 14:21), when He was speaking as one conspicuous before the eyes of men. Whence, however, are invisible things seen, except by the eyes of the heart? concerning which a little before I said what Jerome felt for seeing God.

12. Hinc est etiam quod memoratus Mediolanensis episcopus in ipsa resurrectione dixit non facile esse videre Deum, nisi iis qui mundo corde sint; et ideo scriptum esse: Beati mundo corde, quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt. Quantos beatos, inquit, jam numeraverat, et tamen eis videndi Deum non promiserat facultatem! Deinde adjungit et dicit: Si ergo ii qui mundo sunt corde, Deum videbunt, utique alii non videbunt. Et ne alios illos acciperemus, de quibus dictum est, Beati pauperes, Beati mites, continuo subjunxit: Neque enim indigni Deum videbunt. Indignos utique illos volens intelligi, qui licet resurgant, Deum videre non poterunt; quoniam ad damnationem resurgent, quia per fidem veram quae per dilectionem operatur (Galat. V, 6), cor mundare noluerunt. Et ideo sequitur et dicit: Neque is qui Deum videre noluerit, potest Deum videre. Deinde quia occurrebat etiam impios omnes velle videre Deum, statim ut ostenderet quare dixerit, qui Deum videre noluerit, quia utique illo modo non vult Deum videre impius, quia cor mundare non vult, quo ille videri poterit, secutus adjunxit et ait: Nec in loco Deus videtur, sed mundo corde; nec corporalibus oculis Deus quaeritur, nec circumscribitur visu, nec tactu tenetur, nec auditur affatu, nec sentitur incessu (In Luc. c. I, 11). Quibus verbis beatus Ambrosius voluit admonere quid debeant homines praeparare qui volunt Deum videre; hoc est, cor mundare per fidem quae per dilectionem operatur, dono Spiritus sancti, unde pignus accepimus, quo illam visionem desiderare noverimus (II Cor. V, 4-8).

CAPUT IV.

13. Nam de membris Dei, quae assidue Scriptura commemorat, ne quisquam secundum carnis hujus formam et figuram nos esse crederet similes Deo, propterea eadem Scriptura et alas habere Deum dixit (Psal. XVI, 8), quas nos utique non habemus. Sicut ergo alas cum audimus, protectionem intelligimus: sic et cum audimus manus, operationem intelligere debemus; et cum audimus pedes, praesentationem; et cum audimus oculos, visionem qua cognoscit; et cum audimus faciem, notitiam qua innotescit; et si quid aliud eadem Scriptura tale commemorat, puto spiritualiter intelligendum. Neque hoc ego tantum, aut ego prior, sed omnes qui qualicumque spirituali intelligentia resistunt eis qui ob hoc Anthropomorphitae nominantur. Ex quorum litteris ne multa commemorando majores moras faciam, hoc unum sancti Hieronymi interpono, ut noverit iste frater, non se de hac re mecum magis quam cum prioribus agere debere, si quid eum contra permovet.

12. Hence it is also that the mentioned bishop of Milan said that in the resurrection itself it is not easy to see God, except for those who are pure in heart; and therefore it is written: Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God. How many blessed ones, he says, had he already numbered, and yet to them he had not promised the faculty of seeing God! Then he joins and says: If therefore those who are pure in heart shall see God, surely others shall not see Him. And lest we should take those others, concerning whom it was said, Blessed are the poor, Blessed are the meek, he immediately subjoined: For neither shall the unworthy see God. Wishing surely those to be understood as unworthy, who although they rise again, will not be able to see God; because they shall rise again to damnation, because through true faith which works by love (Gal. 5:6), they would not cleanse the heart. And therefore he follows and says: Neither can he who shall have been unwilling to see God, see God. Then because it occurred that even all the impious wish to see God, immediately that he might show why he said, who shall have been unwilling to see God, because surely the impious man does not wish to see God in that way, because he does not wish to cleanse the heart, by which He can be seen, having followed he joined and said: Nor is God seen in a place, but by the pure heart; nor is God sought by corporeal eyes, nor is He circumscribed by sight, nor held by touch, nor heard by speech, nor felt by gait (In Luc. c. I, 11). By which words the blessed Ambrose wished to admonish what men ought to prepare who wish to see God; this is, to cleanse the heart through faith which works by love, by the gift of the Holy Spirit, whence we have received a pledge, by which we may know how to desire that vision (2 Cor. 5:4-8).

CHAPTER IV.

13. For concerning the members of God, which Scripture assidue commemorates, lest anyone should believe us to be like God according to the form and figure of this flesh, therefore the same Scripture also said that God has wings (Psalm 16:8), which we surely do not have. Just as therefore when we hear wings, we understand protection: so also when we hear hands, we ought to understand operation; and when we hear feet, presentation; and when we hear eyes, the vision by which He knows; and when we hear face, the notice by which He becomes known; and if the same Scripture commemorates anything else of such a kind, I think it is to be understood spiritually. Neither do I alone, or I first, but all who by any spiritual intelligence resist those who on this account are named Anthropomorphites. From whose letters, lest by commemorating many things I should make greater delays, I interpose this one of saint Jerome, that this brother may know, that he ought to deal concerning this matter not with me more than with the ancients, if anything moves him to the contrary.

14. Cum ergo ille vir in Scripturis doctissimus, psalmum exponeret ubi dictum est, Intelligite ergo qui insipientes estis in populo, et stulti aliquando sapite. Qui plantavit aurem, non audiet? aut qui finxit oculum, non considerat? inter caetera, Iste locus, inquit, adversus eos maxime facit, qui Anthropomorphitae sunt, qui dicunt Deum habere membra quae etiam nos habemus. Verbi causa, dicitur Deus habere oculos, quia oculi Domini respiciunt omnia; manus Domini facit omnia: «Et audivit,» inquit, «Adam sonum pedum Domini deambulantis in paradiso» (Gen. III, 8): haec simpliciter audiunt, et humanas imbecillitates ad Dei magnificentiam referunt. Ego autem dico quod Deus totus oculus est, totus manus est, totus pes est. Totus oculus est, quia omnia videt. Totus manus est, quia omnia operatur. Totus pes est, quia ubique est. Ergo videte quid dicat. «Qui plantavit aurem, non audiet? aut qui finxit oculos, non considerat?» Et non dixit, Qui plantavit aurem, ergo ipse aurem non habet; non dixit, Ergo ipse oculos non habet: sed quid dixit? «Qui plantavit aurem, non audiet? qui finxit oculos, non considerat?» membra tulit, efficientias dedit (In Psal. XCIII, 8, 9).

15. Haec omnia de litteris eorum et Latinorum et Graecorum, qui priores nobis in catholica Ecclesia viventes divina eloquia tractaverunt, ideo commemoranda arbitratus sum, ut sciat iste frater, si quid aliter quam isti sentit, deposita dissensionis amaritudine, et fraternae charitatis suavitate servata atque in integrum restituta, diligenti et tranquilla consideratione quaerendum vel discendum vel docendum. Neque enim quorumlibet disputationes, quamvis catholicorum et laudatorum hominum, velut Scripturas canonicas habere debemus, ut nobis non liceat salva honorificentia quae illis debetur hominibus, aliquid in eorum scriptis improbare atque respuere, si forte invenerimus quod aliter senserint quam veritas habet, divino adjutorio vel ab aliis intellecta, vel a nobis. Talis ego sum in scriptis aliorum; tales volo esse intellectores meorum. Denique in iis omnibus quae de opusculis sanctorum atque doctorum commemoravi, Ambrosii, Hieronymi, Athanasii, Gregorii, et si qua aliorum talia legere potui quae commemorare longum putavi, Deum non esse corpus, nec formae humanae habere membra, nec eum esse per locorum spatia divisibilem, et esse natura incommutabiliter invisibilem, nec per eamdem naturam atque substantiam, sed assumpta visibili specie sicut voluit apparuisse iis quibus apparuit, quando per corporis oculos in Scripturis sanctis visus esse narratur, in adjutorio Domini inconcusse credo, et quantum ipse donat intelligo.

14. When therefore that man most learned in the Scriptures, was expounding the psalm where it is said, Understand therefore you who are senseless among the people, and you fools at length be wise. He who planted the ear, shall he not hear? or he who formed the eye, does he not consider? among other things, This place, he says, makes most against those, who are Anthropomorphites, who say that God has members which we also have. For example, God is said to have eyes, because the eyes of the Lord look upon all things; the hand of the Lord makes all things: "And he heard," he says, "Adam the sound of the feet of the Lord walking in paradise" (Gen. 3:8): these they hear simply, and refer human weaknesses to the magnificence of God. But I say that God is all eye, all hand, all foot. He is all eye, because He sees all things. He is all hand, because He works all things. He is all foot, because He is everywhere. Therefore see what he says. "He who planted the ear, shall he not hear? or he who formed the eyes, does he not consider?" And he did not say, He who planted the ear, therefore he himself does not have an ear; he did not say, Therefore he himself does not have eyes: but what did he say? "He who planted the ear, shall he not hear? he who formed the eyes, does he not consider?" he took away members, he gave efficiencies (In Psal. 93:8, 9).

15. All these things from the letters of those both Latin and Greek, who living before us in the catholic Church treated the divine elocutions, I have thought therefore to be commemorated, so that this brother may know, if he feels anything otherwise than they do, having laid aside the bitterness of dissension, and the sweetness of fraternal charity having been preserved and restored into the whole, it is to be sought or learned or taught by diligent and tranquil consideration. For neither ought we to have the disputations of anyone, although of catholic and praised men, as canonical Scriptures, so that it may not be permitted to us, the honorificence being saved which is owed to those men, to improbate and reject something in their writings, if perhaps we shall have found that they felt otherwise than the truth has it, understood by divine help either by others, or by us. Such I am in the writings of others; such I wish to be the understanders of mine. Finally in all those things which I have commemorated from the opuscules of the saints and doctors, of Ambrose, Jerome, Athanasius, Gregory, and if I have been able to read any such things of others which I thought long to commemorate, that God is not a body, nor has members of human form, nor is He divisible through spaces of places, and is by nature incommutably invisible, nor through the same nature and substance, but a visible species having been assumed just as He willed did He appear to those to whom He appeared, when He is narrated in the holy Scriptures to have been seen through the eyes of the body, in the help of the Lord I believe unshakenly, and as much as He Himself grants I understand.

CAPUT V.

16. De spirituali autem corpore, quod in resurrectione habebimus, quantam capiat in melius commutationem: utrum in simplicitatem spiritus cedat, ut totus homo jam spiritus sit; an quod magis puto, sed nondum plena fiducia confirmo, ita futurum sit spirituale corpus, ut propter ineffabilem quamdam facilitatem spirituale dicatur, servet tamen substantiam corporalem, quae per seipsam vivere ac sentire non possit, sed per illum qui ea utitur spiritum; neque enim et nunc, quia corpus dicitur animale, eadem est animae natura quae corporis: et utrum si corporis, quamvis jam immortalis atque incorruptibilis, natura servabitur, adjuvet tunc aliquid spiritum ad videndum ipsa visibilia, id est corporalia, sicut nunc tale aliquid nisi per corpus videre non possumus; an vero etiam tunc sine organo corporis valeat spiritus noster nosse corporalia (neque enim et Deus talia per sensus corporis novit); et multa alia quae in hac quaestione movere possunt, fateor me nondum alicubi legisse, quod mihi sufficere existimarem sive ad discendum sive ad docendum.

17. Ac per hoc si non displicet huic fratri mea qualiscumque cautela, interim propter quod scriptum est, Quoniam videbimus eum sicuti est (I Joan. III, 2), quantum possumus, cor mundum ad illam visionem ipso adjuvante praeparemus. De corpore autem spirituali pacatius et diligentius inquiramus, ne forte aliquid certum ac liquidum, si nobis hoc utile esse novit, secundum Scripturas suas Deus dignetur demonstrare. Si enim hoc invenerit inquisitio diligentior, tantam corporis futuram mutationem, ut possit videre invisibilia; non, ut opinor, talis potentia corporis menti auferet visionem, ut exterior homo videre Deum tunc possit, non possit interior: quasi tantum foris sit Deus ad hominem, et intus non sit in homine, cum apertissime scriptum sit, ut sit Deus omnia in omnibus (I Cor. XV, 28); aut ita sit intus ille qui sine ullis locorum spatiis ubique totus est, ut foris tantum videri ab exteriori homine possit, intus autem ab interiori non possit. Quae si absurdissime sentiuntur: magis enim sancti pleni erunt Deo; non inanes intrinsecus ab illo circumdabuntur extrinsecus; nec eaesi intrinsecus eum quo pleni erunt, non videbunt, et tantum forinsecus oculati eum quo circumdabuntur, videbunt: restat ut interim de visione Dei secundum interiorem hominem certissimi simus. Si autem etiam corpus mira commutatione hoc valuerit, aliud accedet, non illud abscedet.

CHAPTER V.

16. But concerning the spiritual body, which we shall have in the resurrection, how much commutation into better it may take: whether it yields into the simplicity of spirit, so that the whole man may now be spirit; or what I rather think, but do not yet confirm with full confidence, the spiritual body will be so, that on account of a certain ineffable facility it may be called spiritual, yet it may preserve the corporeal substance, which through itself cannot live and feel, but through that spirit which uses it; for neither now, because the body is called animal, is the same the nature of the soul which is of the body: and whether if the nature of the body, although now immortal and incorruptible, shall be preserved, it may then help the spirit somewhat for seeing those visible, that is corporeal things, just as now we cannot see any such thing except through the body; or truly even then without the organ of the body our spirit may be able to know corporeal things (for neither does God know such things through the senses of the body); and many other things which can move in this question, I confess that I have not yet read anywhere, what I might think to suffice me either for learning or for teaching.

17. And by this if my caution of whatever kind does not displease this brother, meanwhile for that which is written, Because we shall see Him as He is (1 John 3:2), as much as we can, let us prepare a pure heart for that vision He Himself helping. But concerning the spiritual body let us inquire more peacefully and diligently, lest perhaps God should deign to demonstrate something certain and liquid, if He knows this to be useful to us, according to His Scriptures. For if a more diligent inquiry shall find this, so great a future mutation of the body, that it can see invisible things; not, as I opine, such power of the body will take away vision from the mind, so that the exterior man can then see God, and the interior cannot: as if God were only outside to man, and were not inside in man, when it is most openly written, that God may be all in all (1 Cor. 15:28); or He who is everywhere whole without any spaces of places be so inside, that He can be seen only from the outside by the exterior man, but cannot be seen inside by the interior man. Which things if they are felt most absurdly: for rather the saints will be full of God; they will not be surrounded from the outside being empty from within by Him; nor being filled from within will they not see Him with whom they shall be full, and only being eyed from without see Him by whom they shall be surrounded: it remains that meanwhile we be most certain concerning the vision of God according to the interior man. If however also the body by a wonderful commutation shall have been able for this, another thing will be added, that thing will not depart.

18. Melius ergo illud affirmamus unde minime dubitamus, quod homo interior videbit Deum, qui modo solus potest videre charitatem, quae cum laudaretur dictum est, Deus charitas est (I Joan. IV, 8): solus potest videre pacem et sanctificationem, sine qua nemo potest videre Deum (Hebr. XII, 14). Neque enim charitatem, pacem, sanctificationem, et si qua sunt similia, videt modo ullus oculus carnis; quae tamen omnia jam videt, quantum potest, mentis oculus, tanto purius quanto purior: ut sine dubitatione Deum nos visuros esse credamus, sive inveniamus, sive non inveniamus quod de qualitate futuri corporis quaerimus; cum tamen corpus resurrecturum et immortale atque incorruptibile futurum non ambigamus, quoniam hinc sanctarum Scripturarum sententias apertissimas firmissimasque retinemus. Si autem iste frater quod de spirituali corpore adhuc requiro, jam sibi firmat esse certissimum, nisi placidus audiero docentem, ita ut ille quoque placidus me audiat inquirentem, habebit unde jure succenseat. Nunc tamen per Christum obsecro ut de illa asperitate litterarum mearum, qua eum non immerito offensum esse didici, veniam mihi ab illo impetres, et me rescriptis Domino adjuvante Iaetifices.

EPISTOLA CXLIX . Respondet ad quaestiones ex Psalmis, ex Apostolo, et ex Evangelio propositas a Paulino superius, in epistola centesima vicesima prima. Beatissimo et venerabiliter desiderabili et desiderabiliter venerabili, sancto sancteque charissimo fratri et coepiscopo, PAULINO, AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

CAPUT PRIMUM.

1. Quod de perventione tam prospera fratris et compresbyteri nostri Quinti, et qui cum eo navigaverunt, cito nos Dominus exhilaravit, nuntiantibus litteris Sanctitatis tuae, gratias agens ei qui recreat afflictos, et humiles consolatur, sinceritati cordis tui, occasione filii et condiaconi nostri Ruffini quae proxima occurrit, nunc rescripta persolvo: de littore namque Hipponensi profectus est. Et approbo misericordiae consilium quod tibi Dominus inspiravit, mihique insinuare dignatus es. Ipse et hoc adjuvet, ipse prosperet, qui jam curam nostram ex magna parte lenivit, quia pervectus et commendatus est charissimus homo, non solum bonis operibus, sed etiam sanctis orationibus tuis.

18. Better therefore we affirm that whence we doubt least, that the interior man will see God, who now alone can see charity, which when it was praised it was said, God is charity (1 John 4:8): alone can see peace and sanctification, without which no one can see God (Hebr. 12:14). For neither does any eye of the flesh now see charity, peace, sanctification, and if there are any similar things; all which however the eye of the mind now sees, as much as it can, by so much more purely as it is purer: so that without doubt we may believe that we shall see God, whether we find, or we do not find what we seek concerning the quality of the future body; when nevertheless we do not doubt that the body will rise again and will be immortal and incorruptible, since from here we retain the most open and firm sentences of the holy Scriptures. If however this brother what I still require concerning the spiritual body, already firms to himself to be most certain, unless I shall have heard him teaching placidly, so that he also may hear me inquiring placidly, he will have whence he may justly be incensed. Now nevertheless through Christ I beseech that concerning that asperity of my letters, by which I have learned him to have been not undeservedly offended, you may impetrate pardon for me from him, and you may gladden me with rescripts the Lord helping.

LETTER CXLIX. He responds to questions from the Psalms, from the Apostle, and from the Gospel proposed by Paulinus above, in the hundred and twenty-first letter. To the most blessed and venerably desirable and desirably venerable, holy and holily most dear brother and co-bishop, PAULINUS, AUGUSTINE, sends greeting in the Lord.

CHAPTER I.

1. Because the Lord has quickly gladdened us concerning the arrival so prosperous of our brother and fellow-presbyter Quintus, and those who sailed with him, your Holiness's letters announcing it, giving thanks to Him who recreates the afflicted, and consoles the humble, to the sincerity of your heart, on the occasion of our son and fellow-deacon Ruffinus which occurred most recently, I now pay back rescripts: for he set out from the shore of Hippo. And I approve the counsel of mercy which the Lord inspired in you, and you have deigned to insinuate to me. May He Himself help this also, may He Himself prosper it, who has already eased our care in great part, because that most dear man has been conveyed and commended, not only by good works, but also by your holy prayers.

2. Litterae sane Venerationis tuae, ubi multa quaesiisti, et quaerenda admonuisti, et quaerendo docuisti, ad me pervenerunt. Sed quas ipse continuo rescripsi per homines eorumdem sanctorum solatiorum nostrorum, sicut his tuis recentioribus comperi, non sunt redditae Venerationi tuae. In quibus quidem, quatenus ad interrogata responderim, recolere non valui; nec earum exemplum cum requisiissem, ubi hoc possem recognoscere, inveni. Ad nonnulla tamen me respondisse certus omnino sum, et ideo non ad omnia, quia ut cito finirem, festinatio perlatoris urgebat. Simul etiam miseram, sicut jusseras, et illius epistolae exemplum, quam tuae Charitati apud Carthaginem de corporum resurrectione rescripseram , ubi de usu membrorum exorta erat quaestio. Nunc ergo et hoc misi, et alterum alterius, quia nec ipsam in manus tuas pervenisse conjeci, eo quod iterum interrogasti quaedam quae jam me in ea respondisse lego et agnosco. Sed istam per quem direxerim nescio. Scripta quippe Charitatis tuae quibus eam reddidi, sicut etiam ipsa indicat , missa sunt mihi ab Hippone a nostris, cum essem apud sanctum fratrem et coepiscopum nostrum Bonifacium (nam eorum perlatorem non vidi), et continuo rescripta non distuli.

3. Quia ergo tunc, sicut scripsi, non potueram inspicere codices graecos propter quaedam psalmi decimi sexti, inspexi postea quos inveni. Et unus habebat, quod et latini nostri, Domine, perdens de terra dispertire eos: alius sicut ipse posuisti, A paucis de erra. Et illud quidem apertum habet sensum, perdens de terra quam eis dedisti, dispertire eos in gentibus: quod et factum eis est, cum gravi bello expugnati atque subversi sunt. Illud autem alterum quomodo accipiendum sit, non mihi occurrit; nisi quia in comparatione perditae multitudinis eorum, reliquiae salvae factae sunt, utique in paucis a quibus cos dispertiendos, hoc est dividendos atque separandos Scriptura praenuntiavit, dicens, Domine, a paucis, id est, a reliquiis quas ex illa gente salvas fecisti, de terra dispertire eos: ut terram intelligamus Ecclesiam haereditatemque fidelium atque sanctorum, quae dicitur et terra viventium, et quae etiam illo loco recte intelligi potest, Beati mites; quoniam ipsi haereditate possidebunt terram (Matth. V, 4). Cum autem dictum esset, A paucis de terra divide eos, additum est, in vita eorum; ut in manifesto futurum intelligeretur, dum hic vivunt. Separantur enim multi ab Ecclesia, sed cum moriuntur, qui tamen cum vivunt, per Sacramentorum communionem unitatisque catholicae videntur Ecclesiae copulati. Isti ergo divisi sunt a paucis qui ex illis crediderunt, de terra quam sicut agrum suum excolit pater agricola: divisi autem in vita sua, id est hic in manifesto, sicut videmus.

2. Indeed the letters of your Veneration, where you sought many things, and admonished things to be sought, and by seeking taught, reached me. But those which I myself immediately rescrit through the men of those same holy solaces of ours, as I have found by these more recent of yours, have not been returned to your Veneration. In which indeed, how far I responded to the things asked, I have not been able to recall; nor when I had sought the example of them, where I could recognize this, did I find it. To some things nevertheless I am altogether certain that I responded, and therefore not to all, because that I might finish quickly, the haste of the bearer was urging. At the same time also I had sent, as you had ordered, also the example of that letter, which I had rescript to your Charity at Carthage concerning the resurrection of bodies, where a question had arisen concerning the use of members. Now therefore both I have sent this, and another of the other, because I conjectured that neither itself had reached into your hands, for the reason that you asked again certain things which I read and recognize that I have already responded in it. But through whom I directed that one I do not know. Indeed the writings of your Charity by which I returned it, as itself also indicates, were sent to me from Hippo by our people, when I was with our holy brother and co-bishop Boniface (for I did not see the bearer of them), and immediately I did not defer rescripts.

3. Because therefore then, as I wrote, I had not been able to inspect the Greek codices on account of certain things of the sixteenth psalm, I inspected afterwards those which I found. And one had, what also our Latins have, Lord, destroying from the earth disperse them: another just as you yourself put it, From a few from the earth. And that indeed has an open sense, destroying from the earth which you gave to them, disperse them among the nations: which also was done to them, when they were fought and subverted in a grave war. But how that other is to be taken, does not occur to me; except because in comparison of their lost multitude, a remnant was made safe, surely in a few from whom Scripture foreannounced they were to be dispersed, that is divided and separated, saying, Lord, from a few, that is, from the remnant whom you made safe from that nation, from the earth disperse them: so that we may understand the earth to be the Church and the inheritance of the faithful and the saints, which is also called the land of the living, and which also in that place can be rightly understood, Blessed are the meek; for they shall possess the land by inheritance (Matt. 5:4). But when it had been said, From a few from the earth divide them, it was added, in their life; so that it might be understood to be future in the manifest, while they live here. For many are separated from the Church, but when they die, who nevertheless while they live, seem joined to the Church through the communion of the Sacraments and of catholic unity. These therefore are divided from the few who believed from among them, from the land which the father husbandman cultivates just as his own field: but divided in their life, that is here in the manifest, as we see.

Sequitur autem, Et de absconditis tuis adimpletus est venter eorum; id est, praeter hoc quod in manifesto divisi sunt, etiam de absconditis tuis quae in occulto reddis conscientiae malorum, adimpletus est venter eorum: ventrem posuit pro internorum latentiumque secretis.

4. Quod vero sequitur, Saturati sunt porcina ; jam quid mihi ex hoc videretur aperui. Sed quod alii codices habent, et verius habere perhibentur, quia diligentiora exemplaria, per accentus notam ejusdem verbi graeci ambiguitatem graeco scribendi more dissolvunt, obscurius est quidem, sed electiori sententiae videtur aptius convenire. Quia enim dixerat, Et de absconditis tuis adimpletus est venter eorum, quibus verbis occulta Dei judicia significata sunt; occulte quippe sunt miseri , etiam qui gaudent in malis, quos tradidit Deus in concupiscentias cordis eorum (Rom. I, 24): velut quaereretur unde possint cognosci qui in abscendito ira Dei adimpleti sunt, et responderetur quod in Evangelio dictum est, Ex fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos (Matth. VII, 16), continuo subjunctam est, Saturati sunt filiis, hoc est fructibus, quod evidentius dicitur, operibus suis. Unde alibi legitur, Ecce parturivit injustitiam, concepit dolorem, et peperit iniquitatem (Psal. VII, 15): et alibi, Deinde concupiscentia, cum conceperit, parit peccatum (Jacobi I, 15). Mali ergo filii, mala opera, quibus cognoscuntur, et qui de absconditis Dei judiciis internis cogitationum suarum tanquam in ventrem adimpleti sunt. Bona opera, boni filii sunt. Unde ad sponsam Ecclesiam dicitur: Dentes tui sicut grex detonsarum ascendens de lavucro, quae omnes geminos creant, et sterilis non est in illis (Cant. IV, 2). In quo gemino fetu geminum opus dilectionis agnoscitur, Domini Dei scilicet, et proximi: in quibus duobus praeceptis tota Lex pendet et Prophetae (Matth. XXII, 40).

5. Iste autem sensus, quo ita exponitur quod scriptum est, Saturati sunt filiis, non mihi occurrerat, cum ante rescriberem; sed recensui brevissimam quamdam ejusdem psalmi expositionem, quam jam olim dictaveram, et hoc satis breviter a me positum reperi. Inspexi etiam codices graecos, utrum dativus casus esset, quod dictum est, filiis, an genitivus, quo illa lingua utitur pro ablativo, et inveni genitivum: quod si ad verbum interpretaretur, scriptum esset, Saturati sunt filiorum; sed recte interpres sententiam secutus est, et latino more dixit, Saturati sunt filiis.

