SAINT AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO

LETTERS

Epistolas

VOLUME IV · VI

SABBATISMUS

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

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

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CAPUT II.

5. Si prolixa epistola onerosus sum, tute hoc intulisti tibi, qui me sapientem appellasti. Hinc enim ausus sum haec ad te loqui, ut tibi sapientiam, non qualis mihi sit, ostentarem, sed qualis esse debeat ostenderem. Haec est autem in praesenti saeculo verus veri Dei cultus, ut sit ejus in futuro saeculo certus atque integer fructus. Hic constantissima pietas, ibi sempiterna felicitas. Ex ista sapientia, quae una vera est, si quid habeo, a Deo sumpsi, non a me praesumpsi; atque ab illo in me perfici fideliter spero, a quo inchoatum esse humiliter gaudeo; nec in eo quod adhuc non donavit incredulus, nec in eo quod jam donavit ingratus. Non enim meo vel ingenio vel merito, sed ejus dono sum, si quid laudabiliter sum. Nam quaedam acutissima et excellentissima ingenia tanto in majores errores ierunt, quanto praefidentius tanquam suis viribus cucurrerunt, nec suppliciter ac veraciter Deum, ut sibi viam ostenderet, petiverunt. Merita vero quorumlibet hominum quae sunt; quandoquidem ille, qui non cum mercede debita, sed cum gratuita gratia venit, omnes peccatores solus a peccatis liber atque liberator invenit?

6. Si ergo nos virtus vera delectat, ei dicamus, quod in ejus sacris Litteris legimus, Diligam te, Domine, virtus mea (Psal. XVII, 2): et si vere beati esse volumus (quod nolle non pessumus), id quod in eisdem Litteris didicimus, fido corde teneamus, Beatus vir cujus est nomen Domini spes ejus, et non respexit in vanitates et insanias mendaces (Psal. XXXIX, 5). Quanta est autem vanitas, quanta insania, quantumque mendacium, hominem mortalem, aerumnosam vitam mutabili et spiritu et carne ducentem, tot peccatis oneratum, tot tentationibus subditum, tot corruptionibus obnoxium, poenisque justissimis destinatum, in seipso fidere ut beatus sit, quando ne illud quidem, quod habet in naturae suae dignitate praecipuum, id est mentem atque rationem, potest vindicare ab erroribus, nisi Deus adsit lux mentium! Abjiciamus itaque, obsecro te, falsorum philosophorum vanitates et insanias mendaces: quia nec virtus nobis erit, nisi adsit ipse quo juvemur; nec beatitudo, nisi adsit ipse quo fruamur, et totum mutabile atque corruptibile nostrum, quod per seipsum imbecillum et quaedam materies miseriarum est, dono immortalitatis atque incorruptionis absorbeat.

CHAPTER II.

5. If I am burdensome with a long letter (prolixa epistola), you have brought this upon yourself, who have called me wise. For hence I have dared to speak these things to you, not so that I might ostentate wisdom to you, such as it may be in me, but so that I might show of what sort it ought to be. But this is in the present world the true worship of the true God (verus veri Dei cultus), so that there may be of it in the future world a certain and whole fruit. Here most constant piety (pietas), there eternal felicity. From this wisdom, which alone is true, if I have anything, I have taken it from God, I have not presumed it from myself; and I faithfully hope for it to be perfected in me by him, by whom I humbly rejoice it to have been begun; not incredulous in that which he has not yet given, nor ungrateful in that which he has already given. For I am not by my own either genius or merit, but by his gift I am, if I am anything laudably. For certain most acute and most excellent geniuses have gone into so much the greater errors, by how much more confidently they ran as if by their own strengths, nor did they suppliantly and truly seek God, so that he might show the way to them. But what are the merits of any men whatever; since indeed he, who came not with a due reward, but with gratuitous grace (gratia), found all sinners, himself alone free and the liberator from sins?

6. If therefore true virtue (virtus vera) delights us, let us say to him, what we read in his sacred Letters: I will love you, Lord, my virtue (Ps. 17:2): and if we wish to be truly happy (beati) (which we cannot not wish), let us hold with a faithful heart that which we have learned in the same Letters: Blessed is the man whose hope is the name of the Lord, and who has not looked upon vanities and lying insanities (Ps. 39:5). But how great is the vanity (vanitas), how great the insanity (insania), and how great the lie (mendacium), that a mortal man, leading a laborious life with a mutable spirit and flesh, burdened with so many sins, subjected to so many temptations, obnoxious to so many corruptions, and destined for most just punishments, should trust in himself so that he may be happy, when he cannot even claim for himself that which he has chief in the dignity of his nature, that is, mind and reason, from errors, unless God be present as the light of minds! Let us therefore cast away, I beseech you, the vanities and lying insanities of the false philosophers: because neither will virtue be in us, unless he himself be present by whom we may be helped; nor happiness, unless he himself be present whom we may enjoy, and absorb all our mutable and corruptible part, which by itself is weak and a certain material of miseries, by the gift of immortality (immortalitas) and incorruption (incorruptio).

7. Quoniam vero te reipublicae scimus amatorem, non aliunde esse beatum hominem, aliunde civitatem, vide quam sit in illis sacris Litteris clarum. Nam quidam in eis sancto Spiritu plenus haec loquitur orans: Exime me de manu filiorum alienorum, quorum os locutum est vanitatem, et dextera eorum dextera iniquitatis. Quorum filii velut novellae constabilitae in juventute sua. Filiae eorum compositae, et ornatae sicut similitudo templi. Cellaria eorum plena, eructantia ex hoc in hoc. Oves eorum fecundae, multiplicantes in exitibus suis; boves eorum crassae. Non est ruina maceriae, neque transitus, neque clamor in plateis eorum. Beatum dixerunt populum cui haec sunt: beatus populus cujus Dominus Deus ipsius (Psal. CXLIII, 11-15).

8. Vides exaggeratione terrenae felicitatis beatum populum non dici, nisi a filiis alienis, id est non pertinentibus ad regenerationem qua efficimur filii Dei: a quorum manu iste se eximi precatur, ne ab eis in hanc opinionem atque in peccata impia pertrahatur. Loquendo quippe vanitatem, beatum dixerunt populum cui haec sunt quae supra commemoravit, quibus ea felicitas constat quam solam dilectores hujus mundi inquirunt. Et ideo dextera eorum, dextera iniquitatis, quia haec praeposuerunt quae fuerant postponenda, sicut sinistrae praeponitur dextera. Si enim habentur, non in eis beata vita ponenda est: subdita esse debent non praedita; sequentia, non ducentia. Huic autem qui sic orabat, et a filiis alienis qui beatum dixerunt populum cui haec sunt, eximi discernique cupiebat, tanquam diceremus, Ipse quid sentis? quem beatum populum dicis? non ait, Beatus populus, cujus est virtus animi ejus. Quod si dixisset, discrevisset quidem etiam istum populum ab illo qui beatam vitam in ista visibili et corporali felicitate constituit; sed nondum transcendisset omnes vanitates et insanias mendaces: Maledictus enim omnis, sicut alibi eaedem Litterae docent, qui spem suam ponit in homine (Jerem. XVII, 5); ergo nec in seipso quisquam debet, quia et ipse homo est. Proinde ut transiret omnium vanitatum et insaniarum mendacium limites, atque ibi beatam vitam poneret, ubi vere est, Beatus, inquit, populus, cujus Dominus Deus ipsius.

CAPUT III.