But it follows, And with your hidden things their belly is filled; that is, besides this that they are divided in the manifest, also with your hidden things which in secret you render to the conscience of the evil, their belly is filled: he put belly for the secrets of internal and latent things.

4. But that which follows, They are saturated with pork; already I have opened what seemed to me from this. But because other codices have, and are perhibited to have more truly, because more diligent exemplars, through the note of accent of the same Greek word dissolve the ambiguity in the Greek manner of writing, it is indeed more obscure, but seems to fit more aptly to a more select opinion. For because he had said, And with your hidden things their belly is filled, by which words the hidden judgments of God are signified; for hiddenly they are wretched, even those who rejoice in evil, whom God delivered into the concupiscences of their heart (Rom. 1:24): as if it were asked whence they can be known who in the hidden are filled with the wrath of God, and it were responded what was said in the Gospel, From their fruits you shall know them (Matt. 7:16), immediately was subjoined, They are saturated with children, that is with fruits, which is more evidently said, with their works. Whence elsewhere it is read, Behold he has travailed with injustice, conceived sorrow, and brought forth iniquity (Psalm 7:15): and elsewhere, Then concupiscence, when it has conceived, brings forth sin (James 1:15). Evil children, therefore, are evil works, by which they are known, and they who from the hidden judgments of God are filled in the internal of their thoughts as if in the belly. Good works are good children. Whence it is said to the spouse Church: Your teeth are as a flock of shorn sheep coming up from the washing, which all create twins, and there is not a sterile one among them (Cant. 4:2). In which twin offspring is recognized the twin work of charity, namely of the Lord God, and of the neighbor: on which two precepts the whole Law hangs and the Prophets (Matt. 22:40).

5. This sense, however, by which that which is written, They are saturated with children, is thus expounded, had not occurred to me, when I rescript before; but I reviewed a certain very brief exposition of the same psalm, which I had dictated already long ago, and I found this placed by me briefly enough. I inspected also the Greek codices, whether it was the dative case, that which was said, with children, or the genitive, which that language uses for the ablative, and I found the genitive: which if it were interpreted to the word, would be written, They are saturated of children; but rightly the interpreter followed the sense, and in the Latin manner said, They are saturated with children.

Quod vero sequitur, Et reliquerunt reliquias parvulis suis, existimo parvulos accipiendos manifestos carnis filios. Unde etiam secundum istam, non de porcina, sed de filiis expositionem, manet illa sententia qua dixerunt, Sanguis hujus super nos et super filios nostros (Id. XXVII, 25): ita enim reliquerunt operum suorum reliquias parvulis suis.

6. In quinto decimo autem psalmo, quod scriptum est, Mirificavit, vel, Mirificet omnes voluntates suas inter illos, nihil prohibet intelligi, imo et convenientius videtur, non, inter illos, sed, in illis. Sic enim graeci codices habent: saepe autem quod habet illa lingua, in illis. nostri interpretantur, inter illos, ubi videtur sententiae convenire. Accipiamus ergo, Sanctis qui sunt in terra ejus, mirificavit omnes voluntates suas in illis; quod plerique codices habent: et intelligamus, voluntates ejus, munera gratiae, quae gratis data est, id est, quia voluit, non quia debebatur. Unde est, Scuto bonae voluntatis tuae coronasti nos (Psal. V, 13); et, In voluntate tua deduxisti me (Psal. LXXII, 24); et, Voluntarie genuit nos verbo veritatis (Jacobi I, 18); et, Pluviam voluntariam segregans, Deus, haereditati tuae (Psal. LXVII, 10); et, Dividens propria unicuique prout vult (I Cor. XII, 11); et alia innumerabilia. Proinde, Mirificavit omnes voluntates suas in illis, in quibus nisi in sanctis qui in terra sunt ejus? Si enim terra, sicut supra ostendimus, potest accipi in bono, et ubi non additum est, ejus; quanto magis ubi dicitur, terra ejus! Miras ergo fecit omnes voluntates suas in illis: miras omnino fecit, quia eos ex desperatione mirabiliter liberavit.

7. Ex hac admiratione exclamat Apostolus, O altitudo divitiarum sapientiae et scientiae Dei! supra quippe dixerat, Conclusit enim Deus omnes in infidelitate, ut omnium misereatur (Rom. XI, 33, 32). Nam hoc etiam hic sequitur: Multiplicatae sunt infirmitates eorum; postea acceleraverunt. Infirmitates posuit pro peccatis, sicut ad Romanos Apostolus dicit, Si enim Christus, cum infirmi essemus adhuc juxta tempus pro impiis mortuus est: hos dixit infirmos quos impios. Deinde paulo post eamdem sententiam repetens, Commendat, inquit, suam charitatem Deus in nobis, quoniam cum adhuc peccatores essemus, Christus pro nobis mortuus est: quos infirmos supra, eos hic peccatores appellavit. Item in consequentibus hoc idem aliis verbis versans, Si enim cum inimici essemus, inquit, reconciliati sumus Deo per mortem Filii ejus (Id. V, 6, 8, 10). Ac per hoc in eo quod dictum est, Multiplicatae sunt infirmitates eorum, intelliguntur multiplicata peccata eorum.

But that which follows, And they left the remnants to their little ones, I think little ones are to be taken as manifest children of the flesh. Whence also according to that exposition, not of pork, but of children, remains that sentence by which they said, His blood be upon us and upon our children (Matt. 27:25): for so they left the remnants of their works to their little ones.

6. In the fifteenth psalm, however, that which is written, He has made wonderful, or, Let Him make wonderful all His wills among them, nothing prohibits it to be understood, indeed it seems also more convenient, not, among them, but, in them. For so the Greek codices have: but often what that language has, in them, our people interpret, among them, where it seems to fit the opinion. Let us therefore take, To the saints who are in His land, He has made wonderful all His wills in them; which most codices have: and let us understand, His wills, the gifts of grace, which was given freely, that is, because He willed, not because it was owed. Whence is, With the shield of your good will you have crowned us (Psalm 5:13); and, In your will you have led me (Psalm 72:24); and, Voluntarily he begot us by the word of truth (James 1:18); and, Separating a voluntary rain, O God, for your inheritance (Psalm 67:10); and, Dividing proper things to each one as He wills (1 Cor. 12:11); and innumerable others. Therefore, He has made wonderful all His wills in them, in whom except in the saints who are in His land? For if land, as we showed above, can be taken in the good, even where His is not added; how much more where it is said, His land! Wonderful therefore He made all His wills in them: wonderful altogether He made them, because He wonderfully delivered them from desperation.

7. From this admiration the Apostle exclaims, O the depth of the riches of the wisdom and of the knowledge of God! for above indeed he had said, For God has concluded all in infidelity, that He might have mercy on all (Rom. 11:33, 32). For this also here follows: Their infirmities are multiplied; afterwards they accelerated. He put infirmities for sins, just as the Apostle says to the Romans, For if Christ, when we were still infirm according to the time died for the impious: he said those infirm whom he said impious. Then a little after repeating the same opinion, God commends, he says, his charity in us, because when we were still sinners, Christ died for us: those whom he called infirm above, he here called sinners. Likewise in the following turning this same thing in other words, For if when we were enemies, he says, we were reconciled to God through the death of His Son (Id. 5:6, 8, 10). And by this in that which was said, Their infirmities are multiplied, are understood their multiplied sins.

Lex enim subintravit, ut abundaret delictum: sed quoniam ubi abundavit delictum, superabundavit gratia (Ibidem, 20), ideo postea acceleraverunt. Non enim venit ille vocare justos, sed peccatores: quia non est opus sanis medicus, sed aegrotantibus (Matth. IX, 13, 12); quorum scilicet multiplicatae sunt infirmitates, ut eis sanandis esset necessaria tantae gratiae medicina, et cui dimittuntur peccata multa, diligeret multum.

8. Hoc cinis vaccae et aspersio sanguinis, et cruentarum multiplicatio victimarum significabat, non efficiebat. Ideo deinceps dicit, Non congregabo conventicula eorum de sanguinibus. id est illorum sacrificiorum quae immolabantur in figura sanguinis Christi. Nec memor ero nominum eorum per labia mea. Nomina quippe illorum erant in multiplicatione infirmitatum; fornicatores, idolis servientes, adulteri, molles, masculorum concubitores, fures, avari, raptores, ebriosi, maledici, et quicumque alii regnum Dei non possidebunt. Sed ubi abundante peccato, superabundavit gratia, postea acceleraverunt. Haec quidem fuerunt, sed abluti sunt, sed sanctificati sunt, sed justificati sunt in nomine Domini Jesu Christi, et in Spiritu Dei nostri (I Cor. VI, 9-11): ideo non memor erit nominum illorum per labia sua. Sane codices emendatiores et electioris auctoritatis, non habent, voluntates suas, sed, voluntates meas; quod tantumdem valet, quia ex persona Filii dicitur. Ipse quippe loquitur, quem verba illa evidenter ostendunt, quibus et Apostoli usi sunt: Non derelinques animam meam in inferno, nec dabis sanctum tuum videre corruptionem (Act. II, 31, et XIII, 35). Eadem sunt utique munera gratiae Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti; et ideo rectissime et Filius eas potest dicere voluntates suas.

9. Quod vero in psalmo quinquagesimo octavo de Judaeis intelligitur, dicente, Ne occideris eos, nequando obtiviscantur Legis tuae, convenienter mihi videtur intelligi ita esse praenuntiatum: eamdem gentem etiam debellatam atque subversam, in populi victoris superstitiones non fuisse cessuram, sed in veteri Lege mansuram, ut apud eam esset testimonium Scripturarum toto orbe terrarum, unde Ecclesia fuerat evocanda. Nullo enim evidentiore documento ostenditur gentibus, quod saluberrime advertitur, non inopinatum et repentinum aliquid institutum spiritu praesumptionis humanae, ut Christi nomen in spe salutis aeternae tanta auctoritate praepolleat, sed olim fuisse prophetatum atque conscriptum. Nam ipsa prophetia quid aliud nisi a nostris putaretur esse conficta, si non de inimicorum codicibus probaretur? Ideo. Ne occideris eos; ne ipsius gentis nomen exstinxeris, nequando obliviscantur Legis tuae: quod utique fieret, si ritus et sacra Gentilium colere compulsi penitus, qualecumque nomen religionis suae minime retinerent. Quod in eorum figura etiam de Cain scriptum est, quod constituit in eo Dominus signum, ne quis occideret eum (Gen. IV, 15).

For the Law entered in, that the delict might abound: but because where the delict abounded, grace superabounded (Ibid. 20), therefore afterwards they accelerated. For He did not come to call the just, but sinners: because the physician is not necessary to the healthy, but to the sick (Matt. 9:13, 12); of whom surely their infirmities were multiplied, so that for healing them there might be necessary the medicine of so great grace, and to whom many sins are forgiven, he would love much.

8. This the ash of the heifer and the sprinkling of blood, and the multiplication of bloody victims was signifying, not effecting. Therefore subsequently he says, I will not gather their conventicles from bloods, that is of those sacrifices which were immolated in the figure of the blood of Christ. Neither will I be mindful of their names through my lips. For their names were in the multiplication of infirmities; fornicators, serving idols, adulterers, soft, those who lie with males, thieves, covetous, robbers, drunkards, railers, and whoever others shall not possess the kingdom of God. But where sin abounding, grace superabounded, afterwards they accelerated. These indeed they were, but they are washed, but they are sanctified, but they are justified in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and in the Spirit of our God (1 Cor. 6:9-11): therefore He will not be mindful of their names through His lips. Indeed the more emended codices and of more select authority, do not have, His wills, but, my wills; which is worth just as much, because it is said from the person of the Son. For He Himself speaks, whom those words evidently show, which also the Apostles used: You will not leave my soul in hell, nor will you give your holy one to see corruption (Acts 2:31, and 13:35). The same are surely the gifts of the grace of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit; and therefore most rightly also the Son can call them His wills.

9. But that which in the fifty-eighth psalm is understood concerning the Jews, saying, Do not kill them, lest they should ever forget your Law, it seems to me conveniently to be understood to be thus foreannounced: that the same nation even fought and subverted, would not have yielded into the superstitions of the victor people, but would remain in the old Law, so that with it there might be a testimony of the Scriptures in the whole world, whence the Church was to be called out. For by no more evident document is it shown to the nations, what is most healthily adverted, that it was not an unexpected and sudden thing instituted by the spirit of human presumption, so that the name of Christ should so much prevail in authority in the hope of eternal salvation, but was of old prophesied and written. For the prophecy itself, what else would it be thought but to have been feigned by our people, if it were not proved from the codices of enemies? Therefore, Do not kill them; do not extinguish the name of the nation itself, lest they should ever forget your Law: which surely would happen, if being compelled to worship the rites and sacred things of the Gentiles altogether, they should least retain any kind of name of their religion. Which in their figure also was written concerning Cain, that the Lord set a mark in him, lest anyone should kill him (Gen. 4:15).

Denique cum dixisset, Ne occideris eos, nequando obliviscantur Legis tuae; velut quaereretur quid de illis esset faciendum, ut in aliquos usus testimonii veritatis non occidantur, id est, non consumantur, neque obliviscantur Legis Dei; continuo subjunxit: Disperge illos in virtute tua. Si enim in uno loco essent terrarum, non adjuvarent testimonio praedicationem Evangelii, quae fructificat toto orbe terrarum. Ideo disperge illos in virtute tua, ut ejus ipsius cujus fuerunt negatores, persecutores, interfectores, ubique sint testes per ipsam Legem, quam non obliviscuntur, in qua est ille prophetatus, quem non sequuntur. Neque enim eis aliquid prodest, quod eam non obliviscuntur: aliud est enim legem Dei habere in memoria, aliud in intellectu et effectu.

10. In sexagesimo autem septimo psalmo, quod quaeris quid sit, Verumtamen Deus conquassabit capita inimicorum suorum, verticem capilli perambulantium in delictis suis; non mihi videtur aliud dictum quam, Deus conquassabit capita inimicorum suorum nimium superbientium, nimium se extollentium in delictis suis. Per hyperbolen quippe significavit superbiam tantum se extollentem, et tanta elatione incedentem, quasi capilli verticem perambulando calcaret. Item in eodem psalmo quod scriptum est, Lingua canum tuorum ex inimicis ab ipso; non semper in malo accipiendi sunt canes. Alioquin non reprehenderentur apud prophetam canes muti nescientes latrare, et amantes dormitare (Isai. LVI, 10): profecto enim laudabiles canes essent, si et latrare scirent, et vigilare amarent. Et certe illi trecenti in numero per crucis litteram sacratissimo non eligerentur ad victoriam faciendam, qui tanquam canes lamberent aquam (Judic. VII, 7), nisi aliquid magnum significarent. Vigilant enim et latrant boni canes, et pro domo et pro domino, et pro grege et pro pastore. Denique et hic in Ecclesiae laudibus, cum prophetia exereretur, lingua canum est commemorata, non dentes. Tuorum autem canum, dixit, ex inimicis, id est, ut qui erant inimici tui fierent canes tui, et latrarent pro te, qui saeviebant in te. Addidit autem, ab ipso, ut non a seipsis hoc factum intelligerent, sed ab ipso, id est misericordia ejus et gratia.

CAPUT II.

11. De prophetis quod ait Apostolus, Quosdam quidem dedit Deus in Ecclesia apostolos, quosdam autem prophetas (Eph. IV, 11), hoc intelligo quod ipse scripsisti, prophetas eos dictos isto loco, ex quibus Agabus erat (Act. XI, 27, 28), non illos qui venturum in carne Dominum prophetaverunt. Evangelistas vero invenimus, quos apostolos fuisse non legimus; sicut fuerunt Lucas et Marcus.

Finally when he had said, Do not kill them, lest they should ever forget your Law; as if it were asked what was to be done concerning them, so that for some uses of the testimony of truth they may not be killed, that is, may not be consumed, nor forget the Law of God; immediately he subjoined: Disperse them in your power. For if they were in one place of the earth, they would not help by testimony the preaching of the Gospel, which fructifies in the whole world. Therefore disperse them in your power, so that of that same one whose deniers, persecutors, killers they were, they may everywhere be witnesses through the Law itself, which they do not forget, in which He is prophesied, whom they do not follow. For it does not profit them anything, that they do not forget it: for it is one thing to have the law of God in memory, another in understanding and effect.

10. In the sixty-seventh psalm, however, what you ask what it is, Nevertheless God shall crush the heads of his enemies, the hairy crown of those walking in their delicts; it does not seem to me anything else said than, God shall crush the heads of his enemies too much proud, too much extolling themselves in their delicts. For through hyperbole he signified pride so much extolling itself, and walking with so much elation, as if by walking it should trample the hairy crown. Likewise in the same psalm what is written, The tongue of your dogs from the enemies from Him; dogs are not always to be taken in the evil. Otherwise there would not be reprehended with the prophet dumb dogs not knowing how to bark, and loving to slumber (Isai. 56:10): for truly they would be laudable dogs, if they both knew how to bark, and loved to watch. And certainly those three hundred in number through the letter of the cross most sacred would not be elected for making victory, who just as dogs should lap the water (Judg. 7:7), unless they signified something great. For good dogs watch and bark, both for the house and for the master, and for the flock and for the shepherd. Finally also here in the praises of the Church, when the prophecy was exerted, the tongue of dogs was commemorated, not teeth. Of your however dogs, he said, from the enemies, that is, so that those who were your enemies might become your dogs, and might bark for you, who were raging against you. But he added, from Him, so that they should not understand this done by themselves, but from Him, that is by His mercy and grace.

CHAPTER II.

11. Concerning the prophets of whom the Apostle says, God has given some indeed in the Church apostles, some however prophets (Eph. 4:11), I understand this what you yourself wrote, that they were called prophets in this place, from whom Agabus was (Acts 11:27, 28), not those who prophesied the Lord about to come in the flesh. Truly we find evangelists, whom we do not read to have been apostles; just as were Luke and Mark.

Pastores autem et doctores, quos maxime ut discernerem voluisti, eosdem puto esse, sicut et tibi visum est, ut non alios pastores, alios doctores intelligamus; sed ideo cum praedixisset pastores, subjunxisse doctores, ut intelligerent pastores ad officium suum pertinere doctrinam. Ideo enim non ait, Quosdam autem pastores, quosdam vero doctores; cum superiora ipso locutionis genere distingueret dicendo, Quosdam quidem apostolos, quosdam autem prophetas, quosdam vero evangelistas: sed hoc tanquam unum aliquid duobus nominibus amplexus est, quosdam autem pastores et doctores.

12. Illa plane difficillime discernuntur, ubi ad Timotheum scribens ait, Obsecro itaque primum omnium fieri obsecrationes, orationes, interpellationes, gratiarum actiones (I Tim. II, 1). Secundum graecum enim eloquium discernenda sunt: nam nostri interpretes vix reperiuntur, qui ea diligenter et scienter transferre curaverint. Ecce enim sicut ea ipse posuisti, Obsecro fieri obsecrationes, non eodem verbo utrumque dixit Apostolus, qui utique graece illam scripsit epistolam; sed pro eo quod in latino est, Obsecro, ille graece dixit, παρακαλῶ. Pro eo vero quod latinus vester habet, obsecrationes, ille posuit, δεήσεις. Proinde alii codices in quibus et nostri sunt, non habent, obsecrationes, sed, deprecationes. Tria porro quae sequuntur, orationes, interpellationes, gratiarum actiones, plerique latini codices sic habent.

13. Unde si velimus secundum latinae linguae proprietates ista discernere more loquendi, nostram vel qualemcumque sententiam fortasse tenebimus; sed mirum si sententiam graeci sermonis vel consuetudinis obtinebimus. Precationem, et deprecationem, multi nostri hoc idem putant, et hoc quotidiano usu jam omnino praevaluit. Qui autem distinctius latine locuti sunt, precationibus utebantur in optandis bonis, deprecationibus vero in devitandis malis. Precari enim dicebant esse precando bona optare; imprecari mala, quod vulgo jam dicitur, maledicere: deprecari autem, mala precando depellere. Sed usitatum jam loquendi modum potius sequamur; et sive precationes sive deprecationes invenerimus, quas Graeci δεήσεις vocant, non putemus emendandum esse. Orationes vero, quas graecus habet προσευχάς, distinguere a precibus vel precationibus omnino difficile est. Quod vero quidam codices non habent, orationes, sed, adorationes, quia non dictum est in graeco εὐχάς, sed προσευχάς: non arbitror scienter interpretatum; προσευχάς enim orationes dici a Graecis notissimum est. Et utique aliud est orare, aliud adorare. Denique non isto verbo, sed alio legitur in graeco, Dominum Deum tuum adorabis (Matth. IV, 10); et, Adorabo ad templum sanctum tuum (Psal. V, 8); et si qua similia.

But pastors and doctors, whom you willed especially that I should discern, I think to be the same, just as it also seemed to you, so that we should not understand some to be pastors, others doctors; but therefore when he had foretold pastors, he subjoined doctors, that they might understand that doctrine pertains to the office of pastors. For therefore he does not say, Some however pastors, some truly doctors; when he distinguished the superior ones by that very genus of elocution saying, Some indeed apostles, some however prophets, some truly evangelists: but he embraced this as if one certain thing by two names, some however pastors and doctors.

12. Those truly are discerned with the greatest difficulty, where writing to Timothy he says, I beseech therefore first of all that there be made obsecrations, orations, interpellations, thanksgivings (1 Tim. 2:1). For they are to be discerned according to the Greek elocution: for our interpreters are scarcely found, who have taken care to transfer them diligently and knowingly. For behold just as you yourself put them, I beseech that there be made obsecrations, the Apostle did not say both by the same word, who surely wrote that epistle in Greek; but for that which is in Latin, I beseech, he said in Greek, parakalo. For that truly which your Latin has, obsecrations, he put, deeseis. Therefore other codices in which also ours are, do not have, obsecrations, but, deprecations. Furthermore the three which follow, orations, interpellations, thanksgivings, most Latin codices have thus.

Whence if we should wish according to the properties of the Latin tongue to discern those by the manner of speaking, we shall perhaps hold our own or whatever opinion; but it is a wonder if we shall obtain the opinion of the Greek speech or custom. Precation, and deprecation, many of ours think this same thing, and this by daily use has already altogether prevailed. But those who have spoken more distinctly in Latin, used precations in desiring good things, but deprecations in avoiding evil things. For they said that to pray was to desire good things by praying; to imprecate evil things, which is now commonly said, to curse: but to deprecate, to drive away evil things by praying. But let us follow the already accustomed mode of speaking; and whether we shall find precations or deprecations, which the Greeks call deeseis, let us not think it is to be emended. Truly orations, which the Greek has proseuchas, to distinguish from prayers or precations is altogether difficult. But that which certain codices do not have, orations, but, adorationes, because it was not said in the Greek euchas, but proseuchas: I do not judge to have been interpreted knowingly; for that proseuchas are called orations by the Greeks is most known. And surely it is one thing to pray, another to adore. Finally not by this word, but by another is read in the Greek, The Lord your God you shall adore (Matt. 4:10); and, I will adore at your holy temple (Psalm 5:8); and if there are any similar things.

14. Pro interpellationibus autem quod nostri habent, secundum codices, credo, vestros, postulationes posuisti. Haec interim duo, id est quod alii postulationes, alii interpellationes interpretati sunt, unum verbum transferre voluerunt quod graecus habet, ἐντεύξεις. Et profecto advertis, et nosti aliud esse interpellare, aliud postulare. Non enim solemus dicere, Postulant interpellaturi, sed, Interpellant postulaturi: verumtamen ex vicinitate verbum usurpatum, cui propinquitas ipsa impetrat intellectum, non est velut censoria notatione culpandum. Nam et de ipso Domino Jesu Christo dictum est quod interpellat pro nobis (Rom. VIII, 34): numquidnam interpellat, et non etiam postulat? Imo vero quia postulat, pro eo positum est, interpellat. Evidenter quippe alibi de eo dicitur: Et si quis peccaverit, advocatum habemus apud Patrem, Jesum Christum justum, et ipse est exoratio pro peccatis nostris (I Joan. II, 1, 2). Quanquam fortassis codices apud vos etiam in eo loco de Domino Jesu Christo non habent, interpellat pro nobis, sed, postulat pro nobis: in graeco enim, quo verbo hic positae sunt interpellationes, quas ipse posuisti postulationes, ipsum et illic verbum est, ubi scriptum est, interpellat pro nobis.

15. Cum igitur et qui precatur oret, et qui orat precetur, et qui interpellat Deum, ad hoc interpellet ut oret et precetur; quid sibi vult quod ista ita posuit Apostolus, ut non sit eorum negligenda distinctio? Excepto itaque nomine generali, et salva loquendi consuetudine, secundum quam sive dicas precationem, sive orationem, sive interpellationem, vel postulationem, una eademque res intelligitur; aliqua etiam singulorum istorum proprietas inquirenda est; sed ad eam liquido pervenire difficile est: multa quippe hinc dici possunt quae improbanda non sint.

16. Sed eligo in his verbis hoc intelligere, quod omnis vel pene omnis frequentat Ecclesia, ut precationes accipiamus dictas, quas facimus in celebratione Sacramentorum, antequam illud quod est in Domini mensa incipiat benedici: orationes, cum benedicitur et sanctificatur, et ad distribuendum comminuitur; quam totam petitionem fere omnis Ecclesia dominica oratione concludit. Ad quem intellectum etiam verbi graeci origo nos adjuvat. Nam eam quam dicunt εὐχήν, raro Ita Scriptura ponit ut intelligatur oratio: sed plerique et multo usitatius votum appellat εὐχήν, προσευχήν vero, quod verbum ita positum est unde tractamus, semper orationem vocat. Unde hanc verbi originem, sicut superius dixi, nonnulli minus erudite intuentes, προσευχήν non orationem, sed adorationem dicere voluerunt, quae potius προσκύνησις dicitur: sed quia oratio interdum vocatur εὐχή, adoratio putata est προσευχή.

14. But for interpellations that which ours have, according to your codices, I believe, you put postulations. These meanwhile two, that is what some interpreted postulations, others interpellations, they willed to transfer one word which the Greek has, enteuxeis. And surely you advert, and you know it is one thing to interpellate, another to postulate. For we are not accustomed to say, They postulate being about to interpellate, but, They interpellate being about to postulate: nevertheless from vicinity the word used, to which the proximity itself impetrates understanding, is not to be culled as if by censorial notation. For also concerning the Lord Jesus Christ Himself it was said that He interpellates for us (Rom. 8:34): does He then interpellate, and not also postulate? Nay truly because He postulates, for it is put, He interpellates. Evidently elsewhere it is said concerning Him: And if anyone shall have sinned, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the just, and He Himself is the exoration for our sins (1 John 2:1, 2). Although perhaps the codices with you even in that place concerning the Lord Jesus Christ do not have, He interpellates for us, but, He postulates for us: for in Greek, by which word here are placed interpellations, which you yourself put postulations, it is the same word also there, where it is written, He interpellates for us.

15. When therefore both he who beseeches prays, and he who prays beseeches, and he who interpellates God, interpellates for this that he may pray and beseech; what does it want for itself that the Apostle thus placed those things, so that their distinction is not to be neglected? Therefore the general name being excepted, and the custom of speaking being saved, according to which whether you say precation, or oration, or interpellation, or postulation, one and the same thing is understood; some property also of each of these is to be inquired; but to arrive at it liquidly is difficult: for many things can be said from here which are not to be improbated.

16. But I elect to understand in these words this, which all or almost all the Church frequents, so that we take precations as said, which we make in the celebration of the Sacraments, before that which is on the Lord's table begins to be blessed: orations, when it is blessed and sanctified, and is broken for distributing; which whole petition almost all the Church concludes with the Lord's prayer. To which understanding also the origin of the Greek word helps us. For that which they call euchen, rarely Scripture thus places so that oration is understood: but mostly and much more customarily it calls a vow euchen, but proseuchen, which word thus is placed whence we treat, it always calls oration. Whence this origin of the word, as I said above, some beholding less eruditely, willed proseuchen to say not oration, but adoration, which rather is called proskynesis: but because oration is sometimes called euche, proseuche was thought adoration.

Porro si usitatius, ut dixi, in Scripturis votum appellatur εὐχή, excepto nomine generali orationis, ea proprie intelligenda est oratio, quam facimus ad votum, id est πρὸς εὐχήν. Voventur autem omnia quae offeruntur Deo, maxime sancti altaris oblatio; quo Sacramento praedicatur nostrum illud votum maximum, quo nos vovimus in Christo esse mansuros, utique in compage corporis Christi. Cujus rei sacramentum est, quod unus panis, unum corpus multi sumus (I Cor. X, 17). Ideo in hujus sanctificationis praeparatione, existimo Apostolum jussisse proprie fieri προσευχάς, id est orationes, vel, ut nonnulli minus perite interpretati sunt, adorationes; hoc est enim ad votum, quod usitatius in Scripturis nuncupatur εὐχή. Interpellationes autem, sive, ut vestri codices habent, postulationes, fiunt cum populus benedicitur: tunc enim antistites, velut advocati, susceptos suos per manus impositionem misericordissimae offerunt potestati. Quibus peractis, et participato tanto Sacramento, gratiarum actio cuncta concludit, quam in his etiam verbis ultimam commendavit Apostolus.

17. Haec autem causa praecipua fuit ista dicendi, ut his breviter perstrictis atque significatis, non putaretur negligendum esse quod sequitur, pro omnibus hominibus, pro regibus, et his qui in sublimitate sunt, ut quietam et tranquillam vitam agamus in omni pietate et charitate: ne quisquam, sicut se habet humanae cogitationis infirmitas, existimaret non esse ista facienda pro his a quibus persecutionem patiebatur Ecclesia, cum membra Christi ex omni essent hominum genere colligenda. Unde adjungit et dicit: Hoc enim bonum et acceptum est coram Salvatore nostro Deo, qui omnes homines vult salvos fieri, et in agnitionem veritatis venire. Et ne quisquam diceret posse esse salutis viam in bona conversatione et unius Dei omnipotentis cultu, sine participatione corporis et sanguinis Christi; Unus enim Deus, inquit, et unus mediator Dei et hominum homo Christus Jesus: ut illud quod dixerat, omnes homines vult salvos fieri, nullo alio modo intelligatur praestari, nisi per mediatorem, non Deum, quod semper Verbum erat, sed hominem Christum Jesum, cum Verbum caro factum est, et habitavit in nobis (Joan. I, 14).

18. Unde nec illud moveat te, quod de Judaeis idem apostolus ait: Secundum Evangelium quidem inimici propter vos; secundum electionem autem dilecti propter patres (Rom. XI, 28). Altitudo quippe illa divitiarum sapientiae et scientiae Dei, et illa inscrutabilia judicia ejus, et investigabiles viae ejus, hanc fidelibus cordibus magnam ingerunt admirationem, qui de illius sapientia pertendente a fine usque ad finem fortiter, et omnia suaviter disponente (Sap. VIII, 1) non dubitant, quid sit quod ei placet ut nascantur, crescant ac multiplicentur hi, quos etsi malos ipse non fecit, tamen malos futuros esse praescivit.

Furthermore if more customarily, as I said, in the Scriptures a vow is called euche, the general name of oration being excepted, that is properly to be understood oration, which we make to a vow, that is pros euchen. But all things are vowed which are offered to God, especially the oblation of the holy altar; by which Sacrament that greatest vow of ours is preached, by which we vowed that we would remain in Christ, surely in the structure of the body of Christ. Of which thing it is a sacrament, that being one bread, one body we many are (1 Cor. 10:17). Therefore in the preparation of this sanctification, I think the Apostle to have ordered properly proseuchas to be made, that is orations, or, as some less skillfully interpreted, adorationes; for this is to a vow, which more customarily in the Scriptures is named euche. But interpellations, or, as your codices have, postulations, are made when the people is blessed: for then the bishops, as if advocates, offer their suscepted ones through the imposition of hands to the most merciful power. Which having been performed, and so great a Sacrament having been participated, thanksgiving concludes all things, which in these words also the Apostle commended last.

17. But this was the chief cause of saying those things, so that these briefly having been touched upon and signified, it should not be thought that what follows is to be neglected, for all men, for kings, and those who are in sublimity, so that we may lead a quiet and tranquil life in all piety and charity: lest anyone, just as the infirmity of human thought has itself, should think that those things were not to be performed for those from whom the Church was suffering persecution, when the members of Christ were to be gathered from every genus of men. Whence he joins and says: For this is good and acceptable before our Savior God, who wills all men to be made safe, and to come into the recognition of truth. And lest anyone should say that there could be a way of salvation in good conduct and the worship of one God omnipotent, without the participation of the body and blood of Christ; For one God, he says, and one mediator of God and of men the man Christ Jesus: so that that which he had said, who wills all men to be made safe, should be understood to be provided in no other way, except through the mediator, not God, which always the Word was, but the man Christ Jesus, when the Word was made flesh, and dwelt in us (John 1:14).

18. Whence neither let that move you, what the same apostle says concerning the Jews: According to the Gospel indeed enemies on account of you; but according to election beloved on account of the fathers (Rom. 11:28). For surely that depth of the riches of the wisdom and of the knowledge of God, and those inscrutable judgments of His, and His unsearchable ways, bring this great admiration to faithful hearts, who concerning His wisdom reaching from end even to end strongly, and disposing all things sweetly (Wisd. 8:1) do not doubt, what it is that pleases Him so that they are born, grow and are multiplied, those whom although He Himself did not make evil, nevertheless He foreknew would be evil.

Nimis enim consilium ejus in abdito est, quo etiam malis bene utitur ad provectum bonorum, etiam in hoc mirificans omnipotentiam bonitatis suae: quia sicut illorum nequitiae est male uti bonis operibus ejus, sic illius sapientiae est bene uti malis operibus eorum.

19. Hanc igitur altitudinem sacramenti sic commendat Apostolus: Nolo vos ignorare, fratres, hoc sacramentum, ut non sitis vobis sapientes, quia caecitas ex parte in Israel facta est, donec plenitudo Gentium intraret, et sic omnis Israel salvus fieret (Rom. XI, 25, 26). Ex parte, dixit, quia non omnes excaecati sunt: erant enim ex illisqui Christum cognoverunt. Plenitudo autem Gentium in his intrat, qui secundum propositum vocati sunt; et sic omnis Israel salvus fiet, quia et ex Judaeis et ex Gentibus, qui secundum propositum vocati sunt, ipsi verus sunt Israel, de quo dicit idem Apostolus, Et super Israel Dei (Galat. VI, 16): illos autem dicit Israel secundum carnem; Videte, inquit, Israel secundum carnem (I Cor. X, 18). Deinde interponit testimonium prophetae, Veniet ex Sion, qui eripiat et avertat impietatem ab Jacob; et hoc illis a me testamentum, cum abstulero peccata eorum (Isai. LIX, 20): non utique omnium Judaeorum, sed dilectorum .

20. Hinc adjungit ea, quae inquirenda posuisti, Secundum Evangelium quidem inimici propter vos. Pretium quippe redemptionis nostrae sanguis est Christi, qui utique nonnisi ab inimicis potuit occidi. Hic est ille usus malorum in provectum bonorum. Quod vero adjungit, secundum electionem autem dilecti propter patres, hinc ostendit non illos inimicos, sed electos esse dilectos. Sed Scripturae mos est ita loqui de parte tanquam de toto: sicut Corinthios in primis Epistolae suae partibus, ita laudat tanquam omnes tales sint, cum essent laudabiles quidam eorum; et postea in nonnullis Epistolae ipsius locis, ita reprehendit tanquam omnes culpabiles essent, propter quosdam qui tales erant. Istam divinarum Scripturarum consuetudinem per omne corpus Litterarum ejus creberrime sparsam, quisquis diligenter adverterit, multa dissolvit quae inter se videntur esse contraria. Inimicos ergo alios dicit, alios dilectos: sed quia in uno populo erant, velut eosdem ipsos dicere videtur. Quanquam et ex ipsis inimici qui crucifixerunt Dominum, plerique conversi sunt, et apparuerunt electi. Tunc electi, quando conversi, quantum ad salutis initium: quantum vero ad Dei praescientiam, non tunc electi, sed ante constitutionem mundi, sicut idem dicit apostolus, quod elegerit nos ante mundi constitutionem (Eph. I, 4).

For His counsel is too much in the hidden, by which also He uses evil things well for the profit of good things, even in this making wonderful the omnipotence of His goodness: because just as it is of the iniquity of those to use His good works badly, so it is of His wisdom to use their evil works well.

19. This depth therefore of the sacrament the Apostle thus commends: I do not will you to be ignorant, brethren, of this sacrament, so that you be not wise to yourselves, because blindness in part was made in Israel, until the fullness of the Gentiles should enter, and so all Israel should be made safe (Rom. 11:25, 26). In part, he said, because not all were blinded: for there were from among them who recognized Christ. But the fullness of the Gentiles enters in those, who are called according to the purpose; and so all Israel will be made safe, because both from the Jews and from the Gentiles, who are called according to the purpose, they themselves are the true Israel, concerning whom the same Apostle says, And upon the Israel of God (Gal. 6:16): but those he calls Israel according to the flesh; See, he says, Israel according to the flesh (1 Cor. 10:18). Then he interposes the testimony of the prophet, There shall come from Sion, He who may rescue and turn away impiety from Jacob; and this is my testament to them, when I shall have taken away their sins (Isai. 59:20): not surely of all Jews, but of the beloved.

20. Hence he joins those things, which you set forth to be inquired into, According to the Gospel indeed enemies on account of you. For surely the price of our redemption is the blood of Christ, which certainly could not be slain except by enemies. This is that use of evil things for the profit of good things. But what he joins, but according to election beloved on account of the fathers, from here he shows that those are not enemies, but the elect are beloved. But it is the custom of Scripture thus to speak of the part as if of the whole: just as in the first parts of his Epistle he so praises the Corinthians as if all were such, when some of them were laudable; and afterwards in several places of the same Epistle, he so reproves as if all were blameworthy, on account of certain ones who were such. This custom of the divine Scriptures, very frequently scattered through the whole body of its Letters, whoever diligently observes, dissolves many things which seem to be contrary to each other. Therefore he calls some enemies, others beloved: but because they were in one people, he seems to speak as if of the same ones themselves. Although also from those same enemies who crucified the Lord, many were converted, and appeared as elect. Then elect, when converted, as much as pertains to the beginning of salvation: but as much as pertains to the foreknowledge of God, not then elect, but before the constitution of the world, just as the same apostle says, that He chose us before the constitution of the world (Eph. 1:4).

Duobus itaque modis, ipsi inimici qui dilecti: sive quia in uno populo utrique fuerant; sive quia ex inimicis saevientibus usque ad sanguinem Christi, quidam eorum dilecti facti erant secundum electionem quae latebat in praescientia Dei. Ad hoc enim addidit, propter patres; quia id quod patribus promissum est oportebat impleri, sicut circa finem Epistolae ad Romanos ait: Dico enim Christum ministrum fuisse circumcisionis propter veritatem Dei, ad confirmandas promissiones patrum. Gentes autem super misericordia glorificare Deum (Rom. XV, 8, 9). Secundum istam misericordiam dictum est, inimici propter vos: quod et supra dixerat, Illorum delicto salus Gentibus.

21. Cum autem dixisset, secundum electionem dilecti propter patres, addidit, Sine poenitentia enim sunt dona et vocatio Dei. Vides certe illos significari, qui pertinent ad numerum praedestinatorum. De quibus alio loco dicit, Scimus quia diligentibus Deum omnia cooperantur in bonum, his qui secundum propositum vocati sunt . Multi enim sunt vocati, pauci vero electi (Matth. XXII, 14): qui vero electi, ipsi sunt secundum propositum vocati; in quibus Dei procul dubio praescientia falli non potest. Hos praescivit et praedestinavit conformes imaginis Filii sui, ut sit ipse primogenitus in multis fratribus. Quos autem praedestinavit, illos et vocavit. Haec vocatio est secundum propositum; haec est sine poenitentia. Quos autem vocavit, illos et justificavit: quos autem justificavit, illos et glorificavit. Si Deus pro nobis, quis contra nos (Rom. V, 28-31)?

22. Non sunt in ista vocatione, qui in fide quae per dilectionem operatur (Galat. V, 6), etiamsi aliquantum ambulant, non perseverant usque in finem. Et utique potuerunt rapi, ne malitia mutaret intellectum eorum (Sap. IV, 11), si ad illam praedestinationem et vocationem, quae secundum propositum et sine poenitentia est, pertinerent. At ne quisquam praesumptor ita de occultis judicet alienis, ut dicat, Ideo non rapti sunt ex hac vita, antequam essent fidei desertores, quia in eadem vita non fideliter ambulabant, et hoc in eorum cordibus noverat Dominus, quamvis hominibus aliter appareret: quid dicturus est de infantulis parvulis, qui plerique accepto in illa aetate christianae gratiae Sacramento, cum sine dubio pertinerent ad vitam aeternam regnumque coelorum, si continuo ex hac vita emigrarent, sinuntur crescere, et nonnulli etiam apostatae fiunt? Unde, nisi quia non pertinent ad illam praedestinationem, et secundum propositum ac sine poenitentia vocationem? Cur autem ad eam alii pertineant, alii non pertineant, occulta causa esse potest, injusta esse non potest. Numquid enim iniquitas apud Deum? Absit (Rom. IX, 14).

In two ways therefore, the enemies themselves are the beloved: whether because both had been in one people; or because from the enemies raging even to the blood of Christ, certain of them had been made beloved according to the election which lay hidden in the foreknowledge of God. For to this he added, on account of the fathers; because it was fitting that that which was promised to the fathers be fulfilled, just as near the end of the Epistle to the Romans he says: For I say that Christ was a minister of the circumcision on account of the truth of God, to confirm the promises of the fathers. But the Gentiles to glorify God upon mercy (Rom. 15:8, 9). According to that mercy it was said, enemies on account of you: which he had also said above, By their offense salvation is to the Gentiles.

21. But when he had said, according to election beloved on account of the fathers, he added, For without repentance are the gifts and the vocation of God. You surely see that those are signified, who belong to the number of the predestined. Concerning whom in another place he says, We know that for those who love God all things work together for good, for those who are called according to the purpose. For many are called, but few are elect (Matth. 22:14): but those who are elect, they themselves are called according to the purpose; in whom without doubt the foreknowledge of God cannot be deceived. These He foreknew and predestined to be conformed to the image of His Son, so that He might be the firstborn among many brothers. But those whom He predestined, those He also called. This vocation is according to the purpose; this is without repentance. But those whom He called, those He also justified: but those whom He justified, those He also glorified. If God is for us, who is against us (Rom. 8:28-31)?

22. They are not in that vocation, who in the faith which works through love (Gal. 5:6), even if for a little while they walk, do not persevere until the end. And surely they could have been snatched away, lest malice should change their understanding (Wisd. 4:11), if they pertained to that predestination and vocation, which is according to the purpose and without repentance. But lest any presumptuous person should so judge concerning the hidden things of others, as to say, Therefore they were not snatched from this life before they were deserters of the faith, because in the same life they were not walking faithfully, and this the Lord knew in their hearts, although it appeared otherwise to men: what is he going to say concerning little infants, many of whom having received in that age the Sacrament of Christian grace, when without doubt they would pertain to eternal life and the kingdom of heaven if they should immediately depart from this life, are permitted to grow, and some even become apostates? Whence, unless because they do not pertain to that predestination, and the vocation according to the purpose and without repentance? But why some should pertain to it, and others not pertain to it, there can be a hidden cause, but there cannot be an unjust one. For is there iniquity with God? Far be it (Rom. 9:14).

Nam et hoc ad illam pertinet altitudinem judiciorum, quam mirans tanquam expavit Apostolus. Ideo quippe illa judicia vocat, ne quisquam talia fieri putet, sive iniquitate sive temeritate facientis, sive casu et fortuito labentibus ullis partibus tam dispositorum sub tanta sapientia Dei saeculorum.

23. In Epistola porro ad Colossenses quod scriptum est, Nemo vos seducat volens in humilitate (Coloss. II, 18), et caetera quae sequuntur, quousque tibi obscura esse dixisti, nec ego adhuc sine caligine intelligo. Atque utinam praesens de me ista quaesiisses: in eo quippe sensu, quem mihi in his verbis habere videor, adhibenda est quaedam pronuntiatio in vultu et modo vocis, qui exprimi litteris non potest, ut ex aliqua parte aperiatur; quod ideo fit obscurius, quia non recte, sicut existimo, pronuntiatur. Quod enim scriptum est, Ne tetigeritis, ne gustaveritis, ne attaminaveritis; tanquam praeceptum putatur Apostoli, nescio quid tangere, gustare, attaminare prohibentis. Contra est autem, si tamen in tanta obscuritate ista non fallor. Per irrisionem quippe verba posuit eorum, a quibus eos nolebat decipi atque seduci, qui discernentes cibos secundum culturam Angelorum, atque ita de hoc mundo decernentes, dicunt, Ne tetigeritis, ne gustaveritis, ne attaminaveritis; cum sint omnia munda mundis (Tit. I, 15), et omnis creatura Dei bona sit (I Tim. IV, 4): quod in alio loco ipse evidenter commendat.

24. Totam ergo ipsius sententiae circumstantiam videamus: ita enim Apostoli intentione perspecta, sensum ejus, quantum valemus, fortasse tenebimus. Quibus enim ista scribit, metuebat eos seduci umbris rerum, dulci nomine scientiae, et averti a luce veritatis quae est in Christo Jesu Domino nostro. Hanc autem sub nomine sapientiae vel scientiae curam vanarum superfluarumve observationum, et de superstitione gentilitatis, maximeque ab eis qui Philosophi sunt nuncupati, et a Judaismo, cavendam esse cernebat, ubi erant umbrae futurorum removendae, quoniam lumen earum jam Christus advenerat. Cum ergo commemorasset et commendasset quantum certamen pro eis haberet, et pro his qui Laodiceae fuerant, et quicumque non viderant faciem ejus in carne, ut cordibus consolarentur copulati in charitate, et in omnibus divitiis plenitudinis intellectus, ad cognoscendum mysterium Dei, quod est Christus, in quo sunt omnes thesauri sapientiae et scientiae absconditi; Hoc dico, inquit, ut nemo vos circumveniat in veri simili sermone: quia veritatis amore ducebantur, veri similitudinem illis timuit, ne deciperentur.

For this also pertains to that depth of judgments, which the Apostle admiring as if was struck with awe. For therefore indeed he calls those judgments, lest anyone should think such things to happen, either by the iniquity or by the rashness of the one doing them, or by chance and fortuitously with any parts of the ages arranged under such great wisdom of God slipping away.

23. Furthermore, in the Epistle to the Colossians what is written, Let no one seduce you willing in humility (Coloss. 2:18), and the rest which follow, as far as you have said they are obscure to you, neither do I yet understand them without darkness. And would that being present you had sought those things of me: for in that sense which I seem to have in these words, there is to be applied a certain pronunciation in the countenance and the manner of the voice, which cannot be expressed by letters, so that from some part it may be opened; which for this reason becomes more obscure, because it is not rightly, as I think, pronounced. For what is written, Do not touch, do not taste, do not handle; is thought as a precept of the Apostle, prohibiting to touch, taste, handle I know not what. But it is on the contrary, if nevertheless in such great obscurity I am not deceived in these things. For surely he put the words in mockery of those by whom he did not wish them to be deceived and seduced, who discerning foods according to the worship of Angels, and thus decreeing concerning this world, say, Do not touch, do not taste, do not handle; when all things are clean to the clean (Tit. 1:15), and every creature of God is good (1 Tim. 4:4): which in another place he himself evidently commends.

24. Let us therefore see the whole circumstance of the sentence itself: for thus the intention of the Apostle having been perceived, we shall perhaps hold his sense, as much as we are able. For to those whom he writes these things, he was fearing they would be seduced by the shadows of things, under the sweet name of knowledge, and be turned away from the light of truth which is in Christ Jesus our Lord. But this care of vain or superfluous observations under the name of wisdom or knowledge, and concerning the superstition of gentility, and especially by those who are called Philosophers, and from Judaism, he was discerning to be guarded against, where the shadows of future things were to be removed, since Christ their light had already come. When therefore he had commemorated and commended how great a contest he had for them, and for those who had been at Laodicea, and whoever had not seen his face in the flesh, so that they might be consoled in their hearts joined in charity, and in all the riches of the fullness of understanding, for the recognition of the mystery of God, which is Christ, in whom are all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge hidden; This I say, he says, so that no one may circumvent you in a plausible speech: because they were being led by the love of truth, he feared for them a plausibility, lest they be deceived.

Et ideo commendavit in Christo quod dulcissimum habebant thesaurum, scilicet sapientiae et scientiae, cujus nomine et promissione induci poterant in errorem.

25. Nam etsi corpore, inquit, absens sum, spiritu vobiscum sum; gaudens, et videns vestram ordinationem, et id quod deest fidei vestrae in Christo. Ideo illis timebat, quoniam quid eis adhuc deesset, videbat. Sicut ergo accepistis, inquit, Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum, in ipso ambulate; radicati et superaedificati in ipso, et confirmati in fide, sicut et didicistis, abundantes in ea gratiarum actione. Vult eos fide nutriri, ut capaces fiant participandorum thesaurorum sapientiae et scientiae, qui sunt absconditi in Christo; ne antequam sint ad haec idonei, veri simili sermone capiantur, et a veritatis itinere devient. Deinde apertius, quid eis timeat ostendens: Videte, inquit, ne quis vos decipiat per philosophiam, et inanem seductionem, secundum traditionem hominum, secundum elementa mundi, et non secundum Christum: quia in ipso habitat omnis plenitudo divinitatis corporaliter. Ideo corporaliter dixit, quia illi umbratiliter seducebant; translato verbo usus, sicut etiam umbrae nomen in his rebus non est utique verbum proprium, sed quadam similitudinis ratione translatum. Et estis in illo, inquit, repleti, qui est caput omnis principatus et potestatis. Per principatus enim et potestates superstitio Gentilium vel Philosophi seducebant, praedicantes illam quam vocant theologiam per clementa hujus mundi. Caput autem omnium Christum, principium omnium voluit intelligi, sicut ipse, cum ei dictum esset. Tu quis es? respondit: Principium, qui et loquor vobis (Joan. VIII, 25). Omnia enim per ipsum facta sunt, et sine ipso factum est nihil (Id. I, 3). Mirabiliter autem vult eos esse horum velut mirabilium contemptores, cum eos ostendit corpus factos illius capitis, dicendo: Et estis in illo repleti, qui est caput omnis principatus et potestatis.

26. Hinc jam ne umbris Judaismi seducantur, adjungit: In quo etiam circumcisi estis, circumcisione non manufacta in exspoliatione corporis carnis; vel, sicut aliqui habent, in exspoliatione corporis peccatorum carnis, in circumcisione Christi; consepulti ei in Baptismo, in quo et consurrexistis per fidem operationis Dei, qui suscitavit illum a mortuis. Vide quemadmodum et hic corpus Christi eos ostendit, ut ista contemnant, cohaerentes tanto capiti suo, mediatori Dei et hominum Christo Jesu, et nullum falsum vel invalidum medium per quod Deo cohaereant, requirentes.

And therefore he commended in Christ what they had as a most sweet treasure, namely of wisdom and knowledge, in whose name and promise they could be led into error.

25. For although in body, he says, I am absent, in spirit I am with you; rejoicing, and seeing your order, and that which is lacking to your faith in Christ. Therefore he was fearing for them, because he was seeing what was still lacking to them. Just as therefore you have received, he says, Jesus Christ our Lord, walk in Him; rooted and built up in Him, and confirmed in the faith, just as also you have learned, abounding in it in the giving of thanks. He wills them to be nourished by faith, so that they may become capable of participating in the treasures of wisdom and knowledge, which are hidden in Christ; lest before they are fit for these, they be caught by a plausible speech, and deviate from the path of truth. Then more openly showing what he fears for them: See, he says, lest anyone deceive you through philosophy, and vain seduction, according to the tradition of men, according to the elements of the world, and not according to Christ: because in Him dwells all the fullness of the divinity bodily. He said bodily for this reason, because those were seducing through shadows; using a transferred word, just as also the name of shadow in these things is certainly not a proper word, but transferred by a certain reason of similitude. And you are in Him, he says, filled, who is the head of every principality and power. For through principalities and powers the superstition of the Gentiles or the Philosophers were seducing, preaching that which they call theology through the elements of this world. But he willed Christ to be understood as the head of all, the principle of all, just as He Himself, when it had been said to Him, Who are you? responded: The principle, who also speak to you (John 8:25). For all things were made through Him, and without Him was made nothing (John 1:3). But wonderfully he wills them to be as it were contemners of these wonderful things, when he shows them made the body of that head, by saying: And you are in Him filled, who is the head of every principality and power.

26. From here now lest they be seduced by the shadows of Judaism, he joins: In whom also you are circumcised, with a circumcision not made by hand in the despoiling of the body of the flesh; or, just as some have, in the despoiling of the body of the sins of the flesh, in the circumcision of Christ; buried together with Him in Baptism, in which also you have risen together through the faith of the operation of God, who raised Him from the dead. See in what manner also here he shows them to be the body of Christ, so that they may contemn those things, cohering to so great a head of theirs, the mediator of God and of men Christ Jesus, and requiring no false or invalid medium through which they may cohere to God.