7. But since we know you to be a lover of the republic (respublica), and that a man is not happy from one source and a city from another, see how clear it is in those sacred Letters. For someone in them full of the Holy Spirit speaks these things praying: Rescue me from the hand of alien sons, whose mouth has spoken vanity, and their right hand is a right hand of iniquity. Whose sons are like established saplings in their youth. Their daughters composed, and adorned like the likeness of a temple. Their cellars full, erupting from this into that. Their sheep fertile, multiplying in their exits; their oxen fat. There is no ruin of a wall, nor passage, nor cry in their streets. They called the people happy who have these things: happy is the people whose Lord is its God (Ps. 143:11-15).

8. You see that by the exaggeration of earthly felicity a people is not called happy, except by alien sons, that is, those not pertaining to the regeneration by which we are made sons of God: from whose hand he prays that he be rescued, lest he be drawn by them into this opinion and into impious sins. For by speaking vanity, they called the people happy who have these things which he commemorated above, in which that felicity consists which alone the lovers of this world seek. And therefore their right hand is a right hand of iniquity, because they have preferred these things which were to be postponed, just as the right hand is preferred to the left. For if they are possessed, a happy life is not to be placed in them: they ought to be subjected, not preferred; following, not leading. But to this one who was so praying, and was desiring to be rescued and discerned from the alien sons who called the people happy who have these things, as if we were saying, What do you yourself think? whom do you call a happy people? he does not say: Happy is the people whose virtue of its mind is its own. Which if he had said, he would indeed have discerned also this people from that which constituted a happy life in this visible and corporal felicity; but he would not yet have transcended all vanities and lying insanities: for Cursed is everyone, as the same Letters teach elsewhere, who puts his hope in man (Jer. 17:5); therefore no one ought even in himself, because he himself also is a man. Accordingly, so that he might cross the limits of the lie of all vanities and insanities, and place the happy life there where it truly is: Happy, he said, is the people, whose Lord is its God.

CHAPTER III.

9. Cernis igitur unde petendum sit quod omnes docti indoctique desiderant, et multi errando ac superbiendo, unde petatur et ubi accipiatur ignorant. Utrique autem in quodam divino psalmo simul reprehenduntur, et qui confidunt in virtute sua, et qui in abundantia divitiarum suarum gloriantur (Psal. XLVIII, 7); id est, et philosophi hujus saeculi, et abhorrentes vel a tali philosophia, beatumque dicentes populum cui suppetit terrena opulentia. Ac per hoc a Domino Deo nostro a quo facti sumus, et virtutem petamus qua hujus vitae mala superemus, et beatam vitam qua post istam vitam in ejus aeternitate perfruamur, ut et in virtute et in praemio virtutis, sicut Apostolus dicit, qui gloriatur, in Domino glorietur (II Cor. X, 17). Hoc nobis velimus, hoc civitati cujus cives sumus: non enim aliunde beata civitas, aliunde homo; cum aliud civitas non sit, quam concors hominum multitudo.

10. Itaque si omnis prudentia tua, qua consulere conaris rebus humanis; si omnis fortitudo, qua nullius iniquitate adversante terreris; si omnis temperantia, qua in tanta labe nequissimae consuetudinis hominum te a corruptionibus abstines; si omnis justitia, qua recte judicando sua cuique distribuis, id laborat, id nititur, ut hi quibus vis ut bene sit, salvi sint corpore, et ab omni cujusquam improbitate tuti atque pacati, habeant filios sicut novellas constabilitas, filias ornatas sicut similitudinem templi, cellaria plena eructantia ex hoc in hoc, fecundas oves, crassas boves, nec maceriae ruina deformet praedium, nec litigantium clamor personet in plateis eorum; ita non erunt verae virtutes tuae, sicut nec istorum beatitudo. Hic enim ad verum dicendum illa mea verecundia, quam in tua epistola benigno sermone laudasti, me impedire non debet. Si quaelibet, inquam, administratio tua, illis quas commemoravi instructa virtutibus, hoc intentionis fine determinatur, ut homines secundum carnem nullas iniquas molestias patiantur; nec ad te existimas pertinere, quo istam quietem, quam praestare niteris, referant, id est (ut verbis non ambiam) quomodo Deum verum, ubi est quietae vitae omnis fructus, colant, nihil tibi prodest ad vitam vere beatam tantus labor.

9. You perceive therefore whence that is to be sought which all the learned and unlearned desire, and many by erring and being proud are ignorant whence it is sought and where it is received. But both are together reproved in a certain divine psalm, both those who trust in their own virtue (virtus), and those who glory in the abundance of their riches (Ps. 48:7); that is, both the philosophers of this world, and those abhorring even such philosophy, and calling the people happy who are supplied with earthly opulence. And by this from the Lord our God by whom we have been made, let us seek both the virtue by which we may overcome the evils of this life, and the happy life with which we may enjoy his eternity after this life, so that both in virtue and in the reward of virtue, as the Apostle says: He who glories, let him glory in the Lord (2 Cor. 10:17). This let us wish for ourselves, this for the city of which we are citizens: for a happy city (beata civitas) is not from one source, and a man from another; since a city is nothing other than a concordant multitude of men (concors hominum multitudo).

10. And so if all your prudence (prudentia), by which you attempt to consult for human affairs; if all your fortitude (fortitudo), by which you are terrified by the adversity of no iniquity; if all your temperance (temperantia), by which you abstain from corruptions in so great a sink of the most wicked custom of men; if all your justice (justitia), by which by judging rightly you distribute to each his own, labors and strives for this, that these whom you wish to be well may be safe in body, and quiet and pacified from all impropriety of anyone, may have sons as established saplings, daughters adorned as the likeness of a temple, cellars full erupting from this into that, fertile sheep, fat oxen, nor may the ruin of a wall deform the estate, nor the cry of litigants sound in their streets; so your virtues will not be true, just as neither will be the happiness of those men. For here for the sake of speaking the truth that modesty (verecundia) of mine, which you praised in your letter with kind speech, ought not to impede me. If any administration of yours, I say, instructed by those virtues which I commemorated, is determined by this end of intention, that men according to the flesh should suffer no iniquitous molestations; nor do you think it pertains to you, to what they should refer that quiet, which you strive to provide, that is (that I may not go about with words) how they should worship the true God, where all the fruit of a quiet life is, so great a labor profits you nothing for a truly happy life.

11. Inverecundius hoc dicere videor, et oblitus quodammodo consuetudinem intercessionum mearum. Sed si nihil est verecundia, nisi quidam displicendi metus, ego in hac causa metuendo non vereor. Metuo enim ne primum Deo, deinde ipsi amicitiae quam mecum inire dignatus es, jure displiceam, si minus liber in admonendo fuero, quod me admonere saluberrime existimo. Sim certe verecundior, cum tibi pro aliis intercedo: cum vero pro teipso, tanto liberior quanto amicior; quia tanto amicior quanto fidelior: quanquam haec ipsa non dicerem, nisi verecundius agerem. Quae si maxima est, ut ipse scripsisti, difficilium inter bonos efficacia; adjuvet me pro te apud te, ut in illo te fruar, qui mihi hanc ad te januam fiduciamque praestitit: praesertim quia id quod suggero, jam facile arbitror esse animo tuo tot divinis muneribus adminiculato et instructo.

12. Si enim virtutes quas accepisti, a quo acceperis sentiens, eique gratias agens, eas ad ipsius cultum etiam in tuis istis saecularibus honoribus conferas, tuaeque potestati subditos homines ad eum colendum exemplo tuae religiosae vitae, et ipso studio consulendi, seu fovendo seu terrendo erigas et adducas, nihilque aliud in eo quod per te securius vivunt, velis, nisi ut hinc illum promereantur, apud quem beate vivent; et verae illae virtutes erunt, et illius opitulatione, cujus largitate donatae sunt, ita crescent et perficientur, ut te ad vitam vere beatam, quae non nisi aeterna est, sine ulla dubitatione perducant: ubi jam nec prudenter discernantur a bonis mala, quae non erunt; nec fortiter tolerentur adversa, quia non ibi erit nisi quod amemus, non etiam quod toleremus; nec temperanter libido trenetur, ubi nulla ejus incitamenta sentiemus; nec juste subveniatur ope indigentibus, ubi inopem atque indigum non habebimus. Una ibi virtus erit, et idipsum erit virtus praemiumque virtutis, quod dicit in sanctis eloquiis homo qui hoc amat: Mihi autem adhaerere Deo bonum est (Psal. LXXII, 28). Haec ibi erit plena et sempiterna sapientia, eademque veraciter vita jam beata: perventio quippe est ad aeternum ac summum bonum, cui adhaerere in aeternum est finis nostri boni. Dicatur haec et prudentia, quia prospectissime adhaerebit bono quod non amittatur; et fortitudo, quia firmissime adhaerebit bono unde non avellatur; et temperantia, quia castissime adhaerebit bono ubi non corrumpatur; et justitia, quia rectissime adhaerebit bono cui merito subjiciatur.

11. I seem to say this somewhat immodestly, and having forgotten in a certain way the custom of my intercessions. But if modesty (verecundia) is nothing but a certain fear of displeasing, I am not afraid by fearing in this cause. For I fear lest I should justly displease first God, then the friendship itself which you have deigned to enter into with me, if I shall be less free in admonishing, which I think I admonish most salubriously. Let me certainly be more modest when I intercede for others for you: but when for yourself, so much the freer by how much more a friend; because so much more a friend by how much more faithful: although I would not say these very things, unless I were acting more modestly. Which if it is the greatest efficacy of difficult things among the good, as you yourself have written; let it help me for you with you, so that I may enjoy you in him, who provided this door and confidence for me to you: especially because that which I suggest, I already think it to be easy for your mind assisted and instructed by so many divine gifts.

12. For if you, sensing from whom you have received the virtues which you have received, and giving thanks to him, should confer them to his worship even in those your secular honors, and should raise up and lead the men subject to your power to worship him by the example of your religious life, and by the very study of consulting, whether by cherishing or by terrifying, and should wish for nothing else in that they live more securely through you, except that they may hence merit him, with whom they shall live happily; both those will be true virtues, and by his assistance, by whose bounty they have been given, they will so increase and be perfected, that they will lead you without any doubt to the truly happy life, which is nothing but eternal: where now neither evils should be prudently discerned from goods, which will not be there; nor should adversities be bravely tolerated, because there will be nothing there except what we may love, not also what we may tolerate; nor should lust be temperately restrained, where we shall feel no incitements of it; nor should the indigent be justly succored with aid, where we shall not have the poor and the indigent. There will be one virtue there, and that same thing will be the virtue and the reward of virtue, which the man who loves this says in the holy oracles: But for me to adhere to God is good (Ps. 72:28). This will be full and everlasting wisdom there, and the same truly a life already happy: for it is the arrival to the eternal and supreme good, to adhere to which forever is the end of our good. Let this be called also prudence, because it will most providently adhere to the good which may not be lost; and fortitude, because it will most firmly adhere to the good whence it may not be plucked away; and temperance, because it will most chastely adhere to the good where it may not be corrupted; and justice, because it will most rightly adhere to the good to which it may be deservedly subjected.

CAPUT IV.

13. Quanquam et in hac vita virtus non est, nisi diligere quod diligendum est: id eligere, prudentia est: nullis inde averti molestiis, fortitudo est; nullis illecebris, temperantia est: nulla superbia, justitia est. Quid autem eligamus quod praecipue diligamus, nisi quo nihil melius invenimus? Hoc Deus est, cui si diligendo aliquid vel praeponimus, vel aequamus, nos ipsos diligere nescimus. Tanto enim nobis melius est, quanto magis in illum imus, quo nihil melius est. Imus autem non ambulando, sed amando. Quem tanto habebimus praesentiorem, quanto eumdem amorem quo in eum tendimus, potuerimus habere puriorem: nec enim locis corporalibus vel extenditur, vel includitur. Ad eum ergo qui ubique praesens est et ubique totus, non pedibus ire licet, sed moribus. Mores autem nostri, non ex eo quod quisque novit, sed ex eo quod diligit, dijudicari solent: nec faciunt bonos vel malos mores, nisi boni vel mali amores. Pravitate ergo nostra, a rectitudine Dei longe sumus: unde rectum amando corrigimur, ut recto recti adhaerere possimus.

14. Ad illum ergo quanta opera possumus, etiam illi ut perveniant agamus, quos tanquam nosmetipsos diligimus, si nosmetipsos diligere, illum diligendo jam novimus. Christus namque, id est Veritas, dicit in his duobus praeceptis totam legem Prophetasque pendere, ut diligamus Deum ex toto corde, ex tota anima, ex tota mente, et diligamus proximos tanquam nosmetipsos (Matth. XXII, 37-40). Proximus sane hoc loco, non sanguinis propinquitate, sed rationis societate pensandus est, in qua socii sunt omnes homines. Nam si pecuniae ratio socios facit, quanto magis ratio naturae, non negotiandi, sed nascendi lege communis! Hinc et ille comicus (sicut luculentis ingeniis non defit resplendentia veritatis), cum ab uno sene alteri seni dictum componeret, Tantumne ab re tua est otî tibi, Aliena ut cures ea, quae nihil ad te attinent? responsum ab altero reddidit: Homo sum, humani nil a me alienum puto. (Terent. in Deaut. act. 1, scen. 1.) Cui sententiae ferunt etiam theatra tota, plena stultis indoctisque, applausisse. Ita quippe omnium affectum naturaliter attigit societas humanorum animorum, ut nullus ibi hominum nisi cujuslibet hominis proximum se esse sentiret.

CHAPTER IV.

13. Although even in this life virtue is nothing else than to love what is to be loved: to choose that is prudence; to be turned away from it by no molestations is fortitude; by no allurements, temperance; by no pride, justice. But what should we choose that we should especially love, except that than which we find nothing better? This is God, to whom if in loving we either prefer or equal anything, we know not how to love ourselves. For it is so much the better for us, by how much more we go into him, than whom nothing is better. But we go not by walking, but by loving. Whom we shall have so much the more present, by how much the more we shall be able to have that same love by which we tend toward him purer: for he is neither extended nor included in corporal places. To him therefore who is everywhere present and everywhere whole, it is permitted to go not with feet, but with morals (moribus). But our morals are wont to be judged not from that which each one knows, but from that which he loves: nor do good or bad loves make anything except good or bad morals. By our depravity, therefore, we are far from the rectitude of God: whence by loving what is right we are corrected, so that being right we may be able to adhere to the Right.

14. To him therefore with as much labor as we can, let us also act that they may arrive, whom we love as ourselves, if we already know how to love ourselves by loving him. For Christ, that is the Truth, says that in these two precepts all the Law and the Prophets depend, that we should love God with all our heart, with all our soul, with all our mind, and that we should love our neighbors as ourselves (Matt. 22:37-40). Surely in this place the neighbor is to be weighed not by proximity of blood, but by society of reason, in which all men are associates. For if the account of money makes associates, how much more the account of nature, common by the law not of trading, but of being born! Hence even that comic poet (as the resplendence of truth is not lacking to brilliant geniuses), when he composed what was said by one old man to another: Is there so much leisure for you from your own affair, that you care for those alien things which pertain nothing to you? rendered the response from the other: I am a man, I think nothing human alien to me. (Terence in Heaut. act 1, scen. 1.) To which sentence they say even the whole theaters, full of the foolish and unlearned, applauded. For thus the society of human souls naturally touched the affection of all, that no man there should feel himself otherwise than as a neighbor to any man whatsoever.