Et vos, inquit, cum essetis mortui in delictis et praeputio carnis vestrae; praeputium vocavit quod significatur praeputio, hoc est delicta carnalia quibus exspoliandi sumus: vivificavit, inquit, cum illo, donans vobis omnia delicta, delens quod adversus nos erat chirographum in decretis, quod erat contrarium nobis; quia reos Lex faciebat, quae subintraverat ut abundaret delictum. Tollens, inquit, illud de medio et affigens illud cruci, exuens se carne, principatus et potestates exemplavit, fiducialiter triumphans eos in semetipso: non utique bonos, sed malos principatus et malas potestates, diabolicas scilicet et daemoniacas exemplavit ; id est, exemplum de illis dedit, ut quemadmodum ipse se exuit carne, sic suos ostenderet exuendos carnalibus vitiis, per quae illi eis dominabantur.

27. Jam hic diligenter attende quamadmodum inferat propter quod cuncta ista commemoravimus. Nemo ergo vos, inquit, judicet in cibo: tanquam propterea omnia illa dixerit, quia isti per hujusmodi observationes seducebantur a veritate, qua liberi fiebant; de qua dictum est in Evangelio, Et veritas liberavit vos (Id. VIII, 32), id est, liberos faciet. Nemo ergo vos, inquit, judicet in cibo, aut in potu, aut in parte diei festi, aut neomeniae, aut sabbatorum; quod est umbra futurorum: hoc propter Judaismum. Deinde sequitur propter superstitiones Gentilium, Corpus autem Christi, inquit, nemo vos convincat: turpe est, inquit, et nimis incongruum, et a generositate vestrae libertatis alienum, ut cum sitis corpus Christi, seducamini umbris, et convinci videamini veluti peccantes, si haec observare negligitis. Corpus ergo Christi, nemo vos convincat volens in humilitate cordis. Hoc si per verbum graecum diceretur, etiam in latina consuetudine populari sonaret usitatius. Sic enim et vulgo dicitur qui divitem affectat, thelodives, et qui sapientem, thelosapiens, et caetera hujusmodi: ergo et hic thelohumilis, quod plenius dicitur thelon humilis, id est, volens humilis, affectans humilitatem; quod intelligitur, volens videri humilis, affectans humilitatem. Hoc enim talibus observationibus agitur, ut cor hominis velut religione humile reddatur. Addidit autem et culturam Angelorum, vel sicut vestri codices habent, religionem Angelorum, quae graece θρησκεία dicitur; Angelos volens intelligi Principatus, quos elementorum mundi hujus praepositos, in his observationibus colendos esse arbitrantur.

And you, he says, when you were dead in offenses and the uncircumcision of your flesh; he called uncircumcision what is signified by uncircumcision, that is carnal offenses from which we are to be despoiled: He has vivified, he says, together with Him, giving to you all offenses, blotting out the handwriting which was against us in decrees, which was contrary to us; because the Law was making them guilty, which had entered so that offense might abound. Taking, he says, that from the midst and affixing it to the cross, stripping Himself of the flesh, He made an example of principalities and powers, confidently triumphing over them in Himself: certainly not good, but evil principalities and evil powers, namely diabolical and demoniacal He made an example of; that is, He gave an example concerning them, so that just as He Himself stripped Himself of the flesh, so He might show His own were to be stripped of carnal vices, through which those were dominating over them.

27. Now here diligently attend in what manner he may introduce that on account of which we have commemorated all those things. Therefore let no one, he says, judge you in food: as if for this reason he said all those things, because these were being seduced from the truth by observations of this kind, by which they were being made free; concerning which it was said in the Gospel, And the truth has liberated you (John 8:32), that is, will make you free. Therefore let no one, he says, judge you in food, or in drink, or in part of a feast day, or of the new moon, or of the sabbaths; which is a shadow of future things: this on account of Judaism. Then follows on account of the superstitions of the Gentiles, But the body of Christ, he says, let no one convict you: it is base, he says, and too incongruous, and alien from the generosity of your liberty, that since you are the body of Christ, you should be seduced by shadows, and seem to be convicted as if sinning, if you neglect to observe these things. Therefore the body of Christ, let no one convict you willing in humility of heart. If this were said through a Greek word, it would sound more customary even in popular Latin usage. For so also it is commonly said of one who affects being rich, thelodives, and of one who affects being wise, thelosapiens, and other things of this kind: therefore here also thelohumilis, which is more fully said thelon humilis, that is, willing humble, affecting humility; which is understood as, willing to seem humble, affecting humility. For by such observations this is done, so that the heart of man as if by religion may be rendered humble. But he added also the worship of Angels, or just as your codices have, the religion of Angels, which in Greek is called thrēskeia; willing Angels to be understood as the Principalities, whom they think are set over the elements of this world, to be worshiped in these observations.

28. Nemo ergo vos, inquit, convincat cum sitis corpus Christi, volens videri humilis corde in cultura Angelorum, quae non vidit inculcans : vel, sicut quidam codices habent, quae vidit inculcans. Aut enim sic dicere voluit, quae non vidit inculcans: quia homines ista suspicionibus et opinionibus agunt; non quod viderint ista esse facienda. Aut certe, quae vidit inculcans: id est magna existimans, quia vidit ea quibusdam locis observari alibi ab hominibus quorum auctoritati haberet fidem etiam ratione non reddita; et ideo sibi magnus videtur, quia ei contigit quorumdam sacrorum videre secreta. Sed plenior sensus est, quae non vidit inculcans, frustra inflatus mente carnis suae. Mirabiliter ibi eum dixit inflatum mente carnis suae, ubi thelohumilem supra dixerat: fit enim miris modis in anima hominis, ut de falsa humilitate magis infletur, quam si apertius superbiret. Et non tenens, inquit, caput, quod vult Christum intelligi, ex quo omne corpus compactum et connexum, subministratum et copulatum crescit in incrementum Dei. Si ergo mortui estis cum Christo ab elementis hujus mundi: quid adhuc velut viventes de hoc mundo decernitis?

29. His dictis inserit verba eorum qui decernunt de hoc mundo per has observationes quasi rationabiles, affectata vanitate humilitatis inflati: Ne tetigeritis, ne gustaveritis, ne attaminaveritis. Recolamus quod dictum est superius, ut hoc intelligamus. Non vult enim eos in his observationibus judicari, ubi dicitur, Ne tetigeritis, ne gustaveritis, ne attaminaveritis: quae sunt omnia, inquit, in corruptionem per abusionem. Omnia haec, inquit, magis ad corruptionem valent, cum superstitiose ab eis abstinetur, ut eis homo abutatur, id est, non eis utatur secundum praecepta et doctrinas hominum. Hoc planum est; sed quod sequitur multum requiris: Quae sunt quidem rationem habentia sapientiae in observatione, et humilitate cordis, et vexatione corporis; vel, sicut alii interpretati sunt, ad non parcendura corpori, non in honore aliquo ad saturitatem carnis. Cur, inquis, haec dicit rationem habere sapientiae, quae ita reprehendit?

30. Dicam, quod et ipse in Scripturis potes advertere, saepe sapientiam positam etiam in sedibus mundi hujus, quam dicit expressius sapientiam hujus mundi. Nec moveat quod hic non addidit, Mundi. Non enim et alio loco, cum ait, Ubi sapiens? ubi scriba (I Cor. I, 20)? addidit, Hujus mundi; ut diceret, Ubi sapiens hujus mundi: et tamen hoc intelligitur. Sic et ista ratio sapientiae. Nihil enim ab eis dicitur in hujusmodi superstitiosis observationibus, ubi non mundi hujus elementorum naturarumque rerum, ratio quaedam sapientiae reddi videatur.

Therefore let no one, he says, convict you since you are the body of Christ, willing to seem humble in heart in the worship of Angels, insisting on things which he has not seen: or, just as certain codices have, insisting on things which he has seen. For either he willed thus to say, insisting on things which he has not seen: because men do those things by suspicions and opinions; not that they have seen those things are to be done. Or certainly, insisting on things which he has seen: that is, thinking them great, because he saw them observed in certain places elsewhere by men in whose authority he would have faith even without a reason being rendered; and for this reason he seems great to himself, because it happened to him to see the secrets of certain sacred things. But the fuller sense is, insisting on things which he has not seen, in vain puffed up by the mind of his flesh. Wonderfully he said him there puffed up by the mind of his flesh, where he had said thelohumilis above: for it happens in wonderful ways in the soul of man, that he is more puffed up by a false humility, than if he were more openly proud. And not holding, he says, the head, which he wills Christ to be understood, from whom the whole body compacted and connected, subministered and joined grows into the increase of God. If therefore you have died with Christ from the elements of this world: why do you still as if living from this world decree?

29. These things having been said, he inserts the words of those who decree concerning this world through these observations as if reasonable, puffed up with an affected vanity of humility: Do not touch, do not taste, do not handle. Let us recall what was said above, so that we may understand this. For he does not will them to be judged in these observations, where it is said, Do not touch, do not taste, do not handle: which are all, he says, unto corruption by use. All these things, he says, are rather valid for corruption, when they are superstitiously abstained from, so that a man abuses them, that is, does not use them according to the precepts and doctrines of men. This is plain; but what follows you inquire into much: Which things indeed have a reason of wisdom in observation, and humility of heart, and vexation of the body; or, just as others have interpreted, to the not sparing of the body, not in any honor to the saturation of the flesh. Why, you ask, does he say these have a reason of wisdom, which he thus reproves?

30. I will say, what you also in the Scriptures are able to observe, that wisdom is often placed even in the seats of this world, which he calls more expressly the wisdom of this world. Nor let it move you that here he did not add, Of the world. For did he not in another place also, when he says, Where is the wise? where is the scribe (1 Cor. 1:20), add, Of this world; so that he might say, Where is the wise of this world: and nevertheless this is understood. So also is that reason of wisdom. For nothing is said by them in superstitious observations of this kind, where some reason of wisdom does not seem to be rendered according to the elements and the natures of the things of this world.

Nam et cum dicit, Cavete ne quis vos decipiat per philosophiam; non ait, Hujus mundi: et quid est philosophia latine, nisi studium sapientiae? Sunt ergo, inquit, ista rationem quidem habentia sapientiae, id est, de quibus aliqua ratio reddatur secundum elementa mundi hujus, et principatus ac potestates. In observatione et humilitate cordis: id enim agunt ista, ut superstitionis vitio cor humilietur. Ad non parcendum corpori: dum fraudatur istis escis quibus compellitur abstinere. Non in honore aliquo ad saturitatem carnis: non quod honoratius illo magis quam illo cibo caro saturetur, cum ad ejus necessitatem non pertineat nisi quolibet valetudini apto alimento refici atque fulciri.

CAPUT III.

31. De Evangelio inquisitio tua solet multos movere, quomodo Dominus post resurrectionem, cum in eodem corpore surrexerit , a quibusdam qui eum noverant, utriusque sexus hominum, et agnitus non sit, et agnitus sit. Ubi primum quaeri solet utrum in ejus corpore, an potius in illorum oculis aliquid factum sit quo non posset agnosci. Cum enim legitur, Tenebantur oculi eorum ne agnoscerent eum (Luc. XXIV, 16); impedimentum quoddam agnoscendi videtur in luminibus factum esse cernentium: cum vero aperte alibi dicitur, Apparuit eis in alia effigie (Marc. VI, 12), utique in ipso corpore cujus alia erat effigies, aliquid factum fuisse, quo impedimento tenerentur, id est, moram agnoscendi paterentur oculi illorum. Sed ego miror, cum duo sint in corpore quibus cujusque species agnoscatur, lineamenta et color, cur ante resurrectionem, quod in monte ita transfiguratus est ut fieret et vultus ejus splendidissimus sicut sol (Matth. XVII, 2), neminem movet eum usque ad tantam excellentiam fulgoris et lucis colorem sui corporis mutare potuisse; et post resurrectionem movet aliquatenus lineamenta mutata esse, ut non posset agnosci, et rursum eadem potentiae facultate, sicut tunc pristinum colorem, sic et post resurrectionem pristina lineamenta revocasse. Nam et illi tres discipuli, ante quorum oculos in monte transfiguratus est, non eum agnoscerent, si ad eos talis aliunde venisset: sed quia cum illo erant, ipsum esse certissime retinebant. At enim corpus ipsum erat, in quo resurrexit. Quid hoc ad rem? Nam illud utique ipsum corpus erat in quo in monte transfiguratus est; et ipsum erat juvenis in quo natus est: et tamen si quis eum repente juvenem vidisset, qui nonnisi infantulum nosset, non utique agnosceret. An vero ad lineamenta mutanda non potest celeriter Dei potestas, quod potest per annorum moras hominis aetas?

For also when he says, Beware lest anyone deceive you through philosophy; he does not say, Of this world: and what is philosophy in Latin, but the study of wisdom? They are therefore, he says, those things having indeed a reason of wisdom, that is, concerning which some reason is rendered according to the elements of this world, and principalities and powers. In observation and humility of heart: for those things do this, so that the heart may be humbled by the vice of superstition. To the not sparing of the body: while it is defrauded of those foods from which it is compelled to abstain. Not in any honor to the saturation of the flesh: not that the flesh is saturated more honorably by that food than by this food, since to its necessity it does not pertain except to be refreshed and supported by any food fit for health.

CHAPTER III.

31. Concerning the Gospel your inquiry is accustomed to move many, how the Lord after the resurrection, when He rose in the same body, was both not recognized and recognized by certain ones who had known Him, humans of each sex. Where first it is accustomed to be asked whether in His body, or rather in their eyes, something was done by which He could not be recognized. For when it is read, Their eyes were held lest they should recognize Him (Luke 24:16); a certain impediment of recognizing seems to have been made in the lights of the beholders: but when it is openly said elsewhere, He appeared to them in another effigy (Mark 16:12), certainly in the body itself whose effigy was another, something had been done, by which impediment they were being held, that is, the eyes of those were suffering a delay of recognizing. But I wonder, since there are two things in the body by which the species of anyone is recognized, lineaments and color, why before the resurrection, because He was so transfigured on the mountain that His face became most splendid as the sun (Matth. 17:2), it moves no one that He was able to change the color of His body even to such great excellence of brightness and light; and after the resurrection it moves some that the lineaments were changed, so that He could not be recognized, and again by the same faculty of power, just as then the pristine color, so also after the resurrection He recalled the pristine lineaments. For also those three disciples, before whose eyes He was transfigured on the mountain, would not have recognized Him, if He had come to them such from elsewhere: but because they were with Him, they most certainly held that it was He. But indeed it was the body itself, in which He rose. What is this to the matter? For that was certainly the body itself in which He was transfigured on the mountain; and it was the youth itself in which He was born: and nevertheless if anyone had suddenly seen Him a youth, who had known Him only as an infant, he certainly would not have recognized Him. Or truly to the changing of lineaments is not the power of God quickly able, which the age of man is able through the delays of years?

32. Quod autem Mariae dixit, Noli me tangere, nondum enim ascendi ad Patrem (Joan. XX, 17), nihil aliud me intellexisse noveris, quam tu. Ita enim significare voluit tactum spiritualem, id est, accessum fidei se requirere, qua creditur eum excelsum esse cum Patre. Et quod ab illis duobus in fractione panis est agnitus (Luc. XXIV, 30, 31), Sacramentum esse quod nos in agnitionem suam congregat, nullus debet ambigere.

33. De verbis Simeonis, ubi ait Virgini matri Domini, Et tuam ipsius animam pertransibit framea, in alia epistola cujus exemplum etiam modo misi, dixi quid mihi videatur; quod etiam tibi inter caetera visum est. Et quod adjunxit, Ut denudentur multorum cordium cogitationes (Id. II, 35), hoc intelligendum puto, quia per Domini passionem, et insidiae Judaeorum, et discipulorum infirmitas patuit. Tribulationem igitur, gladii nomine significatam esse, credibile est, quo materna anima vulnerata est doloris affectu. Ipse fuit gladius in ore persecutorum, de quibus in Psalmo dicitur: Et gladius in ore eorum (Psal. LVIII, 8). Ipsi enim erant filii hominum, quorum dentes arma et sagittae, et lingua eorum gladius acutus (Psal. LVI, 5). Nam et ferrum quod pertransiit animam Joseph, pro dura tribulatione positum mihi videtur: aperte quippe dicitur, Ferrum pertransiit animam ejus, donec veniret verbum ejus; id est, tamdiu fuit in dura tribulatione, donec fieret quod praedixit. Hinc enim magnus est habitus, et ab illa tribulatione liberatus. Sed ne humanae sapientiae tribueretur, quod venit verbum ejus, id est, factum est quod praedixit, more suo Scriptura sancta Deo inde dat gloriam, et continuo subjungit: Eloquium Domini ignivit eum (Psal. CIV, 18, 19).

4. Haec esset et nunc silentii mei causa apud te, quae fuit tunc discessionis meae, si te apud illum egisse crederem, ut tam nefarias ulcisceretur injurias. Credunt ista qui nesciunt quomodo, et quoties, et quae nobis dixeris, cum anxia cura perageremus ut quanto tibi familiarius inhaerebat, quanto ad eum crebrius ventitabas, quanto saepius cum solo colloquebaris, tanto magis curaret existimationem tuam; ne his qui tui dicebantur inimici talem exitum daret, ut nihil cum illo aliud egisse putareris.

32. But as to what He said to Mary, Do not touch me, for I have not yet ascended to the Father (John 20:17), you should know that I have understood nothing else than you. For thus He willed to signify a spiritual touch, that is, that He requires an approach of faith, by which it is believed that He is exalted with the Father. And that He was recognized by those two in the breaking of bread (Luke 24:30, 31), no one ought to doubt that it is the Sacrament which gathers us into the recognition of Him.

33. Concerning the words of Simeon, where he says to the Virgin mother of the Lord, And a sword shall pass through your own soul, in another epistle of which I have just now sent an example, I said what seems to me; which also seemed to you among the rest. And as to what he joined, That the thoughts of many hearts may be revealed (Luke 2:35), I think this is to be understood, because through the passion of the Lord, both the snares of the Jews and the infirmity of the disciples were made patent. It is credible therefore that tribulation was signified by the name of the sword, by which the maternal soul was wounded with an affection of grief. It was the sword itself in the mouth of the persecutors, concerning whom it is said in the Psalm: And a sword in their mouth (Psalm 58:8). For they themselves were the sons of men, whose teeth are arms and arrows, and their tongue a sharp sword (Psalm 56:5). For also the iron which passed through the soul of Joseph seems to me placed for a hard tribulation: for it is openly said indeed, Iron passed through his soul, until his word should come; that is, he was for so long in hard tribulation, until that should happen which he foretold. For from here he was held as great, and liberated from that tribulation. But lest it should be attributed to human wisdom that his word came, that is, that what he foretold was done, in its custom the holy Scripture gives glory to God from there, and immediately subjoins: The eloquence of the Lord set him on fire (Psalm 104:18, 19).

4. This would be even now the cause of my silence with you, which was then the cause of my departure, if I believed that you had acted with him so that he might avenge such nefarious injuries. Those believe these things who do not know how, and how often, and what things you said to us, when we were acting with anxious care so that, as much as you clung to him more familiarly, as much as you went to him more frequently, as much as you conversed with him alone more often, so much the more he might care for your reputation; lest he should give such an end to those who were called your enemies, that you might be thought to have done nothing else with him.

Quod quidem nec ego credo, nec fratres mei qui te in loquelis audierunt, et auditu atque omni nutu viderunt signa benigni pectoris tui. Sed, obsecro te, ignosce credentibus: homines enim sunt, et in animis hominum tantae latebrae sunt, et tanti recessus, ut omnes suspiciosi cum merito culpentur, etiam laudari arbitrentur se debere, quod cauti sint. Causae stabant; ab uno eorum quos teneri ille repente praeceperat, gravissimam te passum fuisse injuriam noveramus. Frater quoque ejus, in quo Ecclesiam maxime persecutus est, nescio quid duriter quasi praeferens tibi respondisse dicebatur. Putabantur tibi ambo esse suspecti. Postulati cum abiissent, te illic remanente, et cum illo secretius, ut ferebatur, loquente, subito jussi sunt detineri. Amicitiam vestram non recentem, sed veterem, homines loquebantur. Famam confirmabat tanta conjunctio, et tam assidua solius cum solo sermocinatio. Potestas illius magna tunc erat. Calumniae facilitas radiabat. Non erat grande negotium procurari aliquem, qui diceret quod salute promissa dicendum ille mandasset. Omnia in tempore isto suffragabantur, ut etiam uno teste, tanquam invidioso et credibili crimine, sine jubentis discrimine quilibet de medio tolleretur.

5. Nos interea, quoniam rumor erat quod ecclesiastica manus posset eos eripere, falsis promissionibus ludebamur; ut illo non solum quasi volente, sed etiam instante, pro eis ad Comitatum episcopus mitteretur, ea pollicitatione interposita episcopalibus auribus, quod donec aliquid pro eis illic ageretur, nullum causae illorum excitaretur examen. Postremo, pridie quam terirentur, venit ad nos Praestantia tua; spem dedisti, qualem nunquam antea dederas, quod eos tibi posset concedere profecturo, cum illi graviter prudenterque dixisses, totum quod tecum tam assidue familiarius secretiusque loqueretur, non te honorare potius quam gravare, atque ad id valere, quod communicato et pertractato inter vos mortis eorum consilio, nemo dubitaret quid post haec omnia sequeretur. Quae cum te dixisse nobis indicares, inter narrandum namque tendens in eum locum ubi celebrantur sacramenta fidelium, stupentibus nobis ita jurasti te ista dixisse, ut non solum tunc, verum etiam nunc post tam horrendum inopinatum exitum, cum tuos omnes nutus recolo, nimis mihi impudens videar, si de te aliquid mali credam. Quibus tuis verbis sic eum permotum fuisse dicebas, quod velut familiare viaticum tibi eorum donaturus esset salutem.

Which indeed neither I believe, nor my brothers who heard you in your speeches, and saw by hearing and every nod the signs of your benign heart. But, I beseech you, pardon those who believe: for they are men, and in the souls of men there are such hiding places, and such recesses, that when all suspicious men are deservedly blamed, they even think they ought to be praised, because they are cautious. The causes were standing; we knew that you had suffered a very grave injury from one of those whom he had suddenly commanded to be held. His brother also, in whom he especially persecuted the Church, was said to have answered you somewhat harshly as if preferring something. Both were thought to be suspect to you. When they had gone away having been summoned, while you remained there, and were speaking with him more secretly, as it was reported, they were suddenly ordered to be detained. Men were speaking of your friendship not as recent, but old. Such a conjunction confirmed the rumor, and such assiduous conversation of one alone with the other alone. His power was great then. The facility of calumny was radiant. It was not a great business for someone to be procured, who would say what he had commanded to be said with safety promised. All things in this time favored, so that even with one witness, as if by an invidious and credible crime, anyone might be removed from the midst without the danger of the one commanding.

5. We meanwhile, since there was a rumor that an ecclesiastical hand could rescue them, were played with by false promises; so that while he was not only as if willing, but even insistent, a bishop was sent for them to the Court, that promise having been interposed to episcopal ears, that until something was done for them there, no examination of their cause would be excited. Finally, the day before they were struck, your Excellence came to us; you gave hope, such as you had never given before, that he could grant them to you as you were about to set out, since you had said to him gravely and prudently, that all that he spoke with you so assiduously more familiarly and more secretly, did not honor you so much as weigh you down, and availed to this, that the counsel of their death having been communicated and treated between you, no one would doubt what would follow after all these things. Which when you indicated to us that you had said, for while narrating you were tending toward that place where the sacraments of the faithful are celebrated, to our amazement you swore that you had said these things, so that not only then, but even now after such a horrendous and unexpected end, when I recall all your nods, I seem to myself too impudent if I believe anything evil concerning you. By which words of yours you were saying that he was so moved, that as a familiar viaticum he was about to give their safety to you.

6. Unde testor Dilectioni tuae, postero die, quo illius parturitionis nefarius fetus est ortus, cum esset nobis repente nuntiatum illos e carcere ad eum judicem ductos, quanquam perturbati fuerimus, tamen ego considerans et quae nobis pridie dixeras, et qui esset post illum exorturus dies, quoniam beati Cypriani erat pridiana solemnitas, existimavi quod etiam elegerit diem, quo et tibi postulata concederet, et universam Christi Ecclesiam repente laetificans, ad locum tanti martyris ascendere voluerit, parcendi benignitate quam occidendi potestate sublimior; cum ecce nobis nuntius irruit, quo prius percussos esse nossemus, quam quomodo audirentur quaerere valeremus. Provisus enim erat et proximus locus, non suppliciis hominum deputatus, sed ornamento potius civitatis, ubi merito creditur propterea quosdam ante aliquot days jussisse mactari, ne in istis invidiosa novitas esset: quos consilium fuit sic posse subripi Ecclesiae, si non solum subito feriri juberentur, verum etiam in loco proximo ferirentur. Satis itaque indicavit ei matri se inferre non timuisse cruciatum, cujus timuit interventum: Ecclesiae scilicet sanctae, inter cujus fideles in ejus gremio baptizatos et ipsum utique noveramus. Post hunc igitur tanti moliminis exitum, cum tam diligenter nobiscum actum esset, ut etiam per te, etsi nesciente te, pene securi et pene certi de salute illorum pridie fieremus; quis non talium, qualis hominum multitudo est, indubitatum haberet, etiam a te nobis verba data, illis animam ablatam? Ideo, sicut dixi, vir bone, etiamsi nos hoc non credimus, ignosce credentibus.

7. Absit autem a corde, et qualicumque vita mea, ut apud te pro aliquo intercederem, vel a te cuiquam beneficium postularem, si te crederem tanti hujus mali, et tam consceleratae crudelitatis auctorem. Sed plane fateor, si etiam posthac in ea familiaritate estis in qua antea fuistis, pace tua sit liber dolor; multum nos quod nolebamus compellitis credere. Est autem consentaneum ut neque hoc credam, qui de te illa non credo. Amicus tuus inopinato successu repentinae potestatis non magis persecutus est illorum vitam, quam tuam famam. Nec ista loquens, odia tua in illum, mei animi ac professionis oblitus, inflammo; sed ad fideliorem provoco dilectionem. Qui enim sic agit cum malis, ut eos malitiae poeniteat, novit etiam indignatione consulere: nam sicut mali obsunt assentando, ita boni adversando prosunt. Suam quippe animam eodem ferro, quo alios insolentissime occidit, gravius altiusque percussit: quod post hanc vitam, si non eam poenitendo correxerit, et patientia Dei bene usus fuerit, invenire ac sentire cogetur.