15. Cum ergo illa dilectione quam divina lex imperat, debeat homo diligere Deum, et seipsum, et proximum; non tamen ex hoc tria praecepta data sunt, nec dictum est, In his tribus, sed, In his duobus praeceptis tota Lex pendet et Prophetae, id est in dilectione Dei ex toto corde, ex tota anima, et ex tota mente, et proximi tanquam sui ipsius: videlicet ut intelligeretur nullam esse aliam dilectionem qua quisque diligit seipsum, nisi quod diligit Deum. Qui enim aliter se diligit, potius se odisse dicendus est: fit quippe iniquus, privaturque luce justitiae, cum a potiore ac praestantiore bono aversus, atque inde vel ad seipsum conversus, ad inferiora et egena utique convertitur; fitque in ipso quod veracissime scriptum est, Qui autem amat iniquitatem, odit animam suam (Psal. X, 6). Quia igitur nemo, nisi Deum diligendo, diligit seipsum; non opus erat ut dato de Dei dilectione praecepto, etiam seipsum homo diligere juberetur, cum in eo diligat seipsum, quod diligit Deum. Debet ergo et proximum diligere tanquam seipsum, ut quem potuerit hominem vel beneficentiae consolatione, vel informatione doctrinae, vel disciplinae coercitione adducat ad colendum Deum; sciens in his duobus praeceptis totam Legem Prophetasque pendere.

16. Hoc qui sobria discretione eligit, prudens est: qui nulla hinc afflictione avertitur, fortis est; qui nulla alia delectatione, temperans est; qui nulla elatione, justus est. His virtutibus divinitus impertitis, per gratiam mediatoris Dei cum Patre, et nobiscum hominis Jesu Christi, per quem post inimicitias iniquitatis reconciliamur Deo in Spiritu charitatis: his, inquam, virtutibus divinitus impertitis, et bona vita nunc agitur, et postea praemium ejus, quae nisi aeterna esse non potest, beata vita persolvitur. Hic enim sunt eaedem virtutes in actu, ibi in effectu; hic in opere, ibi in mercede; hic in officio, ibi in fine. Itaque omnes boni et sancti, etiam in tormentis quibuslibet divino fulti adjutorio, spe illius finis beati vocantur, quo fine beati erunt: nam si in eisdem tormentis et atrocissimis doloribus semper essent, cum quibuslibet virtutibus eos esse miseros nulla sana ratio dubitaret.

17. Pietas igitur, id est verus veri Dei cultus ad omnia prodest; et quae molestias hujus vitae avertat aut leniat, et quae ad illam vitam salutemque perducat, ubi nec aliquid jam mali patiamur, et bona summo sempiternoque perfruamur.

15. Since therefore by that love which the divine law commands, a man ought to love God, and himself, and his neighbor; yet from this three precepts were not given, nor was it said: In these three, but, In these two precepts all the Law depends and the Prophets, that is in the love of God with all the heart, with all the soul, and with all the mind, and of the neighbor as of himself: evidently that it might be understood that there is no other love by which each one loves himself, except that he loves God. For he who loves himself otherwise, is rather to be said to hate himself: for he becomes iniquitous, and is deprived of the light of justice, when turned away from the better and more excellent good, and then turned toward himself, he is certainly turned to inferior and needy things; and there becomes in him what is most truly written: But he who loves iniquity, hates his own soul (Ps. 10:6). Because therefore no one, except by loving God, loves himself; there was no need that, a precept having been given concerning the love of God, man should also be commanded to love himself, since in that he loves himself, in that he loves God. He ought therefore also to love his neighbor as himself, so that whatever man he can he may lead to the worship of God, either by the consolation of beneficence, or by the information of doctrine, or by the coercion of discipline; knowing that in these two precepts all the Law and the Prophets depend.

16. He who chooses this with sober discretion, is prudent: he who is turned away from this by no affliction, is brave; he who by no other delight, is temperate; he who by no elation, is just. With these virtues divinely imparted, through the grace of the mediator of God with the Father, and with us the man Jesus Christ, through whom after the enmities of iniquity we are reconciled to God in the Spirit of charity: with these, I say, virtues divinely imparted, both a good life is now led, and afterward its reward, which cannot be otherwise than eternal, a happy life is paid. For here are the same virtues in act, there in effect; here in work, there in reward; here in duty, there in end. Therefore all the good and holy, even in any torments supported by divine help, are called by the hope of that happy end, in which end they shall be happy: for if they were always in the same torments and most atrocious pains, no sane reason would doubt that they were miserable with whatever virtues.

17. Piety (Pietas), therefore, that is the true worship of the true God, is profitable for all things; both that which may avert or alleviate the molestations of this life, and that which may lead to that life and salvation, where we may no longer suffer any evil, and may enjoy the supreme and everlasting good.

Ad hanc te perfectius assequendam et perseverantissime retinendam exhortor ut meipsum: cujus nisi jam particeps esses, tuosque istos honores temporales ei servire oportere judicares, non Donatistis haereticis, ad eos in unitatem Christi pacemque redigendos, per edictum diceres, Pro vobis hoc agitur; pro vobis sacerdotes incorruptae fidei, pro vobis Imperator Augustus, pro vobis nos quoque ejus judices laboramus; et alia multa quae in eodem edicto ita posuisti, ut te appareat in terreni judicis cingulo, non parva ex parte coelestem rempublicam cogitare. Quare si de veris virtutibus et vere beata vita volui diutius loqui tecum, quaeso ne onerosus deputer tuis occupationibus: imo vero me non esse confido, quando tu adeo magnum animum et mirabiliter laudandum geris, ut nec illas curas deseras, et his libentius ac familiarius occuperis.

Epistola CLVI.

Hilarius Augustino, proponens illi quaestiones aliquot de quibus cupit edoceri.

Domino sancto, jure ac merito venerabili, et per omnia colendo AUGUSTINO episcopo, HILARIUS .

Sanctitatis tuae gratia, quae omnibus nota est, parvitati meae persuasit ut vestris de Syracusano Hipponem remeantibus has ad laudandam mihi Venerabilitatem tuam litteras erogarem, poscens summam Trinitatem ut incolumis et vegetus Dei nostri favore hoc meum scriptum ad recensendum suscipias, domine sancte, jure ac merito venerabilis, et per omnia colende. Proinde rogo ut mei memor in sanctis orationibus tuis esse digneris, atque imperitiam nostram informare de eo quod quidam christiani apud Syracasas exponunt, dicentes: Posse esse hominem sine peccato; et mandata Dei facile custodire, si velit. Infantem non baptizatum morte praeventum non posse perire merito, quoniam sine peccato nascitur. Divitem manentem in divitiis suis, regnum Dei non posse ingredi, nisi omnia sua vendiderit; nec prodesse eidem posse, si forte ex ipsis divitiis fecerit mandata. Non debere jurare omnino. Et de Ecclesia, quae sit de qua scriptum est non habere rugam neque maculam (Ephes. V, 27), utrum haec sit in qua nunc congregamur, an illa quam speramus: quidam autem putant Ecclesiam hanc esse quae nunc frequentatur populis, et sine peccato esse posse. De his omnibus rogo, quantis valeo precibus, Sanctitatem tuam, ut jubeas nos apertius instrui, quo noverimus quatenus sentire debeamus. Dei nostri misericordia Sanctitatem tuam incolumem conservet, annis innumeris opto, domine sancte, jure ac merito venerabilis, et per omnia colende.