6. Whence I testify to your Charity, on the next day, on which the nefarious fetus of that labor was born, when it was suddenly announced to us that they had been led from the prison to that judge, although we were perturbed, nevertheless I, considering both what you had said to us the day before, and what day was about to arise after that, since it was the eve of the solemnity of blessed Cyprian, thought that he even chose the day on which he might grant your requests to you, and suddenly gladdening the whole Church of Christ, might wish to ascend to the place of so great a martyr, more sublime by the benignity of sparing than by the power of killing; when behold a messenger rushed upon us, by whom we knew that they had been struck before we could seek how they were heard. For a nearby place had been provided, not deputed for the punishments of men, but rather for the ornament of the city, where it is deservedly believed that for this reason he had ordered some to be slaughtered a few days before, lest there should be an invidious novelty in these: whom the counsel was that they could thus be snatched from the Church, if they were not only suddenly ordered to be struck, but also were struck in a nearby place. He sufficiently indicated, therefore, that he did not fear to bring torture to that mother whose intervention he feared: namely, the holy Church, among whose faithful baptized in her bosom we also knew him to be. After this end, then, of so great an effort, when it had been so diligently acted with us, that even through you, although you were unaware, we were made almost secure and almost certain of their safety the day before; who of such as the multitude of men is, would not hold it undoubted, that even words were given by you to us, and life taken from them? Therefore, as I said, good man, even if we do not believe this, pardon those who believe.

7. Far be it, however, from my heart, and from whatever life of mine, that I should intercede with you for anyone, or ask a benefit from you for anyone, if I believed you were the author of this so great an evil, and of such conselerated cruelty. But I plainly confess, if even after this you are in that familiarity in which you were before, by your leave may my grief be free; you compel us much to believe what we did not wish. It is consistent, however, that I should not believe this either, who do not believe those things about you. Your friend by the unexpected success of sudden power did not more persecute their life than your reputation. Nor speaking these things do I inflame your hatreds against him, forgetful of my mind and profession; but I provoke you to a more faithful charity. For he who acts thus with the evil, that they may repent of their malice, knows how to consult even by indignation: for as the evil hinder by flattering, so the good profit by opposing. For his own soul with the same iron, with which he most insolently killed others, he struck more gravely and more deeply: which after this life, if he does not correct it by repenting, and uses the patience of God well, he will be compelled to find and feel.

Saepe autem vita praeseus etiam bonorum, Dei judicio malis cripienda permissa est, ne talia perpeti putaretur malum. Mori quippe in carne quid potest obesse morituris? aut quid agunt qui mori timent, nisi ut paulo posterius moriantur? Quidquid obest morientibus, ex vita, non ex morte contingit; in qua si tales animas habuerint, qualibus christiana gratia subvenitur, non sane mors eorum vitae bonae occasus fuit, sed melioris occasio.

8. Et majoris quidem mores apparebant huic saeculo amiciores esse quam Christo: quanquam et ipse juvenilem prius saecularemque vitam uxore ducta, non parva ex parte correxerat. Non tamen fortasse misericors Deus fratris eum esse in morte comitem nisi miserans voluit. Ille vero alius religiose vivit, et multum corde vitaque christiana. Haec eum fama praecessit, ut in causa Ecclesiae sic veniret: haec consecuta est cum venisset. Quae illi vero probitas in moribus, in amicitia fides, in doctrina studium, in religione sinceritas, in conjugio pudicitia, in judicio continentia; erga inimicos patientia, erga amicos affabilitas, erga sanctos humilitas, erga omnes charitas; in beneficiis praestandis facilitas, in petendis pudor, in recte factis amor, in peccatis dolor! Quantum decus honestatis, qui splendor gratiae, quae cura pietatis; quae in subveniendo misericordia, in ignoscendo benevolentia, in orando fiducia! Quod salubriter sciebat, qua modestia loquebatur! quod inutiliter nesciebat, qua diligentia scrutabatur! Quantus in eo contemptus rerum praesentium! quanta spes et desiderium bonorum aeternorum! Ne relictis omnibus saecularibus actionibus susciperet cingulum militiae christianae, vinculum praepediebat uxorium, quo jam innodatus coeperat concupiscere meliora, quando jam non licebat illa, quamvis inferiora, disrumpere.

9. Quodam die frater ejus, cum jam pariter in custodia tenerentur, ait illi: Si ego haec pro meritis patior peccatorum meorum; tu, cujus vitam novimus, tam attente ferventerque christianam, quibus malis meritis ad ista perductus es? At ille: Parvumne, inquit, mihi existimas conferri divinitus beneficium, si tamen hoc testimonium tuum de vita mea verum est, ut hoc quod patior, etiamsi usque ad effusionem sanguinis patiar, ibi peccata mea puniantur, nec mihi ad futurum judicium reserrentur. Hic forte aliquis credat eum fuisse sibi conscium aliquorum occultorum impudicitiae peccatorum. Dicam ergo quid me Dominus Deus, ad magnam meam consolationem, ex ejus ore audire, et plane scire voluerit.

Often, however, the present life even of the good, by the judgment of God, has been permitted to be snatched by the evil, lest to suffer such things should be thought an evil. For what can dying in the flesh hinder those who are to die? or what do they do who fear to die, except that they die a little later? Whatever hinders the dying, happens from life, not from death; in which if they have had such souls, as are helped by Christian grace, certainly their death was not the setting of a good life, but the occasion of a better one.

8. And the manners of the elder indeed appeared to be more friendly to this world than to Christ: although he himself also had corrected in no small part his earlier youthful and secular life after taking a wife. Yet perhaps the merciful God did not wish him to be a companion in death to his brother unless by pitying. But that other one lived religiously, and much in Christian heart and life. This rumor preceded him, as he came thus in the cause of the Church: this followed when he had come. What probity truly was in his manners, what faith in friendship, what zeal in doctrine, what sincerity in religion, what modesty in marriage, what continence in judgment; what patience toward enemies, what affability toward friends, what humility toward the saints, what charity toward all; what facility in bestowing benefits, what shame in seeking them, what love in right deeds, what grief in sins! What ornament of honesty, what splendor of grace, what care of piety; what mercy in succoring, what benevolence in pardoning, what confidence in praying! With what modesty he spoke what he knew healthfully! with what diligence he scrutinized what he did not know uselessly! How great in him was the contempt for present things! how great the hope and desire for eternal goods! Lest, having left all secular actions, he should take the belt of Christian warfare, the marriage bond hindered him, by which already entwined he had begun to desire better things, when it was no longer permitted to break those, however inferior.

9. One day his brother, when they were already held equally in custody, said to him: If I suffer these things for the merits of my sins; you, whose life we have known as so attentively and fervently Christian, by what evil merits have you been led to these things? But he said: Do you think it a small benefit conferred on me divinely, if however this testimony of yours concerning my life is true, that this which I suffer, even if I suffer even to the shedding of blood, my sins may be punished there, nor reserved for me for the future judgment? Here perhaps someone may believe that he was conscious to himself of some hidden sins of impudicity. I will say therefore what the Lord God willed that I should hear from his mouth, and plainly know, for my great consolation.

Cum de hoc ipso, ut sunt humana, sollicitus, solus cum solo agerem, jam in eadem custodia constituto, ne quid esset unde majore et insigniore poenitentia Deum sibi placare deberet; ille ut erat verecundiae singularis, cum ipsam, licet falsam meam suspicionem erubesceret, sed admonitionem gratissime acciperet, modeste graviterque subridens, et utraque manu meam dexteram apprehendens: Testor, inquit, Sacramenta quae per hanc afferuntur manum, me nullum esse expertum concubitum praeter uxorem, nec ante, nec postea.

10. Quid ergo huic in morte accidit mali, ac non potius plurimum boni, cum haec habens dona ad Christum, sine quo inaniter habentur, ex hac vita migravit? Quae apud te non commemorarem, si crederem te laudibus ejus offendi. Cum autem hoc non credo, nec illud profecto, quod te, non dico instante, sed saltem volente aut optante posset occidi. Proinde judicas nobiscum tanto sincerius, quanto innocentius, quod ille cum anima sua, quam cum istius corpore crudelius egerit; quando contemptis nobis, contemptis promissionibus suis, contemptis tot ac tantis petitionibus et admonitionibus tuis, contempta denique Ecclesia Christi (et in ea quo, nisi Christo?), ad finem suae machinationis hujus morte pervenit. An vero illius honos, istius vel carceri comparandus est, cum ille fureret sublimatus, iste gauderet inclusus? Horrendis et poenalibus tenebris, omnes non tantum carceres, sed etiam inferos vincit scelerati hominis conscientia. Tibi etiam quid nocuit, cujus etsi famam graviter laesit, tamen innocentiam non peremit? Quamvis fama quoque ipsa salva sit, et apud eos qui te melius noverunt quam nos, et apud nos ipsos, qui curas nobiscum tuas, ne tam immane perpetraretur scelus, tanto expressas inspiciebamus affectu, ut tui cordis invisibilia pene oculis cerneremus. Sibi igitur ille nocuit, quidquid nocuit; suam transfixit animam, suam vitam, suam conscientiam; suam denique ipsam famam, quam bonam solent etiam pessimi concupiscere, caeca illa crudelitate vastavit. Tanto enim est odiosior omnibus bonis, quanto magis impiis placere conatus est, vel placuisse laetatus.

11. Ubi autem magis potuit apparere non eum habuisse necessitatem quam se habere confinxit, ut ejus obtentu tanquam bonus faceret tantum malum, quam quod nec illi placuit de cujus praecepto se ausus est excusare? Referat Praestantiae tuae sanctus diaconus qui per N. manus, ipse enim fuerat episcopo quem pro illis miseramus adjunctus, quemadmodum nec indulgentia illis danda visa est, ne vel sic aliquo crimine notarentur; sed tantum commonitorium quo eos ab omni molestia liberos dimittere juberetur.

When, solicitous about this very thing, as human things are, I acted one on one with him already constituted in that same custody, lest there should be anything whence he ought to appease God for himself by a greater and more signal repentance; he, as he was of singular shame, although he blushed at my suspicion, however false, but received the admonition most gratefully, smiling modestly and gravely, and apprehending my right hand with both of his: I testify, he said, by the Sacraments which are brought through this hand, that I have experienced no intercourse except with my wife, neither before, nor afterward.

10. What evil therefore happened to this one in death, and not rather much good, since he migrated from this life having these gifts to Christ, without whom they are held in vain? Which things I would not commemorate with you, if I believed you were offended by his praises. But since I do not believe this, neither surely that, that by your instance, I do not say, but at least by your willing or desiring he could be killed. Accordingly you judge with us so much more sincerely, as more innocently, what he acted more cruelly with his own soul than with the body of that one; when having contempt for us, contempt for his own promises, contempt for so many and so great petitions and admonitions of yours, finally contempt for the Church of Christ (and in her for whom, if not for Christ?), he arrived at the end of his machination by the death of this one. Or truly is his honor to be compared even to the prison of that one, when he was raging while exalted, and that one was rejoicing while enclosed? By horrendous and penal darkness, the conscience of a wicked man overcomes not only all prisons, but even the lower worlds. To you also what did it harm, whose reputation although he gravely wounded, yet he did not destroy your innocence? Although reputation itself also may be safe, both among those who knew you better than we, and among us ourselves, who were inspecting with such expressed affection your cares with us, lest so monstrous a crime should be perpetrated, that we almost discerned with our eyes the invisible things of your heart. To himself therefore he harmed, whatever he harmed; he transfixed his own soul, his own life, his own conscience; finally he devastated his own reputation itself, which good reputation even the worst are wont to desire, by that blind cruelty. For he is so much more odious to all good men, as much more he tried to please the impious, or rejoiced to have pleased them.

11. Where, however, could it better appear that he did not have the necessity which he feigned he had, so that by its pretext as if good he might do so much evil, than that it did not even please him by whose precept he dared to excuse himself? Let the holy deacon relate to your Excellence, who was joined to the bishop whom we had sent for them, in what manner neither indulgence seemed to be given to them, lest even thus they should be noted by some crime; but only a commonitory by which he should be commanded to dismiss them free from all molestation.

Gratuita igitur crudelitate, nulla necessitate (quamvis et aliae causae, quas suspicamur, nec opus est committere litteris, forsitan fuerint), atrociter contristavit Ecclesiam. Ad cujus Ecclesiae gremium frater ejus, metuens perire, confugerat, ut eum vivum tanti sceleris consiliarium reperiret: cujus Ecclesiae etiam ipse, cum patronum offendisset, petivit asylum, nec ei potuit denegari. Hunc si diligis, detestare; si non vis ut in aeternum puniatur, exhorre. Sic existimationi tuae, sic est vitae illius consulendum: nam qui in eo diligit quod odit Deus, non solum odit ipsum, sed etiam seipsum.

12. Quae cum ita sint, nec de tua benignitate credo quod tanti sceleris auctor vel particeps fueris, neque quod malitiosa crudelitate fefelleris: quod absit a vita et moribus tuis! Nor amicitias vestras tales volo, quibus et ille in suum interitum glorietur de malo, et confirmetur humana suspicio; sed tales potius, quibus ad poenitentiam disponatur, et talem ac tantam poenitentiam, qualem quantamque postulant tam horrenda vulnera medicinam: tanto quippe amicior eris, quanto sceleribus ejus inimicior. Curiosum est Praestantiae tuae nosse rescriptis, ubi eo die fueris quo illud admissum est; quomodo acceperis, quid postea egeris, aut cum eum videris quid ei dixeris, quid ab illo audieris. Ego enim ex quo inde postridie repente discessi, nihil quod hanc rem attinet, de te audire potui.

13. Quod vero in epistola tua legi, jam te cogi credere, ne a me videreris, et Carthagini me negatum, tu potius cogis his verbis ut absentiae meae causas non taceam. Quarum est una, quoniam laborem quem in illa urbe perpeti necesse est, et quem si exponere velim, aliud tantum loquendum est, jam sustinere non possum, quod infirmitati meae propriae, quae nota est omnibus qui familiarius me noverunt, accessit etiam senectus, quae generis humani est communis infirmitas. Altera causa est, quod statui, si Dominus velit, quantum mihi ex illis occupationibus, quas Ecclesiae, cui proprio munere servio, necessitas flagitat, datur temporis, id totum impendere labori studiorum ad ecclesiasticas scientias pertinentium; ubi me arbitror, si Dei misericordiae placet, etiam posteris aliquid profuturum.

By gratuitous cruelty therefore, by no necessity (although there were also other causes, which we suspect, and it is not necessary to commit to letters, perhaps), he atrociously saddened the Church. To the bosom of which Church his brother, fearing to perish, had fled, that he might find him as a living counselor of so great a crime: of which Church even he himself, when he had offended his patron, sought asylum, nor could it be denied to him. If you love him, detest him; if you do not wish that he be punished eternally, abhor him. Thus your reputation, thus his life is to be consulted: for he who loves in him what God hates, not only hates him, but also himself.

12. Since these things are so, I neither believe of your benignity that you were the author or participant of so great a crime, nor that you deceived by malicious cruelty: which be far from your life and manners! Nor do I wish your friendships to be such, in which both he may glory in evil to his own destruction, and human suspicion may be confirmed; but such rather, in which he may be disposed to repentance, and such and so great a repentance, as horrendous wounds demand as medicine: for you will be so much more a friend, as you are more an enemy to his crimes. It is of interest for your Excellence to know by rescripts, where you were on that day on which that was admitted; how you received it, what you did afterward, or when you saw him what you said to him, what you heard from him. For I, from the time I suddenly departed from there the next day, have been able to hear nothing which pertains to this matter, concerning you.

13. But as to what I read in your letter, that you are now compelled to believe, lest you should seem to me, even that I was denied at Carthage, you rather compel by these words that I should not be silent about the causes of my absence. Of which one is, because the labor which it is necessary to endure in that city, and which if I should wish to set forth, just as much more is to be spoken, I am now no longer able to sustain, because to my own infirmity, which is known to all who have known me more familiarly, old age has also been added, which is a common infirmity of the human race. The other cause is, because I have determined, if the Lord wills, as much time as is given to me from those occupations, which the necessity of the Church, which I serve by my own office, demands, to spend that whole time on the labor of studies pertaining to ecclesiastical sciences; where I judge, if it pleases the mercy of God, that I will also be of some benefit to posterity.

14. Unum est autem, si verum quaeris audire, quod in te molestissime fero, quod cum sis et hujus jam aetatis, et hujus vitae ac probitatis, adhuc vis esse catechumenus; quasi fideles non possint, quanto sint fideliores atque meliores, tanto fidelius ac melius administrare rempublicam. Quid autem boni agitis in his tantis curis et laboribus vestris, nisi ut bene sit hominem? Si enim hoc non agitis, vel dormire satius est noctesque diesque, quam vigilare in laboribus publicis, nulli utilitati hominum profuturis. Nec sane dubito Excellentiam tuam . . . .

Epistola CLII.

Macedonius Augustino, quaerens num ex religione sit quod episcopi apud judices intercedant pro reis.

Domino merito venerabili, et unice colendo patri AUGUSTINO, MACEDONIUS.

1. Optatas admodum Sanctitatis tuae litteras accepi per Bonifacium venerandae legis antistitem; quem eo magis receptum dilexi quod a me desiderata pertulerat, sermonem Sanctitatis tuae et incolumitatem, domine merito venerabilis, et unice colende pater. Itaque sine mora quod petebat obtinuit. Verum quoniam existit occasio, hoc ipsum quantulumcumque est quod admonitus indulsi, nolo sine mercede remanere. Cupio enim accipere eam quae mihi commodet sine pendentis incommodo, imo quae mihi commodet cum gloria dependentis.

2. Officium sacerdotii vestri esse dicitis intervenire pro reis, et nisi obtineatis, offendi, quasi quod erat officii vestri minime reportetis. Hic ego vehementer ambigo utrum istud ex religione descendat. Nam si a Domino peccata adeo prohibentur, ut ne poenitendi quidem copia post primam tribuatur; quemadmodum nos possumus ex religione contendere ut nobis qualecumque illud crimen fuerit, dimittatur? quod utique, cum impunitum volumus, probamus. Et si constat non minus auctorem quam probatorem teneri in omnibus quae peccantur, certum est nos culpae societate vinciri, quoties eum impunitum esse cupimus, qui culpae tenetur obnoxius. Tum praeterea accedit hoc quod gravius est. Nam omnia peccata videntur veniabiliora, cum is qui reus est correctionem promittit: verum nunc, ut mores nostri sunt, et sceleris poenam cupiunt homines sibi relaxari, et id propter quod scelus admissum est, possidere. Pro his quoque interveniendum putat sacerdotium vestrum, de quibus adeo futuri nulla spes est, ut etiam in praesenti eadem criminis ratio perseveret. Nam qui tam pervicaciter tenet propter quae crimen admisit, ostendit se, ubi licentia fuerit, similia peccaturum.

14. There is one thing, however, if you seek to hear the truth, which I bear most annoyingly in you, that although you are both of this age now, and of this life and probity, you still wish to be a catechumen; as if the faithful could not, the more faithful and better they are, so much the more faithfully and better administer the republic. For what good do you act in these so great cares and labors of yours, except that it may be well for men? For if you do not act for this, it is even better to sleep nights and days, than to watch in public labors, about to benefit no utility of men. Nor surely do I doubt your Excellence . . . .

Epistle CLII.

Macedonius to Augustine, asking whether it is from religion that bishops intercede before judges for the guilty.

To the Lord deservedly venerable, and uniquely to be cherished father AUGUSTINE, MACEDONIUS.

1. I received the much desired letters of your Holiness through Boniface the prelate of the venerable law; whom I loved more for having been received because he had brought the things desired by me, the speech of your Holiness and your health, lord deservedly venerable, and uniquely to be cherished father. Therefore without delay he obtained what he was seeking. Truly since the occasion exists, this very thing, however small it is, which having been admonished I granted, I do not wish to remain without reward. For I desire to receive that which may accommodate me without the inconvenience of the one hanging, nay rather which may accommodate me with the glory of the one paying back.

2. You say it is the office of your priesthood to intervene for the guilty, and unless you obtain it, you are offended, as if you did not report back at all what was of your office. Here I vehemently doubt whether that descends from religion. For if sins are so prohibited by the Lord, that not even an abundance of repenting is granted after the first; how can we contend from religion that whatever that crime was, it should be dismissed for us? Which certainly, when we wish it unpunished, we approve. And if it is certain that the author is held no less than the approver in all things which are sinned, it is certain that we are bound by the society of fault, as often as we desire him to be unpunished, who is held obnoxious to fault. Then besides this happens which is more grave. For all sins seem more venial, when he who is guilty promises correction: but now, as our manners are, men both desire the punishment of the crime to be relaxed for them, and to possess that on account of which the crime was admitted. For these also your priesthood thinks it must intervene, concerning whom there is no hope of the future, so that even in the present the same reason of crime perseveres. For he who so pertinaciously holds that on account of which he admitted the crime, shows that he, where there shall be license, will sin similarly.

3. Ob haec igitur consulo prudentiam tuam, et me hoc ambiguo quo laboro, absolvi desidero: nec ob aliam causam consultum te putes. Caeterum hoc mihi propositum est, ut intercessoribus, praesertim talis meriti qualis tu es, etiam gratiam agam. Pleraque enim quae sponte facere videri nolo, ne remissio severitatis alios armet in crimina, opto bonis intercessoribus relaxare, ut quod libens concedo, salva severitate judicii, alterius merito videatur indultum. De scriptis Sanctitatis tuae aliqua mihi promiseras, et non accepi; quaeso ut vel nunc mittas, et ad hanc meam epistolam respondeas, ut quia Sanctitatem tuam interim videre non datur, saltem sermonibus tuis pascar. Incolumem Sanctitatem tuam divinitas aeterna tueatur aevo largissimo, domine merito venerabilis, et vere colende pater.

EPISTOLA CLIII . Quaesito respondet Augustinus; multa obiter disserens de restituendis rebus quae proximo ablatae vel male partae sunt. AUGUSTINUS episcopus, famulus Christi familiaeque ejus, dilecto filio MACEDONIO , in Domino salutem.

CAP. PRIMUM.

1. Negotiosissimum in republica virum, et non suis, sed aliorum utilitatibus attentissimum, qualem te esse et tibi gratulamur et rebus humanis, nec deserere debemus alloquio, nec occupare prooemio. Accipe itaque quod per me, vel nosse voluisti, vel utrum ipse nossem experiri. Quod si parvum aut superfluum judicares, nullo modo inter tam magnas tamque necessarias curas tuas curandum esse censeres. Quaeris a me cur officii sacerdotii nostri esse dicamus intervenire pro reis, et nisi obtineamus, offendi quasi quod erat officii nostri minime reportemus. Ubi vehementer te dicis ambigere utrum istud ex religione descendat. Deinde adjungis qua ratione ita movearis: Nam si a Domino peccata, inquis, adeo prohibentur, ut nec poenitendi quidem copia post primam tribuatur; quemadmodum nos possumus ex religione contendere ut qualecumque illud crimen fuerit, dimittatur? Adhuc gravius urges, et dicis, nos probare quod volumus impunitum; et si constat non minus auctorem quam probatorem teneri in omnibus quae peccantur, certum esse nos culpae societate vinciri, quoties eum impunitum esse cupimus, qui culpae tenetur obnoxius.

3. On account of these things, therefore, I consult your prudence, and I desire to be absolved from this ambiguity by which I labor: nor should you think you are consulted for any other cause. Moreover, this is my purpose, that to intercessors, especially of such merit as you are, I should even give thanks. For many things which I do not wish to be seen to do spontaneously, lest the remission of severity should arm others for crimes, I choose to relax for good intercessors, so that what I grant willingly, with the severity of judgment preserved, may seem indulged by the merit of another. You had promised me something from the writings of your Holiness, and I have not received it; I ask that you send it even now, and answer this letter of mine, so that because it is not granted to see your Holiness meanwhile, at least I may be fed by your speeches. May the eternal divinity protect your Holiness in safety for a most large age, lord deservedly venerable, and truly to be cherished father.

EPISTLE CLIII. Augustine responds to the inquiry; discussing many things by the way concerning the restitution of things which were taken from a neighbor or evilly acquired. AUGUSTINE bishop, servant of Christ and of his family, to his beloved son MACEDONIUS, greeting in the Lord.

CHAPTER I.

1. A man most busy in the republic, and most attentive not to his own, but to the utilities of others, such as we congratulate both you and human affairs that you are, we ought neither to desert by speech, nor to occupy by a prooemium. Receive therefore what you willed either to know through me, or to experience whether I myself knew. Which if you judged small or superfluous, in no way would you have censured that it should be cared for among your so great and so necessary cares. You ask from me why we say it is the office of our priesthood to intervene for the guilty, and unless we obtain it, we are offended as if we did not report back at all what was of our office. Where you say you vehemently doubt whether that descends from religion. Then you add by what reason you are so moved: For if sins are so prohibited by the Lord, you say, that not even an abundance of repenting is granted after the first; how can we contend from religion that whatever that crime was, it should be dismissed? Still more gravely you urge, and say, that we approve what we wish unpunished; and if it is certain that the author is held no less than the approver in all things which are sinned, it is certain that we are bound by the society of fault, as often as we desire him to be unpunished, who is held obnoxious to fault.

2. His verbis quem non terreas tuae lenitatis et humanitatis ignarum? Unde nos qui te novimus, et haec quaerendi gratia, non decernendi, scripsisse minime dubitamus, aliis verbis tuis ad ista citius respondemus. Tanquam enim nos haesitare in hac quaestione nolueris, aut praevidisti quid dicturi essemus, aut admonuisti quid dicere deberemus; et aisti: Tum praeterea accedit hoc quod gravius est. Nam omnia peccata videntur veniabiliora, cum is qui reus est correctionem promittit. Antequam ergo discutiam quid sit illud gravius quod in epistola tua sequitur, hoc interim quod dedisti accipiam, eoque utar ad molem hanc amovendam, qua nostrae intercessiones posse reprimi videbantur. Ideo quippe, quantum facultas datur, pro peccatis omnibus intercedimus, quia omnia peccata videntur veniabiliora, cum is qui reus est correctionem promittit. Haec tua est, haec et nostra sententia.

3. Nullo modo ergo culpas quas corrigi volumus, approbamus, nec quod perperam committitur, ideo volumus impunitum esse, quia placet; sed hominem miserantes, facinus autem seu flagitium detestantes, quanto magis nobis displicet vitium, tanto minus volumus inemendatum interire vitiosum. Facile enim est atque proclive malos odisse, quia mali sunt: rarum autem et pium eosdem ipsos diligere, quia homines sunt; ut in uno simul et culpam improbes, et naturam approbes, ac propterea culpam justius oderis, quod ea foedatur natura quam diligis. Non est igitur iniquitatis, sed potius humanitatis societate devinctus, qui propterea est criminis persecutor, ut sit hominis liberator. Morum porro corrigendorum nullus alius quam in hac vita locus est; nam post hanc, quisque id habebit quod in hac sibimet conquisierit. Ideo compellimur humani generis charitate intervenire pro reis, ne istam vitam sic finiant per supplicium, ut ea finita non possint finire supplicium.