To follow this more perfectly and to retain it most perseveringly I exhort you as myself: of which unless you were already a participant, and judged it to behove those your temporal honors to serve it, you would not say to the Donatist heretics, for the sake of bringing them back into the unity and peace of Christ, through an edict: For you this is done; for you the priests of incorrupt faith, for you the Emperor Augustus, for you we also his judges labor; and many other things which you have so placed in the same edict, that it appears that you in the belt of an earthly judge, think in no small part of the heavenly republic. Wherefore if I have wished to speak longer with you concerning true virtues and the truly happy life, I pray lest I be accounted burdensome to your occupations: but indeed I trust that I am not, when you bear so great a mind and one wonderfully to be praised, that you neither desert those cares, and are occupied with these more willingly and familiarly.

Letter CLVI.

Hilary to Augustine, proposing to him several questions concerning which he desires to be taught.

To the holy lord, justly and deservedly venerable, and to be worshipped through all things, Bishop AUGUSTINE, HILARY.

The grace of your Holiness, which is known to all, persuaded my littleness that I should bestow these letters upon your Venerability to be praised, from your people returning from Syracuse to Hippo, asking the supreme Trinity that safe and vigorous by the favor of our God you may receive this my writing to be reviewed, holy lord, justly and deservedly venerable, and to be worshipped through all things. Therefore I ask that you deign to be mindful of me in your holy prayers, and to inform our ignorance concerning that which certain Christians set forth at Syracuse, saying: That it is possible for a man to be without sin; and to keep the commandments of God easily, if he wills. That an infant prevented by death and not baptized cannot perish by merit, since he is born without sin. That a rich man remaining in his riches, cannot enter the kingdom of God, unless he shall have sold all his things; nor can it profit the same, if perhaps from those very riches he shall have done the commandments. That one ought not to swear at all. And concerning the Church, which it is of which it is written not to have wrinkle nor spot (Eph. 5:27), whether this is it in which we are now gathered, or that which we hope for: but certain people think that this Church is that which is now frequented by peoples, and can be without sin. Concerning all these I ask your Holiness, with as many prayers as I am able, that you command us to be more openly instructed, whereby we may know how far we ought to feel. May the mercy of our God preserve your Holiness safe, I wish, for innumerable years, holy lord, justly and deservedly venerable, and to be worshipped through all things.

Epistola CLVII.

Augustine Hilario, respondens ad illius quaestiones.

AUGUSTINUS episcopus servus Christi et ejus Ecclesiae, dilectissimo filio HILARIO, in Domino salutem.

CAPUT PRIMUM.

1. Ex litteris tuis didici non solum incolumitatem tuam, sed etiam religiosum studium tuum circa verbum Dei, et piam curam pro salute tua, quae est in Christo Jesu Domino nostro: unde gratias Deo agens non distuli rescripta persolvere.

2. Si ergo quaeris utrum in hac vita quisquam ita justitiae perfectione proficiat, ut hic sine ullo vivat omnino peccato; attende quid dixerit Joannes apostolus, quem Dominus inter discipulos suos praecipue diligebat: Si dixerimus, inquit, quia peccatum non habemus, nos ipsos decipimus, et veritas in nobis non est (I Joan. I, 8). Si ergo illi de quibus mihi scripsisti, se dicunt esse sine peccato; vides quia se ipsos decipiunt, et veritas in eis non est. Si autem se esse peccatores fatentur, ut Dei misericordiam possint mereri, compescant se ab aliis etiam decipiendis, quibus hanc superbiam persuadere conantur. Omnibus enim necessaria est oratio dominica, quam etiam ipsis arietibus gregis, id est Apostolis suis Dominus dedit, ut unusquisque Deo dicat: Dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris (Matth. VI, 12). Cui enim haec in oratione verba necessaria non fuerint, ipse hic sine peccato vivere pronuntiandus est. Quales si aliquos futuros Dominus praevideret, meliores utique quam exstiterunt ejus Apostoli, aliam orationem illos doceret, qua non peterent dimitti sibi peccata, quibus in Baptismo fuerant omnia jam dimissa. Nam si Daniel sanctus, non coram homimibus quasi humilitate fallaci, sed coram Deo, id est in oratione qua Deum precabatur, non solum peccata populi sui, sed etiam sua confitebatur, sicut ejus ore veridico expressum est (Danielis IX, 20); nihil aliud mihi videtur dicendum istis, nisi quod per prophetam Ezechielem cuidam superbo Dominus mandat: Numquid tu sapientior es quam Daniel (Ezek. XXVIII, 3)?

3. Sed plane qui misericordia Dei adjutus et gratia se ab eis peccatis abstinuerit quae etiam crimina vocantur, atque illa peccata sine quibus non hic vivitur, mundare operibus misericordiae et piis orationibus non neglexerit, merebitur hinc exire sine peccato, quamvis cum hic viveret habuerit nonnulla peccata; quia sicut ista non defuerunt, ita etiam remedia quibus purgarentur, affuerunt.

Letter CLVII.

Augustine to Hilary, responding to his questions.

AUGUSTINE bishop, servant of Christ and of his Church, to his most beloved son HILARY, greeting in the Lord.

CHAPTER I.

1. From your letters I have learned not only your safety, but also your religious study concerning the word of God, and your pious care for your salvation, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord: whence giving thanks to God I have not delayed to render a reply.

2. If therefore you ask whether in this life anyone so profits in the perfection of justice, that he lives here altogether without any sin; attend to what the apostle John said, whom the Lord especially loved among his disciples: If we say, he says, that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us (1 John 1:8). If therefore those of whom you wrote to me say that they are without sin; you see that they deceive themselves, and the truth is not in them. But if they confess themselves to be sinners, so that they may be able to merit the mercy of God, let them restrain themselves from deceiving others also, whom they attempt to persuade of this pride. For the Lord's Prayer is necessary for all, which the Lord gave even to the rams of the flock, that is to his Apostles, so that each one should say to God: Forgive us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors (Matt. 6:12). For to whom these words in prayer shall not have been necessary, he himself is to be pronounced to live here without sin. Of which kind if the Lord foresaw that some would be, surely better than his Apostles were, he would teach them another prayer, by which they would not ask their sins to be forgiven them, to whom all had already been forgiven in Baptism. For if holy Daniel, not before men as if by a fallacious humility, but before God, that is in the prayer by which he was praying to God, was confessing not only the sins of his people, but also his own, as was expressed by his truthful mouth (Dan. 9:20); nothing else seems to me to be said to those men, except what the Lord mandates through the prophet Ezekiel to a certain proud man: Are you wiser than Daniel? (Ezek. 28:3).

3. But plainly he who assisted by the mercy and grace of God shall have abstained from those sins which are also called crimes (crimina), and shall not have neglected to cleanse those sins without which one does not live here by works of mercy and pious prayers, will merit to go hence without sin, although while he lived here he had some sins; because as these were not lacking, so also the remedies by which they were purged were present.

Quisquis autem, hac velut occasione comperta, cum audierit neminem hic arbitrio suo sine peccato vivere, dederit se libidinibus, et criminibus nefariis obligaverit, atque in his criminosis consceleratisque moribus usque in diem suum ultimum perduraverit, quaslibet inter haec eleemosynas faciat, et infeliciter ducit vitam, et infelicius finit.

CAPUT II.

4. Sed isti utcumque tolerandi sunt, quando dicunt vel esse vel fuisse hic aliquem, praeter unum Sanctum sanctorum, qui nullum haberet omnino peccatum. Illud vero quod dicunt, sufficere homini liberum abitrium ad dominica praecepta implenda, etiamsi Dei gratia et Spiritus sancti dono ad opera bona non adjuvetur, omnino anathematizandum est, et omnibus exsecrationibus detestandum. Qui enim hoc asserunt, a gratia Dei penitus alieni sunt; quia ignorantes Dei justitiam, sicut de Judaeis dicit Apostolus, et suam volentes constituere, justitiae Dei non sunt subjecti (Rom. X, 3): plenitudo quippe legis non est nisi charitas (Id. XIII, 10); et utique charitas Dei diffusa est in cordibus nostris, non per nos ipsos, nec viribus propriae voluntatis, sed per Spiritum sanctum qui datus est nobis (Id. V, 5).

5. Valet itaque liberum arbitrium ad opera bona, si divinitus adjuvetur, quod fit humiliter petendo et faciendo: desertum vero divino adjutorio, qualibet scientia legis excellat, nullo modo habebit justitiae soliditatem, sed inflationem impiae superbiae et exitiosum tumorem. Docet hoc eadem ipsa dominica oratio. Frustra enim rogantes Deum dicimus, Ne nos inferas in tentationem (Matth. VI, 13), si hoc in nostra sic positum est potestate, ut nullo illius adjutorio id valeamus implere. Dictum est enim, Ne nos inferas in tentationem, quod intelligitur, Ne nos inferri deserendo permittas. Fidelis enim Deus, ait Apostolus, qui non vos permittet tentari supra id quod potestis, sed faciet cum tentatione etiam exitum, ut possitis sustinere (I Cor. X, 13): utquid hoc dixit Deum facere, si hoc sine ipsius adjutorio in sola nostra est potestate?

6. Nam et ipsa lex in hoc adjutorium data est illis qui ea legitime utuntur, ut per illam sciant, vel quid justitiae jam acceperint, unde gratias agant, vel quid adhuc eis desit, quod instanter petant. Qui autem sic audiunt quod ait lex, Non concupisces (Exod. XX, 17, et Rom. VII, 7), ut hoc quia didicerint, sufficere sibi arbitrentur, nec adjutorio gratiae Dei ad faciendum quod jussum est dari sibi virtutem credant et petant; ad hoc eis lex subintravit, ut abundaret delictum (Rom. V, 20); quod dictum est de Judaeis.

But whosoever, this occasion as it were having been found, when he shall have heard that no one here by his own judgment lives without sin, shall have given himself to lusts, and shall have bound himself to nefarious crimes, and shall have endured in these criminal and wicked morals even until his last day, whatever alms he may do among these, he both leads his life unhappily, and finishes it more unhappily.

CHAPTER II.

4. But these are somehow to be tolerated, when they say that there either is or has been someone here, besides the one Holy of holies, who had no sin at all. But that which they say, that free will suffices for a man to fulfill the Lord's precepts, even if he is not helped by the grace of God and the gift of the Holy Spirit to good works, is altogether to be anathematized, and to be detested with all execrations. For those who assert this, are utterly alienated from the grace of God; because ignorant of the justice of God, as the Apostle says concerning the Jews, and wishing to establish their own, they are not subject to the justice of God (Rom. 10:3): for the fullness of the law is nothing but charity (Id. 13:10); and surely the charity of God is shed abroad in our hearts, not through ourselves, nor by the strengths of our own will, but through the Holy Spirit who is given to us (Id. 5:5).

5. Therefore free will is valid for good works, if it be divinely helped, which is done by humbly asking and doing: but deserted by divine help, by whatever knowledge of the law it may excel, in no way will it have the solidity of justice, but the inflation of impious pride and a destructive tumor. The same Lord's Prayer teaches this. For in vain do we say asking God: Lead us not into temptation (Matt. 6:13), if this is so placed in our power, that by no help of his we were able to fulfill it. For it was said: Lead us not into temptation, which is understood: Do not permit us to be led in by deserting us. For God is faithful, says the Apostle, who will not permit you to be tempted above that which you are able, but will make with the temptation also an escape, that you may be able to sustain (1 Cor. 10:13): for what purpose did he say that God does this, if this without his help is in our power alone?

6. For even the law itself was given for help in this to those who use it lawfully, that through it they may know, either what justice they have already received, whence they may give thanks, or what still is lacking to them, which they may instantly ask. But those who so hear what the law says: You shall not covet (Exod. 20:17, and Rom. 7:7), that because they have learned this, they think it suffices for them, nor do they believe and ask that virtue be given to them by the help of the grace of God for doing what is commanded; for this purpose the law entered in to them, that sin might abound (Rom. 5:20); which was said concerning the Jews.

Parum enim est quia non implent quod praecepit lex, Non concupisces; sed insuper superbiunt, et ignorantes Dei justitiam, id est quam Deus dat qui justificat impium, et suam volentes constituere tanquam suae voluntatis viribus factam, justitiae Dei non sunt subjecti. Finis enim legis Christus, ad justitiam omni credenti (Id. 10, 4); qui utique ideo venit, ut ubi abundavit delictum, superabundet gratia. Cui gratiae si fuerunt inimici Judaei, Dei ignorantes justitiam, et suam volentes constituere; quare sunt et isti inimici, si in eum crediderunt quem illi occiderunt? An ut illi accipiant praemium, qui occiso Christo suam impietatem accusaverunt, et se illius gratiae cognitae subdiderunt; et isti portent judicium, qui sic in Christum volunt credere, ut ejus ipsam gratiam conentur occidere?

7. Ad hoc quippe in eum credunt qui recte credunt, ut esuriant sitiantque justitiam, et ejus gratia saturentur. Omnis enim, sicut scriptum est, qui invocaverit nomen Domini, salvus erit (Joel. II, 32, et Rom. X, 13): non utique salute corporis, quam multi habent et qui non invocant nomen Domini; sed illa salute de qua ipse dicit, Non est opus sanis medicus, sed aegrotantibus; et quid dixerit, consequenter exponens, Non veni, inquit, vocare justos, sed peccatores (Matth. IX, 12, 13). Justos ergo sanos, peccatores autem dixit aegrotos. Non itaque de suis viribus praesumat aegrotus; quia in multitudine virtutis suae non erit salvus. Nam si inde praesumit, videat ne vires istae non sint quales solent esse sanorum, sed quales solent esse phreneticorum: qui cum sint insani, adeo se sanos putant, ut nec medicum quaerant, et tanquam importunum insuper caedant; sicut isti Christum insana superbia quodammodo caedunt, cujus gratiae tam benignum adjutorium ad faciendam justitiam dato legis praecepto necessarium non esse contendunt. Desinant ergo sic insanire, et ad hoc se intelligant habere, quantum possunt, liberum arbitrium, non ut superba voluntate respuant adjutorium, sed ut pia voluntate invocent Dominum.

8. Haec enim voluntas libera tanto erit liberior quanto sanior: tanto autem sanior, quanto divinae misericordiae gratiaeque subjectior. Ipsa enim fideliter orat et dicit: Itinera mea dirige secundum verbum tuum, et ne dominetur mihi omnis iniquitas (Psal. CXVIII, 133). Quomodo enim libera est, cui dominatur iniquitas? Ut ei autem non dominetur, vide ab illa quis invocetur. Non enim ait, Itinera mea dirige secundum liberum arbitrium, quia non dominabitur mihi omnis iniquitas; sed, Itinera mea, inquit, dirige secundum verbum tuum, et ne dominetur mihi omnis iniquitas.