CAPUT II.

4. Noli ergo dubitare hoc officium nostrum ex religione descendere, cum Deus apud quem nulla est iniquitas, cujus summa potestas est, qui non tantum qualis quisque sit videt, verum etiam qualis futurus sit praevidet, qui solus potest in judicando non labi, quia in cognoscendo non potest falli, facit tamen, sicut Evangelium loquitur, solem suum oriri super bonos et malos, et pluit super justos et injustos.

2. By these words whom would you not terrify, being ignorant of your lenity and humanity? Whence we who know you, and do not doubt at all that you wrote these things for the sake of inquiring, not of decreeing, answer those things more quickly by your other words. For as if you did not wish us to hesitate in this question, you either foresaw what we were about to say, or admonished what we ought to say; and you said: Then besides this happens which is more grave. For all sins seem more venial, when he who is guilty promises correction. Before therefore I discuss what that more grave thing is which follows in your letter, I will receive this meanwhile which you gave, and use it to remove this mass, by which our intercessions seemed able to be repressed. Therefore indeed, as much as faculty is given, we intercede for all sins, because all sins seem more venial, when he who is guilty promises correction. This is your opinion, this also is ours.

3. In no way, therefore, do we approve the faults which we wish to be corrected, nor do we wish what is wrongly committed to be unpunished for this reason, because it pleases; but pitying the man, but detesting the deed or the disgrace, as much as the vice displeases us more, so much less do we wish the vicious man to perish uncorrected. For it is easy and inclined to hate the evil, because they are evil: but rare and pious to love those same ones, because they are men; so that in one you at once disapprove the fault and approve the nature, and therefore you hate the fault more justly, because by it that nature which you love is defiled. He is not therefore bound by the society of iniquity, but rather of humanity, who is a persecutor of the crime for this reason, that he may be a liberator of the man. Furthermore, there is no other place for correcting manners than in this life; for after this, each one will have that which he has sought for himself in this one. Therefore we are compelled by the charity of the human race to intervene for the guilty, lest they should so end this life through punishment, that it being finished they cannot finish punishment.

CHAPTER II.

4. Do not therefore doubt that this office of ours descends from religion, since God with whom there is no iniquity, whose power is supreme, who not only sees of what sort each one is, but truly even foresees of what sort he will be, who alone can not slip in judging, because he cannot be deceived in knowing, nevertheless makes, as the Gospel speaks, his sun to rise upon the good and the evil, and rains upon the just and the unjust.

Cujus mirabilis bonitatis ut simus imitatores, Dominus Christus exhortans, Diligite, inquit, inimicos vestros; benefacite eis qui vos oderunt; et orate pro eis qui vos persequuntur: ut sitis filii Patris vestri qui in coelis est, qui facit solem suum oriri super bonos et malos, et pluit super justos et injustos (Matth. V, 44, 45). Hac indulgentia et lenitate divina multos abuti ad perniciem suam quis nesciat? Quos arguens Apostolus et graviter increpans dicit: Existimas autem, o homo omnis qui judicas eos qui talia agunt, et facis ea, quoniam tu effugies judicium Dei? An divitias benignitatis ejus, et patientiae, et longanimitatis contemnis? ignoras quoniam benignitas Dei ad poenitentiam te adducit? Secundum autem duritiam tuam et cor impoenitens thesaurizas tibi iram in die irae et revelationis justi judicii Dei, qui reddet unicuique secundum opera ejus (Rom. II, 3-6). Numquid quoniam isti in sua nequitia perseverant, ideo Deus in sua patientia non perseverat; per pauca in hoc saeculo puniens, ne divina providentia non esse credatur, et multa servans ultimo examini, ut futurum judicium commendetur?

5. Non, ut opinor, magister ille coelestis impietatem nos diligere praecipit, cum praecipit ut nostros diligamus inimicos, benefaciacimus eis qui nos oderunt, oremus pro eis qui nos persequuntur; cum procul dubio, si pie Deum colimus, inimicos atque odiis adversum nos acerrimis incitatos ac persecutores, nisi impios habere non possimus. Num igitur diligendi sunt impii? num impiis benefaciendum est? num pro impiis etiam orandum est? Ita plane. Qui enim hoc praecipit, Deus est; nec tamen nos hoc pacto societati adjungit impiorum, quibus et ipse parcendo, et vitam salutemque largiendo, non utique sociatur. Consilium quippe ejus, quantum homini pio nosse donatum est, exponit Apostolus dicens, Ignoras quia patientia Dei ad poenitentiam te adducit? Ad hanc volumus adduci pro quibus intervenimus; non eorum peccatis vel parcimus, vel favemus.

CAPUT III.

6. Nam quosdam quorum crimina manifesta sunt, a vestra severitate liberatos, a societate tamen removemus altaris, ut poenitendo placare possint quem peccando contempserant, seque ipsos puniendo. Nam nihil aliud agit quem veraciter poenitet, nisi ut id quod mali fecerit, impunitum esse non sinat: eo quippe modo sibi non parcenti ille parcit, cujus altum justumque judicium nullus contemptor evadit.

Of which wonderful goodness that we may be imitators, the Lord Christ exhorting, says: Love your enemies; do good to those who hate you; and pray for those who persecute you: that you may be children of your Father who is in heaven, who makes his sun to rise upon the good and the evil, and rains upon the just and the unjust (Matthew 5:44, 45). Who knows not that many abuse this divine indulgence and lenity to their own destruction? Whom the Apostle arguing and gravely rebuking says: But do you think, O every man who judges those who do such things, and do them, that you will escape the judgment of God? Or do you despise the riches of his benignity, and patience, and long-suffering? do you not know that the benignity of God leads you to repentance? But according to your hardness and impenitent heart you treasure up for yourself wrath in the day of wrath and revelation of the just judgment of God, who will render to each one according to his works (Romans 2:3-6). Is it because these persevere in their iniquity, therefore God does not persevere in his patience; punishing through few things in this world, lest divine providence be believed not to exist, and reserving many things for the last examination, that the future judgment may be commended?

5. Not, as I think, does that celestial master command us to love impiety, when he commands that we love our enemies, do good to those who hate us, pray for those who persecute us; when without doubt, if we piously worship God, we cannot have enemies and those incited by the sharpest hatreds against us and persecutors, except the impious. Must the impious therefore be loved? must good be done to the impious? must it even be prayed for the impious? Clearly so. For He who commands this is God; nor nevertheless does He by this pact join us to the society of the impious, to whom He Himself also by sparing, and by bestowing life and safety, certainly is not associated. Indeed His counsel, as much as it has been granted to a pious man to know, the Apostle sets forth saying: Do you not know that the patience of God leads you to repentance? To this we wish them to be led for whom we intervene; we neither spare nor favor their sins.

CHAPTER III.

6. For some whose crimes are manifest, having been liberated from your severity, we nevertheless remove from the society of the altar, so that by repenting they may be able to appease him whom they had contemned by sinning, and by punishing themselves. For he who truly repents acts for nothing else than that he may not allow what evil he has done to be unpunished: for in that way he who does not spare himself is spared by Him whose high and just judgment no contemner escapes.

Quod si iniquis et scelestis ille parcendo, eisque vitam salutemque largiendo, etiam plerisque corum quos novit non acturos poenitentiam, tamen exhibet patientiam; quanto magis nos in eos qui correctionem promittunt, et utrum faciant quod promittunt incerti sumus, misericordes esse debemus, ut rigorem vestrum pro eis intercedendo flectamus, pro quibus et Dominum, quem nihil de moribus eorum etiam futuris latet, non tamen impudenter, quia hoc ipse praecepit, oramus!

7. In tantum autem hominum aliquando iniquitas progreditur, ut etiam post actam poenitentiam, post altaris reconciliationem, vel similia vel graviora committant: et tamen Deus facit etiam super tales oriri solem suum; nec minus tribuit quam ante tribuebat largissima munera vitae ac salutis. Et quamvis eis in Ecclesia locus humillimae poenitentiae non concedatur; Deus tamen super eos suae patientiae non obliviscitur. Ex quorum numero si quis nobis dicat, Aut date mihi eumdem iterum poenitendi locum, aut desperatum me permittite, ut faciam quidquid libuerit, quantum meis opibus adjuvor, et humanis legibus non prohibeor, in scortis, omnique luxuria, damnabili quidem apud Dominum, sed apud homines plerosque etiam laudabili: aut si me ab hac nequitia revocatis, dicite utrum mihi aliquid prosit ad vitam futuram, si in ista vita illecebrosissimae voluptatis blandimenta contempsero, si libidinum incitamenta frenavero, si ad castigandum corpus meum multa mihi etiam licita et concessa subtraxero, si me poenitendo vehementius quam prius excruciavero, si miserabilius ingemuero; si flevero uberius, si vixero melius, si pauperes sustentavero largius, si charitate, quae operit multitudinem peccatorum (I Petr. VIII, 4), flagravero ardentius; quis nostrum ita desipit, ut huic homini dicat, Nihil tibi ista proderunt in posterum; vade, saltem vitae hujus suavitate perfruere? Avertat Deus tam immanem sacrilegamque dementiam! Quamvis ergo caute salubriterque provisum sit ut locus illius humillimae poenitentiae semel in Ecclesia concedatur, ne medicina vilis minus utilis esset aegrotis, quae tanto magis salubris est, quanto minus contemptibilis fuerit; quis tamen audeat dicere Deo: Quare huic homini, qui post primam poenitentiam rursus se laqueis iniquitatis obstringit, adhuc iterum parcis? Quis audeat dicere erga istos non agi quod Apostolus ait, Ignoras quia patientia Dei ad poenitentiam te adducit? aut istis exceptis esse definitum quod scriptum est, Beati omnes qui confidunt in eum (Psal. II, 13)? aut ad istos non pertinere quod dicitur, Viriliter agite, et confortetur cor vestrum, omnes qui speratis in Dominum (Psal. XXX, 25)?

But if He, by sparing the iniquitous and wicked, and by bestowing life and safety upon them, even on many of them whom He knows will not act in repentance, nevertheless exhibits patience; how much more ought we to be merciful toward those who promise correction, and we are uncertain whether they may do what they promise, so that we may bend your rigor by interceding for them, for whom we also pray to the Lord, from whom nothing of their manners even future is hidden, nevertheless not impudenter, because He himself commanded this!

7. Into so much, however, does the iniquity of men sometimes progress, that even after repentance has been acted, after the reconciliation of the altar, they commit either similar or more grave things: and nevertheless God makes His sun to rise even upon such; nor does He bestow less than He before bestowed the most large gifts of life and safety. And although a place of most humble repentance is not granted to them in the Church; God nevertheless does not forget His patience upon them. From whose number if anyone should say to us: Either give me that same place of repenting again, or permit me as one despaired of, that I may do whatever shall please me, as much as I am helped by my resources, and not prohibited by human laws, in harlots, and all luxury, damnable indeed before the Lord, but among many men even laudable: or if you recall me from this iniquity, say whether anything may benefit me for the future life, if in this life I shall have contemned the blandishments of most enticing pleasure, if I shall have curbed the incitements of lusts, if for the sake of chastising my body I shall have subtracted from myself many things even licit and granted, if by repenting I shall have excruciated myself more vehemently than before, if I shall have groaned more miserably; if I shall have wept more abundantly, if I shall have lived better, if I shall have sustained the poor more largely, if I shall have burned more ardently with charity, which covers a multitude of sins (1 Peter 4:8); who of us is so foolish, that he should say to this man: These things will benefit you nothing for the future; go, at least enjoy the sweetness of this life? May God avert such a monstrous and sacrilegious madness! Although therefore it was cautiously and healthfully provided that a place of that most humble repentance be granted once in the Church, lest a cheap medicine should be less useful to the sick, which is so much more healthful, as it shall have been less contemptible; who nevertheless would dare to say to God: Why do you still again spare this man, who after the first repentance again binds himself in the snares of iniquity? Who would dare to say that toward those that is not acted which the Apostle says: Do you not know that the patience of God leads you to repentance? or that it is defined with these excepted what is written: Blessed are all who trust in him (Psalm 2:12)? or that what is said does not pertain to these: Act manfully, and let your heart be comforted, all you who hope in the Lord (Psalm 31:24)?

8. Cum igitur super peccatores tanta sit patientia, tanta misericordia Dei, ut in hac temporali vita moribus emendatis, non damnentur in aeternum; qui nullius quae sibi praebeatur exspectat misericordiam, quoniam nemo est illo beatior, nemo potentior, nemo justior: quales non esse oportet homines erga homines, qui hanc vitam nostram quantacumque laude cumulemus, eam sine peccato esse non dicimus? quod si dixerimus, nos ipsos, sicut scriptum est, decipimus, et veritas in nobis non est (I Joan. I, 8). Proinde licet accusatoris alia persona sit, alia defensoris, alia intercessoris, alia judicis, de quorum propriis officiis nimis longum est, et non necessarium hoc sermone disserere; sic tamen etiam ipsos criminum ultores, atque in hoc officio non ira propria concitatos, sed legum ministros, nec suarum, sed alienarum examina tarum injuriarum vindices, quales judices esse debent, terruit censura divina, ut cogitarent sibi propter sua peccata Dei misericordiam necessariam, nec putarent ad culpam sui officii pertinere, si quid erga eos misericorditer agerent, quorum vitae necisque haberent legitimam potestatem.

CAPUT IV.

9. Nam cum ad Dominum Christum Judaei adduxissent mulierem in adulterio comprehensam, eumque tentantes dicerent quod jussa esset Lege lapidari, ac deinde quaererent quid de illa ipse praeciperet; respondit eis: Qui sine peccato est vestrum, prior in eam lapidem jaciat (Joan. VIII, 7). Ita nec Legem improbavit, quae hujusmodi reas jussit occidi; et illos terrendo ad misericordiam revocavit, quorum judicio haec posset occidi. Puto quod hac sententia Domini audita, si praesens fuit etiam maritus ipse qui violatam sui tori fidem vindicari postulabat, exterritus animum ad voluntatem parcendi ab ulciscendi cupiditate deflexit. Nam quomodo non est admonitus accusator ne suas persequeretur injurias, quando ipsi judices ita sunt a vindicando prohibiti, qui in adultera punienda, non privato dolori compellebantur servire, sed Legi? Unde Joseph, cui virgo Maria, Domini mater, fuerat desponsata, cum eam comperisset esse praegnantem, cui se noverat non esse commixtum, et ob hoc nihil aliud quam adulteram credidisset, puniri tamen eam noluit; nec approbator flagitii fuit Nam haec voluntas ejus etiam justitiae deputatur: ita quippe de illo scriptum est, Et cum esset homo justus, et nollet eam divulgare, statuit eam occulte dimittere. Haec eo cogitante, apparuit illi angelus qui doceret esse numinis, quod ille putaverat criminis (Matth. I, 18-20).

8. Since therefore there is such patience, such mercy of God over sinners, that their manners having been emended in this temporal life, they may not be damned for eternity; who expects the mercy of no one to be offered to himself, since no one is more blessed than He, no one more powerful, no one more just: of what sort does it not behoove men to be toward men, who however much we may heap this life of ours with praise, do not say that it is without sin? because if we shall have said so, we deceive ourselves, as it is written, and the truth is not in us (1 John 1:8). Accordingly although the person of the accuser is one, another of the defender, another of the intercessor, another of the judge, concerning whose proper offices it is too long, and not necessary to discuss in this speech; nevertheless thus even the avengers of crimes themselves, and in this office not incited by their own wrath, but ministers of the laws, and vindicators of not their own, but of the examined injuries of others, of what sort judges ought to be, divine censure has terrified, so that they might think the mercy of God necessary for themselves on account of their own sins, nor think it pertained to the fault of their office, if they acted mercifully toward anything toward those, of whose life and death they had legitimate power.

CHAPTER IV.

9. For when the Jews had brought to the Lord Christ a woman caught in adultery, and tempting him said that she had been ordered by the Law to be stoned, and then asked what he himself would prescribe concerning her; he answered them: "He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her" (John 8:7). Thus he neither disapproved of the Law, which ordered such guilty ones to be killed; and by terrifying them he recalled to mercy those by whose judgment she could be killed. I think that having heard this sentence of the Lord, if the husband himself was present who was demanding that the violated faith of his bed be vindicated, terrified he turned his mind to the will of sparing from the desire of avenging. For how was the accuser not admonished not to pursue his own injuries, when the judges themselves were thus prohibited from avenging, who in punishing the adulteress were compelled to serve not private grief, but the Law? Whence Joseph, to whom the Virgin Mary, the mother of the Lord, had been betrothed, when he had found her to be pregnant, with whom he knew he had not been mixed, and for this reason had believed nothing else than that she was an adulteress, nevertheless did not wish her to be punished; nor was he an approver of the disgrace. For this will of his is even deputed to justice: for thus it is written of him, "And since he was a just man, and did not wish to divulge her, he decided to dismiss her secretly." While he was thinking these things, an angel appeared to him who might teach that to be of divinity, which he had thought to be of crime (Matthew 1:18-20).

10. Si ergo cogitata infirmitate communi, et accusatorius dolor, et judicatorius rigor frangitur; quod tandem censes pro reis esse debere, vel defensoris vel intercessoris officium? quandoquidem et vos viri boni qui nunc judices estis, et in foro aliquando versati causas hominum suscepistis, scitis quam libentius defendere quam accusare soleretis. Et tamen defensor ab intercessore plurimum distat: nam ille diluendis vel obtegendis criminibus operam maxime impendit; intercessor autem etiam cum de culpa constat, pro poena removenda vel temperanda curam gerit. Hoc sunt apud Deum pro peccatoribus justi; hoc pro se ipsi peccantes invicem ut faciant admonentur: nam scriptum est, Confitemini invicem peccata vestra, et orate pro vobis (Jacobi V, 16). Has sibi partes humanitatis, ubi potest, omnis homo apud hominem vindicat. Nam quod ipse quisque domi suae puniret admissum, in alterius domo vult impunitum. Sive enim adhibeatur apud amicum, sive ille cuiquam in quem potestas ulciscendi est se praesente succenseat, sive irascenti fortuito superveniat; non justissimus, sed inhumanissimus judicatur, si non interveniat. Scio ego te ipsum cum aliis amicis tuis in ecclesia Carthaginensi intercessisse pro clerico, cui merito succensebat episcopus; et utique nullum ibi discrimen sanguinis sub incruenta disciplina timebatur: nec cum id, quod etiam vobis displicebat, inultum esse velletis, tanquam delicti approbatores vos judicabamus, sed tanquam humanissimos intercessores audiebamus. Si ergo vobis fas est ecclesiasticam correptionem intercedendo mitigare; quomodo episcopus vestro gladio debet intercedere, cum illa exeratur ut in quem exeritur bene vivat, iste ne vivat!

11. Postremo ipse Dominus apud homines intercessit, ne lapidaretur adultera, et eo modo nobis intercessionis commendavit officium; nisi quia ille terrendo fecit, quod nos petendo. Ille enim Dominus, nos servi sumus: verumtamen ille sic terruit, ut omnes timere debeamus. Quis enim est nostrum sine peccato? Quod cum illis dixisset a quibus ei offerebatur punienda peccatrix, ut qui sciret se esse sine peccato, prior in illam lapidem mitteret; cecidit saevitia, tremente conscientia: tunc enim ex illa jam congregatione dilapsi, solam misericordi miseram reliquerunt. Cedat huic sententiae pietas Christianorum, cui cessit impietas Judaeorum: cedat humilitas obsequentium, cui cessit superbia persequentium: cedat confessio fidelis, cui cessit simulatio tentatoris. Malis parce, vir bone: quanto melior, tanto esto mitior; quanto fic celsior potestate, tanto humilior fiere pietate .

10. If therefore, by thinking of our common infirmity, both the grief of the accuser and the rigor of the judge are broken; what at length do you think ought to be for the defendants, either the office of the defender or of the intercessor? since indeed both you good men who are now judges, and having sometimes been engaged in the forum have undertaken the causes of men, know how much more willingly you were accustomed to defend than to accuse. And yet the defender differs very much from the intercessor: for the former spends his effort mostly in washing away or covering over crimes; but the intercessor, even when the fault is certain, manages the care for removing or tempering the punishment. This the just are before God for sinners; this the sinners themselves for themselves are admonished to do in turn for one another: for it is written, "Confess your sins to one another, and pray for yourselves" (James 5:16). Every man vindicates for himself these parts of humanity, where he can, before another man. For what each one would punish as an offense in his own house, he wishes to be unpunished in another's house. For whether he be present with a friend, or if that friend should be angry in his presence with anyone over whom he has the power of avenging, or if he should happen upon one who is angry; he is judged not most just, but most inhuman, if he does not intervene. I know that you yourself with other friends of yours in the church of Carthage intervened for a cleric, with whom the bishop was deservedly angry; and certainly no danger of blood was feared there under the bloodless discipline: nor when you wished that to be unpunished which also displeased you, did we judge you as approvers of the fault, but we heard you as most humane intercessors. If therefore it is lawful for you to mitigate ecclesiastical correction by intervening; how much more ought the bishop to intervene with your sword, since the former is unsheathed so that he against whom it is unsheathed may live well, but the latter so that he may not live!

11. Finally the Lord himself intervened before men, lest the adulteress be stoned, and in that way commended to us the office of intercession; except that he did by terrifying, what we do by petitioning. For he is the Lord, we are servants: nevertheless he thus terrified, so that we all ought to fear. For who of us is without sin? Which when he had said to those by whom the sinner was offered to him to be punished, so that he who knew himself to be without sin, might first cast a stone at her; their cruelty fell, their conscience trembling: for then having slipped away from that congregation, they left the wretched woman alone to the Merciful one. Let the piety of Christians yield to this sentence, to which the impiety of the Jews yielded: let the humility of the obedient yield, to which the pride of the persecutors yielded: let the faithful confession yield, to which the simulation of the tempter yielded. Spare the evil, good man: the better you are, the milder be; the higher you are in power, the humbler become in piety.

CAPUT V.

12. Ego quidem intuens, mores tuos, appellavi te virum bonum; sed tu intuens verba Christi, dic tibi ipsi: Nemo bonus, nisi unus Deus (Marc. X, 18). Quod cum verum sit (hoc enim Veritas dixit), nec ego tamen illud existimari debeo fallaci assentatione dixisse, et dominicis verbis quasi contrarius exstitisse, ut cum ille dicat, Nemo bonus, nisi unus Deus, ego te appellaverim virum bonum: non enim et ipse Dominus contraria sibi locutus est, ubi ait, Bonus homo de bono thesauro cordis sui profert bona (Luc VI, 45). Deus ergo singulariter bonus est, et hoc amittere non potest; nullius enim boni participatione bonus est, quoniam bonum quo bonus est, ipse sibi est: homo autem cum bonus est, ab illo bonus est; quod a seipso esse non potest. Illius enim spiritu boni fiunt, quicumque boni fiunt; cujus capax creata est nostra natura per propriam voluntatem. Pertinet ergo ad nos, ut boni simus, accipere et habere quod dat qui de suo bonus est: quo quisque neglecto, de suo malus est. Proinde in quantum homo recte agit, id est, scienter et amanter et pie bonum operatur, in tantum bonus est: in quantum autem peccat, id est, a veritate et charitate et pietate deviat, in tantum malus est. Quis autem est in hac vita sine aliquo peccato? Sed eum dicimus bonum, cujus praevalent bona; eumque optimum, qui peccat minimum.

13. Idcirco ipse Dominus, quos dicit bonos propter participationem gratiae divinae, eosdem etiam malos dicit propter vitia infirmitatis humanae; donec totum quo constamus, ab omni vitiositate sanatum, transeat in eam vitam, ubi nihil omnino peccabitur. Nam utique bonos docebat orare, non malos, quibus praecepit ut dicerent, Pater noster, qui es in coelis. Ex hoc enim boni quo filii Dei, non natura geniti, sed gratia facti, tanquam hi quibus recipientibus eum, dedit potestatem filios Dei fieri (Joan. I, 12). Quae generatio spiritualis, more Scripturarum, etiam adoptio nominatur, ut distinguatur ab illa generatione Dei de Deo, coaeterni de aeterno, unde scriptum est: Generationem ejus quis enarrabit (Isai. LIII, 8)? Cum ergo bonos esse demonstraverit, quos voluit Deo veraciter dicere, Pater noster, qui es in coelis; praecepit tamen ut in eadem oratione inter caetera dicerent: Dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris.

CHAPTER V.

12. I indeed, looking at your manners, have called you a good man; but you, looking at the words of Christ, say to yourself: "No one is good, but one, God" (Mark 10:18). Which since it is true (for Truth has said this), yet I ought not to be thought to have said that by fallacious flattery, and to have stood as it were contrary to the Lord's words, so that when he says, "No one is good, but one, God," I should have called you a good man: for the Lord himself did not speak contrary to himself, where he says, "A good man out of the good treasure of his heart brings forth good things" (Luke 6:45). God therefore is singularly good, and cannot lose this; for he is good by the participation of no good, since the good by which he is good, he is to himself: but man when he is good, is good from Him; which he cannot be from himself. For by his spirit they become good, whoever become good; of which our nature was created capable through its own will. It pertains therefore to us, that we be good, to receive and to have what he gives who is good from his own: which each one neglecting, is evil from his own. Accordingly in as much as a man acts rightly, that is, knowingly and lovingly and piously works good, in so much he is good: but in as much as he sins, that is, deviates from truth and charity and piety, in so much he is evil. But who is in this life without some sin? But we call him good, whose good things prevail; and him the best, who sins the least.

13. Therefore the Lord himself, whom he calls good on account of the participation of divine grace, the same he also calls evil on account of the vices of human infirmity; until the whole of which we consist, healed from all viciousness, passes into that life where nothing at all will be sinned. For certainly he was teaching the good to pray, not the evil, whom he commanded to say, "Our Father, who art in heaven." For from this they are good in as much as they are sons of God, not born by nature, but made by grace, as those to whom, receiving him, he gave power to become sons of God (John 1:12). Which spiritual generation, after the manner of the Scriptures, is also called adoption, so that it may be distinguished from that generation of God from God, of the co-eternal from the eternal, whence it is written: "His generation who shall declare?" (Isaiah 53:8). Since therefore he has demonstrated that they are good, whom he wished to say truly to God, "Our Father, who art in heaven"; nevertheless he commanded that in the same prayer among other things they should say: "Forgive us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors."

Quae debita esse peccata, quamvis manifestum sit, postea tamen manifestius declaravit dicens: Si enim dimiseritis peccata hominibus, dimittet vobis et Pater vester peccata vestra (Matth. VI, 9, 12, 14). Hanc orationem baptizati orant, nec est prorsus praeteritorum aliquid peccatorum, quod non baptizatis in sancta Ecclesia dimittatur. Sed postea vivendo in hac fragilitate mortali, nisi contraherent quod dimittendum esset, non veraciter dicerent, Dimitte nobis debita nostra. Boni ergo, in quantum filii Dei sunt; in quantum autem peccant (quod sua non mendaci confessione testantur), utique mali sunt.