For it is too little that they do not fulfill what the law commanded: You shall not covet; but besides they are proud, and ignorant of the justice of God, that is which God gives who justifies the impious, and wishing to establish their own as if made by the strengths of their own will, they are not subject to the justice of God. For Christ is the end of the law, for justice to everyone who believes (Id. 10:4); who surely came for this reason, that where sin abounded, grace might superabound. To which grace if the Jews were enemies, ignorant of the justice of God, and wishing to establish their own; why are these also enemies, if they have believed in him whom those men killed? Or is it that those men may receive a reward, who having killed Christ accused their own impiety, and subjected themselves to his grace having been known; and these men should carry judgment, who so wish to believe in Christ, that they attempt to kill his very grace?

7. For to this end those who believe rightly believe in him, that they may hunger and thirst for justice, and be saturated by his grace. For everyone, as it is written, who shall have invoked the name of the Lord, shall be saved (Joel 2:32, and Rom. 10:13): not surely by the salvation of the body, which many have even who do not invoke the name of the Lord; but by that salvation concerning which he himself says: The healthy have no need of a physician, but those who are sick; and explaining what he said, consequently, I have not come, he says, to call the just, but sinners (Matt. 9:12, 13). Therefore he called the just healthy, but the sinners sick. Let not the sick man, therefore, presume concerning his own strengths; because in the multitude of his virtue he shall not be saved. For if he presumes thence, let him see lest those strengths be not such as are wont to be of the healthy, but such as are wont to be of the phrenetic: who since they are insane, so much think themselves healthy, that they neither seek a physician, and as if an importunate person besides they strike him; just as these men in a certain way strike Christ with insane pride, whose grace's so benign help for doing justice they contend not to be necessary, the precept of the law having been given. Let them therefore cease so to be insane, and let them understand that they have for this purpose, as much as they can, free will, not that by a proud will they should reject help, but that by a pious will they should invoke the Lord.

8. For this free will shall be so much the freer by how much the healthier: but so much the healthier, by how much the more subject to divine mercy and grace. For it itself faithfully prays and says: Direct my paths according to your word, and let not all iniquity have dominion over me (Ps. 118:133). For how is it free, over which iniquity has dominion? But that it may not have dominion over it, see who is invoked by it. For it does not say: Direct my paths according to free will, because all iniquity shall not have dominion over me; but, Direct my paths, it says, according to your word, and let not all iniquity have dominion over me.

Precatur, non pollicetur; confitetur, non profitetur; optat plenissimam libertatem, non jactat propriam potestatem. Non enim omnis qui viribus suis confidit, sed omnis qui invocat nomen Domini, salvus erit. Quomodo autem invocabunt, inquit, in quem non crediderunt (Rom. X, 14). Ad hoc ergo credunt qui recte credunt, ut invocent in quem crediderunt, et valeant facere quod in praeceptis legitimis acceperunt; quoniam id quod lex imperat, fides impetrat.

9. Nam ut interim omittamus legis multa praecepta, et hoc inde commemoremus quod ad commemorandum elegit Apostolus; cum dicit lex, Non concupisces, quid videtur aliud imperare, nisi ab illicitis cupiditatibus continentiam? Animus quippe velut pondere, amore fertur quocumque fertur. Jubemur itaque detrahere de pondere cupiditatis quod accedat ad pondus charitatis, donec illud consumatur, hoc perficiatur: plenitudo enim legis est charitas. Et tamen de ipsa continentia vide quid scriptum sit: Et cum scirem, inquit, quia nemo potest esse continens nisi Deus det, et hoc ipsum erat sapientiae, scire cujus esset hoc donum; adii Dominum, et deprecatus sum illum (Sap. VIII, 21). Numquid dixit, Et cum scirem quia nemo potest esse continens, nisi per proprium liberum arbitrium, et hoc ipsum erat sapientiae, scire a meipso esse hoc bonum? Non plane hoc dixit, quod quidam in sua vanitate dicunt; sed quod fuit in sanctae Scripturae veritate dicendum: Cum scirem, inquit, quia nemo esse potest continens, nisi Deus det. Jubet ergo Deus continentiam, et dat continentiam; jubet per legem, dat per gratiam; jubet per litteram, dat per Spiritum: lex enim sine gratia facit abundare delictum, et littera sine Spiritu occidit (II Cor. III, 6). Jubet ideo, ut facere jussa conati, et nostra infirmitate sub lege fatigati, adjutorium gratiae poscere noverimus; et si quid facere potuerimus operis boni, ei qui adjuvat non simus ingrati: hoc et iste fecit; id enim eum sapientia docuit, cujus esset hoc donum.

10. Neque enim voluntatis arbitrium ideo tollitur, quia juvatur; sed ideo juvatur, quia non tollitur. Qui enim Deo dicit, Adjutor meus esto (Psal. XXVI, 9), confitetur se velle implere quod jussit, sed ab eo qui jussit, adjutorium poscere ut possit. Sic et iste cum sciret neminem esse posse continentem, nisi Deus det, adiit Dominum et deprecatus est: utique volens adiit, volens deprecatus est, nec petiisset nisi esset voluntas.

It prays, it does not promise; it confesses, it does not profess; it desires the fullest liberty, it does not boast of its own power. For not everyone who trusts in his own strengths, but everyone who invokes the name of the Lord, shall be saved. But how shall they invoke, he says, in whom they have not believed (Rom. 10:14). To this end therefore those believe who believe rightly, that they may invoke him in whom they have believed, and may be able to do what they have received in lawful precepts; since that which the law commands, faith impetrates (impetrat).

9. For that we may omit for the time the many precepts of the law, and may commemorate this from it which the Apostle chose to commemorate; when the law says: You shall not covet, what else does it seem to command, except continence from illicit cupitidities? For the soul just as by weight, is carried by love wherever it is carried. We are therefore commanded to take away from the weight of cupidity what may be added to the weight of charity, until that be consumed, this be perfected: for the fullness of the law is charity. And yet concerning continence itself see what is written: And when I knew, he says, that no one can be continent unless God gives it, and this itself was of wisdom, to know whose gift this was; I approached the Lord, and besought him (Wis. 8:21). Did he say: And when I knew that no one can be continent, except through his own free will, and this itself was of wisdom, to know that this good was from myself? Clearly he did not say this, which some say in their vanity; but what was to be said in the truth of holy Scripture: When I knew, he says, that no one can be continent, unless God gives it. God therefore commands continence, and gives continence; he commands through the law, he gives through grace; he commands through the letter, he gives through the Spirit: for the law without grace makes sin abound, and the letter without the Spirit kills (2 Cor. 3:6). He commands therefore, that having attempted to do the commanded things, and fatigued by our infirmity under the law, we may know how to ask the help of grace; and if we shall have been able to do any of a good work, we should not be ungrateful to him who helps: this even that man did; for wisdom taught him that, whose gift this was.

10. For neither is the judgment of the will for this reason taken away, because it is helped; but for this reason it is helped, because it is not taken away. For he who says to God: Be my helper (Ps. 26:9), confesses that he wills to fulfill what he commanded, but from him who commanded, he asks help that he may be able. So even that man, since he knew that no one can be continent unless God gives it, approached the Lord and besought him: surely willing he approached, willing he besought, nor would he have asked unless there were a will.