14. Nisi forte quis dicat, alia bonorum, alia malorum esse peccata; quod non usquequaque improbabiliter dicitur. Verumtamen Dominus Jesus sine ulla ambiguitate malos appellavit eosdem ipsos quorum patrem dicebat Deum. Nam in eodem sermone, ubi illam docet orationem, alio loco exhortans ad precandum Deum, ait, Petite, et accipietis; quaerite, et invenietis; pulsate, et aperietur vobis. Omnis enim qui petit, accipit; et qui quaerit, invenit; et pulsanti aperietur: et paulo post, Si ergo vos, inquit, cum sitis mali, nostis bona data dare filiis vestris; quanto magis Pater vester, qui in coelis est, dabit bona petentibus se (Matth. VII, 7, 8, 11)? Num igitur Deus pater malorum est? Absit. Quomodo ergo dicitur, pater vester coelestis, quibus dicitur, cum sitis mali: nisi quia utrumque Veritas monstrat, quid simus Dei bono , quid humano vitio; hoc commendans, illud emendans? Merito ait Seneca (qui temporibus Apostolorum fuit, cujus etiam quaedam ad Paulum apostolum leguntur epistolae): Omnes odi qui malos odit. Et tamen ideo diligendi sunt mali, ut non sint mali; quemadmodum, non ut permaneant, sed ut sanentur, diliguntur aegroti.

15. Quidquid autem post eam quae fit in Baptismo, abolitionem peccatorum, in hac vita manendo peccamus, etiamsi non tale sit quod a divinis removeri compellat altaribus, non dolore sterili, sed misericordiae sacrificiis expiatur. Quod ergo agimus ut faciatis intercedentibus nobis, Deo nos noveritis offerre pro vobis. Indigetis enim misericordia quam praebetis; et videte quis dixerit, Dimittite et dimittetur vobis, date et dabitur vobis (Luc. VI, 37, 38). Quanquam etiamsi ita viveremus, ut non esset quare diceremus, Dimitte nobis debita nostra; quanto a nequitia purior animus esset, tanto clementia plenior esse deberet, ut si non compungeremur sententia Domini dicentis, Qui vestrum est sine peccato, prior in illam lapidem jaciat, ipsius qui hoc dixit sectaremur exemplum, qui cum esset utique sine peccato, ait mulieri quam perterriti illi reliquerant: Nec ego te damnabo; vade, jam denceps noli peccare.

Which debts although it is manifest that they are sins, yet afterwards he declared more manifestly saying: "For if you shall forgive men their sins, your Father also will forgive you your sins" (Matthew 6:9, 12, 14). The baptized pray this prayer, nor is there at all any of past sins, which is not forgiven to those baptized in the holy Church. But afterwards living in this mortal frailty, unless they contracted what was to be forgiven, they would not say truly, "Forgive us our debts." They are good, therefore, in as much as they are sons of God; but in as much as they sin (which they testify by their own non-lying confession), they are certainly evil.

14. Unless perhaps someone should say that the sins of the good are of one kind, those of the evil of another; which is said not altogether improbably. Nevertheless the Lord Jesus without any ambiguity called those same ones evil whose father he said God was. For in the same speech, where he teaches that prayer, in another place exhorting to pray to God, he says: "Ask, and you shall receive; seek, and you shall find; knock, and it shall be opened to you. For every one that asks, receives; and he that seeks, finds; and to him that knocks, it shall be opened": and a little after, "If you then," he says, "being evil, know how to give good gifts to your children; how much more will your Father, who is in heaven, give good things to them that ask him" (Matthew 7:7, 8, 11)? Is God therefore the father of the evil? Far from it. How then is it said, "your heavenly Father," to those to whom it is said, "since you are evil": except because Truth shows both, what we are by God's good, and what by human vice; commending the former, emending the latter? Deservedly did Seneca say (who was in the times of the Apostles, of whom even some letters to the apostle Paul are read): "I hate all who hate the evil." And yet for this reason the evil are to be loved, so that they may not be evil; just as the sick are loved, not so that they may remain so, but that they may be healed.

15. But whatever sins we commit remaining in this life after that abolition of sins which occurs in Baptism, even if it be not such as to compel removal from the divine altars, is expiated not by sterile grief, but by sacrifices of mercy. What therefore we do so that you may do it by our interceding, know that we offer it to God for you. For you stand in need of the mercy which you offer; and see who has said, "Forgive and you shall be forgiven, give and it shall be given to you" (Luke 6:37, 38). Although even if we lived so that there was no reason why we should say, "Forgive us our debts"; by how much the mind were purer from wickedness, by so much it ought to be fuller of clemency, so that if we were not pricked by the sentence of the Lord saying, "He of you who is without sin, let him first cast a stone at her," we might follow the example of him who said this, who since he was indeed without sin, said to the woman whom those terrified ones had left: "Neither will I condemn thee; go, from henceforth sin no more."

Potuit enim metuere flagitiosa mulier ne illis discedentibus, qui sua peccata cogitaverant ut peccato parcerent alieno, illam justissime jam ipse damnaret qui erat sine peccato. At ille non conscientia pavidus, sed plenus clementia, cum illa respondisset a nemine se fuisse damnatam, Nec ego te, inquit, damnabo: tanquam diceret, Si malitia tibi parcere potuit, quid metuis innocentiam? Et ne delictorum non donator, sed approbator videretur; Vade, ait, jam deinceps noli peccare; ut se homini pepercisse, non hominis culpam sibi placuisse monstraret. Jam vides igitur de religione descendere, nec nos societate criminum obstringi, quod intercedimus plerumque etiam pro sceleratis, etsi non scelerati, tamen pro peccatoribus peccatores, et quod veraciter potius quam injuriose dictum accipias, puto quod apud peccatores.

CAPUT VI.

16. Nec ideo sane frustra instituta sunt potestas regis, jus gladii cognitoris, ungulae carnificis, arma militis, disciplina dominantis, severitas etiam boni patris. Habent ista omnia modos suos, causas, rationes, utilitates. Haec cum timentur, et coercentur mali, et quietius inter malos vivunt boni: non quia boni pronuntiandi sunt qui talia metuendo non peccant, non enim bonus est quispiam timore poenae, sed amore justitiae; verumtamen non inutiliter etiam metu legum humana coercetur audacia, ut et tuta sit inter improbos innocentia, et in ipsis improbis dum formidato supplicio frenatur facultas, invocato Deo sanetur voluntas. Sed huic ordinationi rerum humanarum contrariae non sunt intercessiones episcoporum; imo vero nec causa, nec locus intercedendi ullus esset, si ista non essent. Tanto enim sunt intercedentium et parcentium beneficia gratiora, quanto peccantium justiora supplicia. Nec ob aliud, quantum sapio, in Veteri Testamento, antiquorum temporibus Prophetarum severior Legis vindicta fervebat, nisi ut ostenderetur recte iniquis poenas constitutas: ut quod eis parcere Novi Testamenti indulgentia commonemur, aut remedium sit salutis, quo peccatis parcatur et nostris; aut commendatio mansuetudinis, ut per eos qui parcunt, veritas praedicata non tantum timeatur, verum etiam diligatur.

For the shameful woman could fear lest, when those had departed who had thought upon their own sins so that they might spare another's sin, he who was without sin would now most justly condemn her. But he, not trembling in conscience, but full of clemency, when she had answered that she had been condemned by no one, said: "Neither will I condemn thee": as if he were saying, If malice could spare thee, what fearest thou innocence? And lest he should seem not a forgiver of faults, but an approver; "Go," he said, "from henceforth sin no more"; so that he might show that he had spared the human being, not that the human being's fault had pleased him. Now therefore you see that it descends from religion, nor are we bound by the society of crimes, because we intervene for the most part even for the wicked, though not ourselves wicked, yet as sinners for sinners, and which you may accept as said truly rather than injuriously, I think that it is among sinners.

CHAPTER VI.

16. Nor for that reason indeed have the power of the king, the right of the sword of the judge, the hooks of the executioner, the arms of the soldier, the discipline of the master, and even the severity of a good father been instituted in vain. All these things have their own modes, causes, reasons, and utilities. When these are feared, the evil are coerced, and the good live more quietly among the evil: not because they are to be pronounced good who do not sin by fearing such things, for no one is good by fear of punishment, but by love of justice; nevertheless not uselessly is human audacity coerced even by fear of the laws, so that innocence may be safe among the wicked, and in the wicked themselves while the faculty is curbed by the dreaded punishment, the will may be healed by calling upon God. But the intercessions of bishops are not contrary to this ordering of human affairs; on the contrary, there would be no cause nor any place for interceding if these things did not exist. For the benefits of those interceding and sparing are the more grateful, as the punishments of those sinning are the more just. Nor for any other reason, as far as I understand, in the Old Testament, in the times of the ancient Prophets, did the more severe vengeance of the Law boil, except that it might be shown that punishments were rightly established for the iniquitous: so that that we are admonished by the indulgence of the New Testament to spare them, may be either a remedy of salvation, by which our own sins also may be spared; or a commendation of mansuetude, so that through those who spare, the truth preached may not only be feared, but even loved.

17. Plurimum autem interest quo animo quisque parcat. Sicut enim est aliquando misericordia puniens, ita et crudelitas parcens. Nam, ut exempli gratia manifestum aliquid ponam, quis non crudelem verius dixerit eum qui puero pepercerit volenti obstinatissime de serpentibus ludere? quis autem non misericordem qui talia prohibens, contemptorem verborum etiam verberibus emendaverit? et ideo non usque ad mortem protendenda est disciplina, ut sit cui prodesse possit. Quanquam etiam cum homo ab homine occiditur, multum distet utrum fiat nocendi cupiditate, vel injuste aliquid auferendi, sicut fit ab inimico, sicut a latrone; an ulciscendi vel obediendi ordine, sicut a judice, sicut a carnifice; an evadendi vel subveniendi necessitate, sicut interimitur latro a viatore, hostis a milite. Et aliquando qui causa mortis fuit, potius in culpa est, quam ille qui occidit; velut si quisquam decipiat fidejussorem suum, atque ille pro isto supplicium legitimum luat. Nec tamen omnis qui causa alienae mortis est, reus est. Quid si enim quisquam stuprum petat, seseque, si non impetraverit, interimat? quid si filius timens patris pia verbera, praecipitio pereat? quid si alius homine liberato, vel ne alius liberetur, sibi ipse mortem inferat? Num propter istas alienarum mortium causas, aut sceleri consentiendum est, aut vindicta peccati, quae non fit nocendi, sed corrigendi studio, etiam paterna tollenda, aut opera misericordiae cohibenda sunt? Haec cum accidunt, debemus eis humanum dolorem; non propter illa, ne accidant, recte factorum reprimimus voluntatem.

18. Sic etiam cum intercedimus pro peccatore damnando, sequuntur aliquando quae nolumus; sive in ipso qui nostra intercessione liberatur, ut vel immanius impunita grassetur audacia, subdita cupiditati, ingrata lenitati, atque unus morti ereptus plurimos necet; vel ipso per beneficium nostrum in melius commutato, moribusque correcto, alius male vivendo pereat, sibique hujus impunitate proposita, talia vel graviora committat. Non, ut opinor, haec mala imputanda sunt nobis, cum intercedimus vobis: sed potius illa bona quae, cum id facimus, intuemur et volumus; id est commendatio mansuetudinis ad conciliandam dilectionem verbo veritatis, et ut qui liberantur a temporali morte, sic vivant, ne in aeternam, unde nunquam liberentur, incurrant.

17. But it interests very much with what mind each one spares. For just as there is sometimes a punishing mercy, so also there is a sparing cruelty. For, to put forward something manifest as an example, who would not more truly call him cruel who spared a boy most obstinately wishing to play with serpents? but who would not call him merciful who, prohibiting such things, emended the contemner of words even with stripes? and for this reason discipline is not to be extended even unto death, so that there may be one whom it can benefit. Although even when a man is killed by a man, it differs much whether it be done from a desire of harming, or of taking away something unjustly, as is done by an enemy or a robber; or by an order of avenging or of obeying, as by a judge or an executioner; or by a necessity of escaping or of helping, as a robber is slain by a traveler, or an enemy by a soldier. And sometimes he who was the cause of death is rather in fault than he who killed; as if anyone should deceive his own surety, and the latter should undergo the legitimate punishment for the former. Nor yet is everyone who is the cause of another's death, a defendant. For what if anyone should seek debauchery, and should kill himself if he did not obtain it? what if a son, fearing the pious stripes of his father, should perish by a precipice? what if another, a man having been liberated, or lest another should be liberated, should bring death upon himself? Ought for these causes of the deaths of others either crime to be consented to, or the vengeance of sin, which is done not from a desire of harming but of correcting, even paternal, be taken away, or the works of mercy be restrained? When these things happen, we owe them human grief; we do not on account of those things, lest they happen, repress the will of things rightly done.

18. Thus also when we intercede for a sinner to be condemned, there sometimes follow things which we do not want; whether in him who is liberated by our intercession, so that his unpunished audacity might range even more monstrously, subjected to desire, ungrateful to lenity, and one snatched from death might kill very many; or he himself having been changed for the better by our benefit, and corrected in manners, another might perish by living badly, and having proposed to himself the impunity of this one, might commit such or more serious things. These evils are not, as I think, to be imputed to us, when we intercede with you: but rather those good things which, when we do that, we look upon and wish; that is, the commendation of mansuetude for conciliating love by the word of truth, and that those who are liberated from temporal death, might so live, lest they incur eternal death, from whence they may never be liberated.

19. Prodest ergo et severitas vestra, cujus ministerio quies adjuvatur et nostra; prodest et intercessio nostra, cujus ministerio severitas temperatur et vestra. Non vobis displiceat quod rogamini a bonis; quia nec bonis displicet quod timemini a malis. Nam hominum iniquitatem etiam apostolus Paulus non tantum de judicio futuro, verum etiam de praesentibus vestris securibus terruit, asserens et ipsas ad dispensationem divinae providentiae pertinere. Omnis, inquit, anima potestatibus sublimioribus subdita sit: non est enim potestas, nisi a Deo; quae autem sunt, a Deo ordinatae sunt. Quapropter qui resistit potestati, Dei ordinationi resistit; qui autem resistunt, ipsi sibi judicium acquirunt: principes enim non sunt timori boni operis, sed mali. 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. Ideoque necessitate subditi estote, non solum propter iram, sed et propter conscientiam. Ideo enim et tributa praestatis: ministri enim Dei sunt, in hoc ipsum perseverantes. Reddite omnibus debita: cui tributum, tributum; cui vectigal, vectigal; cui timorem, timorem; cui honorem, honorem. Nemini quidquam debeatis, nisi ut invicem diligatis (Rom. XIII, 1-8). Haec verba Apostoli, utilitatem vestrae severitatis ostendunt. Proinde sicut dilectionem jussi sunt terrentibus debere qui timent, ita dilectionem jussi sunt timentibus debere, qui terrent. Nihil nocendi cupiditate fiat, sed omnia consulendi charitate; et nihil fiat immaniter, nihil inhumaniter. Ita formidabitur ultio cognitoris, ut nec intercessoris religio contemnatur; quia et plectendo et ignoscendo hoc solum bene agitur, ut vita hominum corrigatur. Quod si tanta est perversitas et impietas, ut ei corrigendae nec disciplina possit prodesse, nec venia; a bonis tamen intentione atque conscientia quam Deus cernit, sive severitate, sive lenitate, nonnisi officium dilectionis impletur.

20. Quod autem in epistola tua sequitur, ubi dicis, Verum nunc, ut mores nostri sunt, et sceleris poenam cupiunt sibi homines relaxari, et id propter quod scelus admissum est possidere; pessimum hominum genus commemoras, cui poenitendi medicina omnino non prodest. Si enim res aliena, propter quam peccatum est, cum reddi possit, non redditur, non agitur poenitentia, sed fingitur: si autem veraciter agitur, non remittetur peccatum, nisi restituatur ablatum; sed, ut dixi, cum restitui potest.

19. Therefore both your severity is profitable, by whose ministry our peace is aided; and our intercession is profitable, by whose ministry your severity is tempered. Let it not displease you that you are asked by the good; because it does not displease the good that you are feared by the evil. For the apostle Paul terrified the iniquity of men not only concerning the future judgment, but even concerning your present axes, asserting that even they pertain to the dispensation of divine providence. "Let every soul," he says, "be subject to higher powers: for there is no power but from God; and those that are, are ordained of God. Therefore he that resists the power, resists the ordinance of God; and they that resist, purchase to themselves judgment: for princes are not a terror to the good work, but to the evil. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? Do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise from the same: for he is God's minister to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil, fear; for he bears not the sword in vain: for he is God's minister, an avenger to execute wrath upon him that does evil. Wherefore be subject of necessity, not only for wrath, but also for conscience' sake. For therefore also you pay tribute: for they are the ministers of God, serving unto this purpose. Render therefore to all their dues: tribute, to whom tribute is due; custom, to whom custom; fear, to whom fear; honor, to whom honor. Owe no man anything, but to love one another" (Romans 13:1-8). These words of the Apostle show the utility of your severity. Accordingly just as those who fear are commanded to owe love to those terrifying them, so those who terrify are commanded to owe love to those fearing them. Let nothing be done from a desire of harming, but all from the charity of consulting; and let nothing be done monstrously, nothing inhumanly. Let the vengeance of the judge be thus dreaded, so that the religion of the intercessor be not contemned; because both by punishing and by forgiving this alone is well done, that the life of men be corrected. But if the perversity and impiety be so great that neither discipline nor pardon can profit for correcting it; nevertheless by the good in intention and conscience which God discerns, whether by severity or by lenity, only the office of love is fulfilled.

20. But as to what follows in your letter, where you say: "But now, as our manners are, men both desire the punishment of their crime to be relaxed for them, and to possess that on account of which the crime was committed"; you mention the worst kind of men, to whom the medicine of repenting is of no use at all. For if the property of another, on account of which the sin was committed, is not restored when it can be restored, repentance is not performed, but feigned: but if it is performed truly, the sin will not be forgiven unless that which was taken away be restored; but, as I said, when it can be restored.

Plerumque enim qui aufert, amittit; sive alios patiendo malos, sive ipse male vivendo, nec aliud habet unde restituat. Huic certe non possumus dicere, Redde quod abstulisti, nisi cum eum habere credimus et negare. Ubi quidem si aliquos sustinet a repetente cruciatus, dum existimatur habere quod reddat, nulla est iniquitas; quia etsi non est unde luat ablatam pecuniam, merito tamen dum eam per molestias corporales redhibere compellatur, peccati quo male ablata est, poenas luit. Sed inhumanum non est etiam pro talibus intercedere, tanquam pro reis criminum; non ad hoc ut minime restituantur aliena, sed ne frustra homo in hominem saeviat, ille praesertim qui jam remisit culpam, sed quaerit paecuniam, et si fraudari metuit, non expetit vindicari. Denique in talibus causis, si persuadere potuerimus eos pro quibus intervenimus, non habere quod poscitur, continuo nobis eorum molestiae relaxantur. Aliquando autem misericordes et in ipso dubio nolunt homini pro incerta pecunia certa inferre supplicia. Ad hanc misericordiam vos etiam nos provocare et exhortari decet: melius enim, etiamsi habet, amittis, quam si non habet, aut excrucias, aut occidis. Sed pro istis magis apud eos qui repetunt, quam apud eos qui judicant, intercedere convenit; ne ipse videatur auferre, qui cum habeat potestatem, non cogit reddere: quamvis in cogendo ita debeat adhibere integritatem, ut ne amittat humanitatem.

21. Illud vero fidentissime dixerim, eum qui pro homine ad hoc intervenit ne male ablata restituat, et qui ad se confugientem, quantum honeste potest, ad restituendum non compellit, socium esse fraudis et criminis. Nam misericordius opem nostram talibus subtrahimus, quam impendimus: non enim opem fert qui ad peccandum adjuvat, ac non potius subvertit atque opprimit. Sed numquid iedo nos aut exigere, aut ad exigendum tradere, vel possumus vel debemus? Agimus quantum episcopalils facultas datur, et humanum quidem nonnunquam, sed maxime ac semper divinum judicium comminantes. Nolentes autem reddere, quos novimus et male abstulisse et unde reddant habere, arguimus, increpamus, et detestamur; quosdam clam, quosdam palam, sicut diversitas personarum diversam videtur posse recipere medicinam, nec in aliorum perniciem ad majorem insaniam concitari. Aliquando etiam, si res magis curanda non impedit, sancti altaris communione privamus.

For for the most part he who takes away, loses; whether by suffering other evil men, or by living badly himself, nor has he anything else from which he may restore. To such a one certainly we cannot say, "Restore what you took away," except when we believe him to have it and to deny it. Where indeed if he sustains some tortures from the one seeking recovery, while he is thought to have what he may restore, there is no iniquity; because even if he has not from where he may pay the taken money, nevertheless deservedly while he is compelled through corporal molestations to give it back, he pays the penalties of the sin by which it was badly taken away. But it is not inhuman even for such to intercede, as for those guilty of crimes; not to this end that the property of others be least of all restored, but lest a man rage against a man in vain, especially he who has already forgiven the fault, but seeks the money, and if he fears to be defrauded, does not seek to be vindicated. Finally in such causes, if we shall have been able to persuade those for whom we intervene, not to have what is demanded, continuously their molestations are relaxed for us. But sometimes the merciful even in doubt itself do not wish to inflict certain punishments on a man for uncertain money. To this mercy it becomes you also to provoke and exhort us: for it is better that you lose, even if he has it, than if he has it not, either to torture or kill him. But for these it is more fitting to intercede with those who seek recovery, than with those who judge; lest he himself should seem to take away, who since he has the power, does not compel to restore: although in compelling he ought so to apply integrity, that he lose not humanity.

21. But I would say most confidently, that he who intervenes for a man to this end that he may not restore things badly taken away, and who does not compel him fleeing to him, as far as he honestly can, to restore them, is an accomplice of the fraud and crime. For we more mercifully withdraw our aid from such, than spend it: for he does not bring aid who helps to sin, and does not rather subvert and oppress. But can we or ought we for that reason either to exact, or to deliver to be exacted? We act as much as episcopal faculty is given, threatening sometimes human, but mostly and always divine judgment. But those who are unwilling to restore, whom we know both to have taken away badly and to have that from which they may restore, we argue with, rebuke, and detest; some secretly, some openly, just as the diversity of persons seems to be able to receive a diverse medicine, lest they be incited to greater madness to the destruction of others. Sometimes also, if a thing more to be cared for does not impede, we deprive them of the communion of the holy altar.

22. Verum saepe accidit ut nos fallant, vel negando se abstulisse, vel affirmando se unde restituant non habere: saepe etiam et vos fallimini, putando vel nos non agere ut reddant, vel ipsos habere unde reddant; et omnes aut pene omnes homines amamus nostras suspiciones vel vocare vel existimare cognitiones, quando credibilibus rerum signis movemur, cum credibilia nonnulla sint falsa, sicut incredibilia nonnulla sunt vera. Ideo quosdam commemorans, qui et sceleris poenam sibi cupiunt relaxari, et id propter quod scelus admissum est possidere, addidisti et aisti: Pro his quoque interveniendum putat sacerdotium vestrum. Fieri enim potest ut tu scias quod ego nescio, et propterea putem pro aliquo interveniendum, quod me fallere potuit, cum te non potuerit, ut ego eum non credam possidere quod tu possidere nosti. Ita fit ut cum de reo sententia non una sit nostra, neutri tamen nostrum placeat quod res non redditur aliena. De homine, ut homines, diversa sentimus; sed in ipsa justitia simul sumus. Eodem modo etiam fieri potest ut quod scio aliquem non habere, hoc eum tu habere non certissime teneas, sed credibiliter suspiceris; et ob hoc tibi videar intervenire pro eo qui et sceleris poenam sibi cupiat relaxari, et id propter quod scelus admissum est possidere. Ad summam igitur neque apud te, neque apud tales, si qui reperiuntur qualem te esse gaudemus, neque apud ipsos qui magno studio aliena ac nihil profutura, multumque etiam periculosa ac perniciosa petunt, neque apud cor meum cui testis est Deus, ausim dicere, sentire, decernere, interveniendum esse pro aliquo, ut quod scelere abstulit, sceleris impunitate possideat: sed ut remissa injuria, quod injuriose abstulit reddat; si tamen habet quod abstulit, vel aliud unde illud restituat.

23. Non sane quidquid ab invito sumitur, injuriose aufertur. Nam plerique nec medico volunt reddere honorem suum, nec operario mercedem; nec tamen haec qui ab invito accipiunt, per injuriam accipiunt, quae potius per injuriam non darentur. Sed non iedo debet judex vendere justum judicium, aut testis verum testimonium, quia vendit advocatus justum patrocinium et jurisperitus verum consilium: illi enim inter utramque partem ad examen adhibentur; isti ex una parte consistunt. Cum autem judicia et testimonia, quae nec justa et vera vendenda sunt, iniqua et falsa venduntur, much sceleratius utique pecunia sumitur, quia scelerate etiam quamvis a volentibus datur. Ille tamen solet tanquam male sibi ablatam pecuniam repetere, qui justum judicium emit, quoniam venale esse non debuit: qui vero pro iniquo judicio dedit, vellet quidem repetere, nisi timeret vel puderet emisse.

22. But it often happens that they deceive us, either by denying that they took away, or by affirming that they have not that from which they may restore: often also you are deceived, thinking either that we do not act that they may restore, or that they have that from which they may restore; and all or almost all men we love either to call or to think our suspicions to be cognitions, when we are moved by credible signs of things, since some credible things are false, just as some incredible things are true. Therefore mentioning some, who "both desire the punishment of their crime to be relaxed for them, and to possess that on account of which the crime was committed," you added and said: "For these also your priesthood thinks it must intervene." For it can happen that you know what I do not know, and therefore I think I must intervene for someone, because he could deceive me, when he could not deceive you, so that I may not believe him to possess what you know him to possess. Thus it happens that since our sentence concerning the defendant is not one, nevertheless it pleases neither of us that the property of another is not restored. Concerning the man, as men, we feel diverse things; but in justice itself we are together. In the same way also it can happen that what I know someone not to have, this you do not most certainly hold him to have, but credibly suspect; and on account of this I seem to you to intervene for him who both desires the punishment of his crime to be relaxed for him, and to possess that on account of which the crime was committed. To the sum therefore neither with you, nor with such, if any are found such as we rejoice you to be, nor with those themselves who with great study seek the property of others and things that will profit nothing, and things also much dangerous and pernicious, nor with my own heart to which God is witness, would I dare to say, to feel, to decree, that it must be intervened for anyone, so that what he took away by crime, he may possess by the impunity of the crime: but that the injury being forgiven, he may restore what he took away injuriously; if however he has what he took away, or something else from which he may restore it.

23. Not indeed whatever is taken from one unwilling, is taken away injuriously. For most do not wish to return to the physician his honor, nor to the workman his wage; nevertheless those who receive these from one unwilling, do not receive them by injury, which rather would be given by injury if they were not given. But not for that reason ought a judge to sell a just judgment, or a witness a true testimony, because an advocate sells a just patronage and a jurisconsult true counsel: for those are applied to the examination between each party; these stand on one party. But when judgments and testimonies, which neither just nor true are to be sold, are sold iniquitous and false, much more wickedly certainly is money taken, because it is given wickedly even though by those willing. He however is accustomed to seek back money as badly taken away from him, who has bought a just judgment, since it ought not to have been venal: but he who gave for an iniquitous judgment, would indeed wish to seek it back, unless he feared or were ashamed to have bought it.

24. Sunt aliae personae inferioris loci, quae ab utraque parte non insolenter accipiunt, sicut officialis, et a quo admovetur , et cui admovetur officium: ab his extorta per immoderatam improbitatem, repeti solent; data per tolerabilem consuetudinem, non solent: magisque reprehendimus, qui talia inusitate repetiverunt, quam qui ea de more sumpserunt; quoniam multae necessariae personae rebus humanis, vel invitantur hujusmodi commodis, vel tenentur. Isti si viam vitae mutaverint, aut excellentioris conscenderint sanctitatis gradum, facilius ea quae hoc modo acquisierunt, tanquam sua pauperibus largiuntur, quam eis a quibus accepta sunt, tanquam aliena restituunt. Qui vero contra jus societatis humanae, furtis, rapinis, calumniis, oppressionibus, invasionibus abstulerit, reddenda potius quam donanda censemus: Zachaei publicani evangelico exemplo, qui cum hospitio Dominum suscepisset, in vitam sanctam repente mutatus, Dimidium, inquit, rerum mearum do pauperibus, et si cui aliquid abstuli, quadruplum reddo (Luc. XIX, 8).

25. Verumtamen si justitia sincerius consulatur, justius dicitur advocato, Redde quod accepisti, quando contra veritatem stetisti, iniquitati adfuisti, judicem fefellisti, justam causam oppressisti, de falsitate vicisti (quod vides multos honestissimos et disertissimos viros, non solum impune, verum etiam gloriose videri sibi committere); quam cuiquam in quolibet officio militanti, Redde quod accepisti, quando jubente judice cuicumque causae necessarium hominem tenuisti, ne resisteret vinxisti, ne fugeret inclusisti, postremo aut permanente lite exhibuisti, aut finita dimisisti. Sed illud cur advocato non dicatur in promptu est, quia scilicet ita non vult homo repetere quod patrono, ut male vinceret, dedit; sicut non vult reddere quod ab adversario, cum male vicisset, accepit. Quis tandem advocatus, aut ex advocato ita vir optimus facile reperitur, qui suscepto suo dicat: Recipe quod mihi, cum tibi male adessem, dedisti; et redde adversario tuo quod, me agente, inique abstulisti? Et tamen quem prioris non rectae vitae rectissime poenitet, etiam hoc facere debet, ut si ille qui inique litigavit, non vult admonitus corrigere iniquitatem, ejus tamen iniquitatis nolit iste habere mercedem: nisi forte restituendum est alienum, quod per furtum clanculo aufertur, et restituendum non est quod in ipso foro ubi peccata puniuntur, decepto judice, et circumventis legibus obtinetur!

24. There are other persons of lower place, who receive from both sides not insolently, such as the official, and he by whom the office is applied, and to whom it is applied: from these things extorted through immoderate impropriety, they are accustomed to be sought back; given through tolerable custom, they are not: and we rather reprehend those who have sought such things back unusually, than those who have taken them according to custom; since many necessary persons are either invited by advantages of this kind to human affairs, or are held by them. These, if they shall have changed the way of their life, or shall have ascended to a degree of more excellent sanctity, more easily bestow those things which they have acquired in this way as their own upon the poor, than they restore them as the property of others to those from whom they were received. But he who, against the right of human society, shall have taken away by thefts, robberies, calumnies, oppressions, invasions, we think that they are rather to be restored than given: by the evangelical example of Zacchaeus the publican, who when he had received the Lord into his house, suddenly changed into a holy life, said: "Half of my goods I give to the poor, and if I have taken anything from any man, I restore him fourfold" (Luke 19:8).

25. Nevertheless if justice be more sincerely consulted, it is more justly said to an advocate: "Restore what you have received," when you stood against the truth, were present for iniquity, deceived the judge, oppressed a just cause, and conquered by falsehood (which you see many most honest and most eloquent men seem to themselves to commit not only with impunity, but even gloriously); than to anyone militant in any office: "Restore what you have received," when at the command of the judge you held a man necessary for any cause, bound him lest he resist, shut him up lest he flee, finally either exhibited him while the suit was pending, or dismissed him when it was finished. But the reason why it is not said to the advocate is at hand, because forsooth a man does not wish to seek back what he gave to a patron that he might win badly; just as he does not wish to restore what he received from his adversary, when he had won badly. What advocate at length, or what man so best is easily found from an advocate, who says to his client: "Receive back what you gave me when I was badly present for you; and restore to your adversary what you took away iniquitously, while I was acting for you"? And yet he whom it most rightly repents of a prior not right life, ought even to do this, so that if he who has litigated iniquitously, being admonished does not wish to correct the iniquity, nevertheless the former may not wish to have the reward of that iniquity: unless perhaps that which belongs to another is to be restored when it is taken away secretly by theft, and is not to be restored when it is obtained in the forum itself where sins are punished, the judge being deceived, and the laws circumvented!

Quid dicam de usuris, quas etiam ipsae leges et judices reddi jubent? An crudelior est qui subtrahit aliquid vel eripit diviti, quam qui trucidat pauperem fenore? Haec atque hujusmodi male utique possidentur, et vellem restituerentur; sed non est quo judice repetantur.

26. Jam ero si prudenter intueamur quod scriptum est, Fidelis hominis totus mundus divitiarum est, infidelis autem nec obolus ; nonne omnes qui sibi videntur gaudere licite conquisitis, eisque uti nesciunt, aliena possidere convincimus? Hoc enim certe alienum non est, quod jure possidetur; hoc autem jure quod juste. et hoc juste quod bene. Omne igitur quod male possidetur, alienum est; male autem possidet, qui male utitur. Cernis ergo quam multi debeant reddere aliena, si vel pauci quibus reddantur, reperiantur: qui tamen ubi ubi sunt, tanto magis ista contemnunt, quanto ea justius possidere potuerunt. Justitiam quippe, et nemo male habet, et qui non dilexerit non habet. Pecunia vero, et a malis male habetur, et a bonis tanto melius habetur, quanto minus amatur. Sed inter haec toleratur iniquitas male habentium, et quaedam inter eos jura constituuntur, quae appellantur civilia; non quod hinc fiat ut bene utentes sint, sed ut male utentes minus molesti sint: donec fideles et pii, quorum jure sunt omnia, qui vel ex illis fiunt, vel inter illos tantisper viventes malis eorum non obstringuntur, sed exercentur, perveniant ad illam civitatem, ubi haereditas aeternitatis est ; ubi non habet nisi justus locum, nonnisi sapiens principatum, ubi possidebunt quicumque ibi erunt, vere sua. Sed tamen etiam hic non intercedimus ut secundum mores legesque terrenas non restituantur aliena: quamvis placabiles vos velimus malis, non ut placeant vel permaneant mali, sed quia ex illis fiunt quicumque fiunt boni, et sacrificio misericordiae placatur Deus, quem nisi propitium haberent mali, nulli essent boni. Diu est quod occupationibus tuis loquendo videor onerosus, cum tibi homini acuto et docto cito solvi potuerit quod quaerebas. Jamdudum autem finire deberem, si te tantum scirem fuisse lecturum quod flagitasti ut rescriberem. Felix in Christo vivas, fili charissime.

EPISTOLA CLIV . Macedonius Augustino, significans se praestitisse quod ab ipso verecunde adeo petierat; tum etiam ipsius libros magna cum voluptate et admiratione perlegisse. Domino merito venerabili et vere suspiciendo patri AUGUSTINO episcopo, MACEDONIUS.

What shall I say concerning usuries, which even the laws themselves and judges command to be restored? Is he more cruel who withdraws something or snatches it from a rich man, than he who slaughters a poor man by interest? These and such like are certainly possessed badly, and I would wish them to be restored; but there is no judge by whom they may be sought back.

26. Now indeed if we prudently look upon what is written: "To the faithful man the whole world of riches belongs, but to the unfaithful not even a farthing"; do we not convict all who seem to themselves to rejoice in things licitly sought, and know not how to use them, of possessing the property of others? For this certainly is not the property of another, which is possessed by right; but this by right which is possessed justly, and this justly which is possessed well. Everything therefore which is possessed badly, is the property of another; but he possesses badly, who uses badly. You see therefore how many ought to restore the property of others, if even a few could be found to whom they might be restored: who nevertheless wherever they are, so much the more contemn these things, as they could more justly possess them. For justice, no one has badly, and he who has not loved it has it not. Money indeed is both badly had by the evil, and is so much the better had by the good, as it is less loved. But among these things the iniquity of those possessing badly is tolerated, and certain rights are established among them, which are called civil; not that from this it may happen that they be using well, but that those using badly be less troublesome: until the faithful and pious, to whom all things belong by right, who either become of them, or living among them for a while are not bound by their evils, but are exercised, arrive at that city where the inheritance of eternity is; where only the just has a place, only the wise the principality, where whoever shall be there will possess truly their own. But nevertheless even here we do not intercede that the property of others be not restored according to earthly manners and laws: although we wish you to be placable to the evil, not that the evil may please or remain, but because from them whoever become good are made, and by the sacrifice of mercy God is placated, whom unless the evil had propitious, there would be no good. It is long since that by speaking I seem burdensome to your occupations, when what you were seeking could have been quickly solved to you, a sharp and learned man. But I ought to have finished long ago, if I knew that you were only going to read what you demanded that I should write back. May you live happy in Christ, most dear son.

LETTER CLIV. Macedonius to Augustine, signifying that he has performed what he had so modestly asked of him; and also that he has read his books with great pleasure and admiration. To the deservedly venerable Lord and truly to be looked up to father, Bishop AUGUSTINE, MACEDONIUS.

1. Miro modo afficior sapientia tua , et in illis quae edidisti, et in his quae interveniens pro sceleratis mittere non gravaris. Nam et illa tantum habent acuminis, scientiae, sanctitatis, ut nihil supra sit: et haec tantum verecundiae, ut nisi faciam quod mandas, culpam penes me remanere, non in negotio esse dijudicem, domine merito venerabilis, et vere suspiciende pater. Non enim instas (quod plerique homines istius loci faciunt) ut quodcumque sollicitus volueris, extorqueas; sed quod tibi a judice tot curis obstricto petibile visum fuerit, admones subserviente verecundia, quae maxima difficilium inter bonos efficacia est. Proinde statim commendatis effectum desiderii tribui: nam sperandi viam ante patefeceram.

2. Explicui tuos libros ; neque enim tam languidi aut inertes erant, ut me aliud quam se curare paterentur: injecerunt manum, ereptumque aliis sollicitudinum causis, suis vinculis illigarunt (ita enim mihi Deus propitius sit), ut ego anceps sim quid in illis magis mirer, sacerdotii perfectionem, philosophiae dogmata, historiae plenam notitiam, an facundiae jucunditatem, quae ita imperitos etiam illicere potest, ut donec explicent non desistant, et cum explicaverint, adhuc requirant. Convicti namque sunt impudenter pertinaces, jam inde a bonis quae memorant saeculis, pro naturae rerum obscuritate contigisse pejora, falsosque omnes illitis quadam dulcedine felicitatibus suis, per quas non ad beatitudinem, sed ad praerupta sunt ducti: haec vero nostra praecepta, et simplicis verique Dei mysteria, praeter vitam perpetuam quam purissimis virtutibus pollicentur, etiam haec saecularia et necessario qui nati sumus eventura mitigare. Et usus es validissimo exemplo recentis calamitatis, quo licet firmissime causam muniveris, tamen si utrumvis licuisset, id tibi nolueram suffragari. Sed quando orta inde fuerat convincendorum stultitiae querela, necesse fuit inde argumenta veritatis accersere.

3. Haec interim occupatus aliis curis, quae etsi vanae sunt, cum rerum exitum cogitamus, tamen quasi necessariae pro nascendi conditione, rescripsi Si otium fuerit et superstes vita, etiam de Italia rescribam, ut tantae doctrinae opus debitis, etsi non satisfacientibus, remuneretur officiis. Incolumem laetamque Sanctitatem tuam Deus omnipotens aevo largissimo tueatur, domine merito desiderabilis, et vere suspiciende pater.

1. I am affected in a wonderful way by your wisdom, both in those things which you have published, and in these things which you do not grudge to send intervening for the wicked. For both the former have so much of sharpness, of science, of sanctity, that nothing is above them: and the latter so much of modesty, that unless I do what you command, I judge the fault to remain with me, not to be in the business, Lord deservedly venerable, and truly to be looked up to father. For you do not insist (as most men of that place do) that you should extort whatever you might wish with solicitude; but you admonish with subservient modesty what has seemed to you to be petitionable from a judge bound by so many cares, which is the greatest efficacy of difficult things among the good. Accordingly I immediately granted the effect of your desire to those commended: for I had opened the way of hoping before.

2. I have unfolded your books; for neither were they so languid or inert, that they permitted me to care for anything else than themselves: they have laid hand upon me, and snatched from other causes of solicitudes, they have bound me with their chains (so may God be propitious to me), that I am in doubt what I may more admire in them, the perfection of the priesthood, the dogmas of philosophy, the full knowledge of history, or the pleasantness of eloquence, which can so entice even the unskillful, that until they unfold them they do not desist, and when they have unfolded them, they still require them. For those impudently pertinacious have been convicted, that since from those good ages which they mention, on account of the obscurity of the nature of things, worse things have happened, and all their false happinesses smeared with a certain sweetness, through which they were led not to beatitude, but to precipices: but these our precepts, and the mysteries of the simple and true God, besides the perpetual life which they promise to the purest virtues, even mitigate these secular things which necessarily will happen to those of us who were born. And you used a most valid example of a recent calamity, by which although you have most firmly fortified the cause, yet if either had been allowed, I had not wished that to support you. But when from thence had arisen the complaint of the folly of those to be convicted, it was necessary from thence to fetch the arguments of truth.

3. These things in the meantime, occupied by other cares, which even if they are vain, when we think of the end of things, yet are as it were necessary for the condition of being born, I have written back. If there shall be leisure and life remaining, I will even write back from Italy, so that the work of so great doctrine might be remunerated with due, even if not satisfying, offices. May Almighty God protect your Sanctity safe and joyful for a most large age, Lord deservedly desirable, and truly to be looked up to father.

Epistola CLV.

Augustinus Macedonio, docens vitam beatam et virtutem veram non esse nisi a Deo.

AUGUSTINUS episcopus, famulus Christi familiaeque ejus, dilecto filio MACEDONIO, in Domino salutem.

CAPUT PRIMUM.

1. Quamvis sapientiam quam mihi tribuis, in me non agnoscam, tantae tamen erga me benevolentiae tuae tamque sincerae gratias ago debeoque plurimas; et meorum studiorum labores tali ac tanto viro placuisse delector: multo vero amplius, quod animum tuum charitate aeternitatis et veritatis, atque ipsius charitatis affectum divinae illi coelestique reipublicae, cujus regnator est Christus, et in qua sola semper beateque vivendum est, si recte hic pieque vivatur, agnosco inhiantem, video propinquantem, ejusque potiundae amplector ardentem. Inde quippe manat etiam vera amicitia, non pensanda temporalibus commodis, sed gratuito amore putanda . Nemo enim potest veraciter amicus esse hominis, nisi fuerit ipsius primitus veritatis: quod si gratis non fiat, nullo fieri pacto potest.

2. De qua re etiam philosophi multa dixerunt; sed apud eos vera pietas, id est verax veri Dei cultus, unde omnia recte vivendi duci oportet officia, non invenitur: non ob aliud, quantum intelligo, nisi quia beatam vitam ipsi sibi quodammodo fabricare voluerunt, potiusque patrandam quam impetrandam putaverunt; cum ejus dator non sit nisi Deus. Neque enim facit beatum hominem, nisi qui fecit hominem. Nam qui tanta creaturae suae bona bonis malisque largitur, ut sint, ut homines sint, ut vigentes sensibus, valentes viribus, affluentes opibus sint; seipsum bonis dabit ut beati sint, quia ejus etiam hoc munus est ut boni sint. Illi vero qui in hac aerumnosa vita, in his moribundis membris, sub hac sarcina corruptibilis carnis, auctores suae beatae vitae et quasi conditores esse voluerunt, velut propriis eam virtutibus appetentes, jamque retinentes, non ab illo fonte virtutum petentes atque sperantes, Deum superbiae suae resistentem sentire minime potuerunt.

Letter CLV.

Augustine to Macedonius, teaching that the happy life and true virtue are not except from God.

AUGUSTINE bishop, servant of Christ and of his family, to his beloved son MACEDONIUS, greeting in the Lord.

CHAPTER FIRST.

1. Although I do not recognize in me the wisdom which you attribute to me, yet I give and owe many thanks for your so great benevolence towards me and so sincere; and I am delighted that the labors of my studies have pleased such and so great a man: but much more, because I recognize your mind gasping after, I see approaching, and I embrace it burning to obtain that affection of charity of eternity and of truth, and of charity itself towards that divine and heavenly republic, of which Christ is the ruler, and in which alone one must live always and happily, if one lives here rightly and piously. For from thence also flows true friendship, not to be weighed by temporal advantages, but to be thought by gratuitous love. For no one can be truly a friend of a man, unless he has first been of Truth itself: which if it does not happen freely, it can happen in no way.

2. Concerning which matter even the philosophers have said many things; but among them true piety, that is, the true worship of the true God, from whence all the offices of living rightly ought to be led, is not found: for no other reason, as much as I understand, except because they wished to fabricate a happy life for themselves in a certain way, and thought it was rather to be performed than to be impetrated; since its giver is none but God. For no one makes a man happy, except he who made man. For he who bestows so great goods of his creature upon the good and the evil, that they be, that they be men, that they be vigorous in senses, strong in strengths, affluent in riches; will give himself to the good so that they may be happy, because this is even his gift that they be good. But those who in this laborious life, in these dying members, under this burden of corruptible flesh, wished to be the authors of their own happy life and as it were the founders, seeking it as it were by their own virtues, and already retaining it, not seeking and hoping from that source of virtues, were least of all able to feel God resisting their pride.

Unde in errorem absurdissimum lapsi sunt; ut cum asseverant etiam in Phalaridis tauro beatum esse sapientem, cogantur fateri vitam beatam aliquando esse fugiendam. Exaggeratis enim malis corporis cedunt, atque in eorum molestiis gravissimis abscedendum ex hac vita esse decernunt. Ubi nolo dicere quantum sit nefas seipsum hominem occidere insontem, cum omnino non debeat vel nocentem; unde in primo libro trium illorum, quos benignissime et studiosissime perlegisti, multa jam diximus (Lib. 1 de Civit. Dei, cap. 17 et seqq). Sed certe consideretur, nec superbe sed sobrie judicetur quomodo vita beata sit, qua non sapiens retenta fruitur, sed illatis sibi manibus carere compellitur.

3. Est apud Ciceronem, in extrema, ut scis, parte quinti Tusculanarum libri locus, propter quod dico animadvertendus. Cum enim de caecitate corporis ageret, atque affirmaret etiam caecum beatum esse posse sapientem, multa dixit quae per aures percipiendo gauderet. Itemque si surdus esset, ea quibus oblectaretur ad oculos transtulit. Si autem utroque sensu orbaretur, et caecus surdusque fieret, non est ausus hinc ferre sententiam, eumque beatum dicere. Sed addidit etiam dolores gravissimos corporis, qui eum si non interemerint, ipse se interimat, et ad portum non sentiendi hac liberatus virtute perveniat. Cedit igitur sapiens immanissimis cladibus atque succumbit, in tantum ut eis cogatur et in seipsum homicidium perpetrare. Cui jam parcat ut illis careat malis, qui sibi ipse non parcit? Certe semper beatus est, certe beatam vitam in sua potestate constitutam, nulla vi potest ullius calamitatis amittere. Ecce in caecitate et surditate et atrocissimis cruciatibus corporis, aut amisit beatam vitam; aut si et in istis afflictionibus adhuc beata est, fit per hujuscemodi doctissimorum hominum disputationes, ut sit aliquando beata vita quam sapiens ferre non possit; vel, quod est absurdus, quam sapiens ferre non debeat, eamque fugiat, abrumpat, abjiciat, seseque ab ea ferro etiam, seu veneno, vel alia voluntaria morte subducat; ut in portu non sentiendi vel nullus omnino sit, quod Epicurei, et si qui alii simili stultitia, putaverunt; vel ideo beatus, quoniam fuerit ab illa beata vita, tanquam ab aliqua peste liberatus. O nimium superba jactantia! Si beata vita est in cruciatibus corporis, cur non in ea manet sapiens ut fruatur? si autem misera est, quid, obsecro te, nisi typhus impedit ne fateatur, ne oret Deum, ne justo et misericordi supplicet, qui potens est et vitae hujus mala vel avertere vel mitigare, vel ad ea toleranda fortitudine armare, vel ab eis omni modo liberare, et post haec vere beatam vitam dare, quo nullum malum admittatur, et ubi summum bonum nunquam amittatur?

Whence they have slipped into a most absurd error; so that when they assert that even in the bull of Phalaris the wise man is happy, they are compelled to confess that the happy life is sometimes to be fled. For they yield to the exaggerated evils of the body, and in their most serious molestations they decree that one must depart from this life. Where I do not wish to say how great a nefas it is for a man to kill himself innocent, when he ought not at all even when guilty; concerning which in the first book of those three, which you have most kindly and most studiously read through, we have already said many things (Lib. 1 de Civit. Dei, cap. 17 et seqq). But certainly let it be considered, and let it be judged not proudly but soberly how the life is happy, which the wise man does not enjoy having retained, but is compelled to be without by hands laid upon himself.

3. There is in Cicero, in the last part, as you know, of the fifth book of the Tusculan Disputations, a passage which for the reason I say must be noted. For when he was treating of the blindness of the body, and was affirming that even a blind wise man can be happy, he said many things which he might rejoice in perceiving through the ears. And likewise if he were deaf, he transferred those things by which he might be delighted to the eyes. But if he were deprived of both senses, and became both blind and deaf, he did not dare to bring forth a sentence from this, and to call him happy. But he added also the most serious pains of the body, which if they did not kill him, he himself might kill himself, and arrive at the port of non-feeling having been liberated by this virtue. The wise man therefore yields to the most immense disasters and succumbs, so much so that he is compelled by them even to perpetrate homicide upon himself. Whom may he now spare that he may be without those evils, who does not spare himself? Certainly he is always happy, certainly he can lose the happy life (beata vita) constituted in his own power by no force of any calamity. Behold in blindness and deafness and the most atrocious tortures of the body, either he has lost the happy life; or if even in these afflictions it is still happy, it happens through the disputations of such most learned men, that the happy life is sometimes that which the wise man cannot bear; or, what is more absurd, which the wise man ought not to bear, and he flees it, breaks it off, casts it away, and withdraws himself from it even by steel, or poison, or some other voluntary death; so that in the port of non-feeling either he is not at all, which the Epicureans and if any others by similar folly have thought; or he is happy for this reason, because he has been liberated from that happy life as if from some pestilence. O too proud a boast! If the happy life is in the tortures of the body, why does the wise man not remain in it so that he may enjoy it? but if it is miserable, what, I beseech you, except pride (typhus) prevents him from confessing it, from praying to God, from supplicating the just and merciful one, who is powerful both to avert or mitigate the evils of this life, or to arm with fortitude for tolerating them, or to liberate from them in every way, and after these things to give a truly happy life, where no evil is admitted, and where the highest good is never lost?

4. Hoc piorum praemium est, cujus adipiscendi spe vitam istam temporalem atque mortalem, non tam delectabiliter quam tolerabiliter ducimus, et mala ejus tunc bono consilio et divino munere fortiter ferimus, cum bonorum aeternorum fideli Dei promissione et fideli nostra exspectatione gaudemus. Ad hoc nos exhortatus apostolus Paulus ait, Spe gaudentes, in tribulatione patientes (Rom. XII, 12): ostendit enim quare in tribulatione patientes, praemittendo, spe gaudentes. Ad hanc spem exhortor per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Hoc enim Deus ipse magister, latente majestate divinitatis, et carnis infirmitate apparente, non solum sermonis oraculo docuit, verum etiam suae passionis et resurrectionis exemplo roboravit. In altera enim qualia tolerare, in altera qualia debeamus sperare monstravit. Cujus et illi gratiam mererentur, nisi elati inflatique superbia, inaniter conarentur istam vitam beatam ipsi sibi facere, quod solus Deus veraciter cultoribus suis, post hanc vitam se largiturum esse promisit. Sanior quippe est ejusdem Ciceronis illa sententia, ubi ait: Nam haec vita quidem mors est, quam lamentari possem, si liberet (Cic. in Tusc. Quaest.). Quomodo ergo si recte lamentatur, beata comprobatur; ac non potius quoniam recte lamentatur, misera esse convincitur? Quare assuesce, obsecro te, vir bone, beatus esse interim spe, ut sis etiam re, cum pietati perseverantissimae retribuetur merces felicitatis aeternae.

4. This is the reward of the pious, for the sake of attaining which hope we lead this temporal and mortal life, not so much delectably as tolerably, and we bear its evils bravely then by good counsel and divine gift, when we rejoice in the faithful promise of God and our faithful expectation of eternal goods. To this the apostle Paul having exhorted us says: Rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation (Rom. 12:12): for he showed why patient in tribulation, by premising rejoicing in hope. To this hope I exhort through Jesus Christ our Lord. For this God himself as master, with the majesty of his divinity latent, and the infirmity of his flesh appearing, not only taught by the oracle of his speech, but also strengthened by the example of his passion and resurrection. For in the one he showed what things we ought to tolerate, in the other what things we ought to hope for. Of whom even they would merit grace, unless having been elated and puffed up with pride, they vainly attempted to make that happy life for themselves, which God alone truly promised that he would bestow upon his worshipers after this life. For saner is that sentence of the same Cicero, where he says: For this life indeed is death, which I could lament, if it were free to do so (Cic. in Tusc. Quaest.). How therefore if it is rightly lamented, is it approved as happy; and not rather because it is rightly lamented, is it convinced of being miserable? Wherefore accustom yourself, I beseech you, good man, to be happy in the meantime in hope, so that you may be so also in reality, when the reward of eternal felicity shall be retributed to most persevering piety.