Sed nisi petiisset, quantum posset voluntas? Quia etsi possit antequam petat, quid ei prodest, nisi illi agat gratias ex eo quod potest, a quo petendum est quod nondum potest? Unde etiam qui jam continens est, non habet utique continentiam, nisi adsit voluntas; sed nisi accepisset, quid haberet voluntas? Quid enim habes, inquit, quod non accepisti? Si autem accepisti, quid gloriaris quasi non acceperis (I Cor. 4, 7)? id est, Quid gloriaris quasi a teipso habeas, quod si non accepisses, a teipso habere non posses? Hoc autem dictum est, ut qui gloriatur, non in seipso, sed in Domino glorietur (II Cor. X, 17); et qui nondum habet unde glorietur, non a seipso speret, sed Dominum precetur. Satius est enim minus quemque habere quod a Deo petat, quam plus habere quod sibi tribuat; quoniam expedit ab imo surgere, quam ex alto cadere: Deus enim, scriptum est, superbis resistit, humilibus autem dat gratiam (Jacobi IV, 6). Ad abundantiam igitur delictorum lex nos docet quid velle debeamus, nisi adjuvet gratia, ut quod volumus valeamus, et quod valuerimus impleamus. Adjuvabit autem, si non de nostris viribus praesumentes alta sapiamus, sed humilibus consentientes (Rom. XII, 16), et de iis quae jam possumus, gratias agamus, et pro iis quae nondum possumus, Deum suppliciter inhiante voluntate poscamus; adminiculantes orationem nostram misericordiae fructuosis operibus, dando ut detur nobis, dimittendo ut dimittatur nobis.

CAPUT III.

11. Quod autem dicunt infantem morte praeventum, non baptizatum, perire non posse, quoniam sine peccato nascitur: non hoc dicit Apostolus; et arbitror esse melius ut Apostolo potius quam istis credamus. Dicit enim ille doctor Gentium, in quo Christus loquebatur, Per unum hominem peccatum intravit in mundum, et per peccatum mors, et ita in omnes homines pertransiit, in quo omnes peccaverunt: et paulo post dicit, Nam judicium quidem ex uno delicto in condemnationem, gratia autem ex multis delictis in justificationem (Luc. VI, 37, 38). Proinde isti, quem forte invenerint infantem non ex illius unius hominis concupiscentia procreatum, ipsum dicant illi damnationi non esse obnoxium, nec per Christi gratiam ab illa damnatione esse liberandum. Quid est enim, ex uno delicto in condemnationem, nisi in illo delicto quo deliquit Adam? et quid est, ex multis delictis in justificationem, nisi quia Christi gratia non solum illud unum delictum solvit, quo obstringuntur infantes ex illo uno homine procreati, sed etiam multa delicta, quae cum creverint homines, addunt malis moribus suis?

But unless he had asked, how much would the will have been able? Because even if it were able before it asks, what does it profit it, unless it should give thanks to him from whom it is able, from whom that is to be asked which it is not yet able? Whence even he who is already continent, surely does not have continence, unless the will be present; but unless he had received it, what would the will have? For what do you have, he says, which you have not received? But if you have received it, why do you glory as if you had not received it (1 Cor. 4:7)? that is, Why do you glory as if you have it from yourself, which if you had not received, you could not have from yourself? But this was said, that he who glories, should glory not in himself, but in the Lord (2 Cor. 10:17); and he who does not yet have whence he may glory, should not hope from himself, but should pray to the Lord. For it is better for each one to have less which he may ask from God, than to have more which he may attribute to himself; since it is expedient to rise from the bottom, than to fall from the height: For God, it is written, resists the proud, but to the humble he gives grace (James 4:6). For the abundance therefore of sins the law teaches us what we ought to will, unless grace should help, that what we will we may be able, and what we shall have been able we may fulfill. But it will help, if not presuming concerning our own strengths we should not savor high things, but consenting to the humble (Rom. 12:16), and concerning those things which we already can, let us give thanks, and for those things which we cannot yet, let us ask God suppliantly with a gasping will; supporting our prayer with the fruitful works of mercy, by giving so that it may be given to us, by forgiving so that it may be forgiven to us.

CHAPTER III.

11. But as to what they say, that an infant prevented by death and not baptized, cannot perish, because he is born without sin: the Apostle does not say this; and I think it is better that we believe the Apostle rather than these men. For that teacher of the Gentiles, in whom Christ was speaking, says: Through one man sin entered into the world, and through sin death, and so it passed through into all men, in whom all have sinned: and a little after he says: For judgment indeed from one offense unto condemnation, but grace from many offenses unto justification (Rom. 5:12, 16). Accordingly, let these men say of whatever infant they may perhaps have found not procreated from the concupiscence of that one man, that he is not liable to that damnation, nor to be delivered from that damnation through the grace of Christ. For what is, from one offense unto condemnation, except in that offense by which Adam offended? and what is, from many offenses unto justification, except because the grace of Christ solves not only that one offense, by which infants procreated from that one man are bound, but also many offenses, which when men have grown up, they add by their evil morals?

Tamen et illud unum, quo est obligata propago carnalis quae ab illo primo homine originem ducit, sufficere dicit ad condemnationem. Ideo non est superfluus baptismus parvulorum, ut qui per generationem illi condemnationi obligati sunt, per regenerationem ab eadem condemnatione solvantur: sicut enim non invenitur homo qui praeter Adam carnaliter generetur; sic non invenitur homo qui praeter Christum spiritualiter regeneretur. Carnalis autem generatio delicto illi uni, et damnationi ejus obnoxia est; spiritualis vero regeneratio non solum illud unum propter quod baptizantur infantes, sed multa delicta facit aboleri, quae homines male vivendo, ad illud in quo generati sunt, addiderunt. Ideo sequitur et dicit: Si enim ob unius delictum mors regnavit per unum, multo magis qui abundantiam gratiae et justitiae accipiunt, in vita regnabunt per unum Jesum Christum. Itaque sicut per unius delictum in omnes homines ad condemnationem; ita per unius justificationem in omnes homines ad justificationem vitae. Sicut enim per inobedientiam unius hominis peccatores constituti sunt multi: ita per unius obedientiam justi constituuntur multi (Rom. V, 12-19).

12. Quid ad ista dicturi sunt? aut quid eis restat, nisi ut Apostolam errasse contendant? Clamat vas electionis, doctor Centium, tuba Christi, Judicium ex uno in condemnationem: et reclamant isti, asserentes parvulos, quos ex ilio uno homine de quo loquitur, ducere propaginem confitentur, non ire in condemnationem, etsi in Christo non fuerint baptizati. Judicium, inquit, ex uno in condemnationem: quid dicit, ex uno, nisi, delicto? sequitur enim, Gratia autem ex multis delictis in justificationem Ergo inde judicium etiam ex uno delicto ducit in condemnationem: hinc autem gratia etiam ex multis delictis ducit in justificationem. Quapropter si non audent resistere Apostolo, exponant nobis quare judicium ex uno delicto ducat in condemnationem, cum ex multis delictis homines damnandi veniant ad judicium. Aut si propterea ita dictum putant, quia initium peccati ex Adam factum est, quod imitati caeteri sunt, ut sic ex uno illo delicto in judicium condemnationemque traherentur qui cum imitando multa peccarunt; cur non etiam de gratia et justificati ne sic dictum est? cur non dixit similiter, Et gratia ex uno delicto in justificationem? Sicut enim hominum multa delleta inter illud unum quod imitati sunt, et judicium quo puniuntur, media reperiuntur; ab uno quippe ad multa venerunt, ut a multis ad judicium damnationemque ducerentur: sic eadem multa delicta inter hoc ipsum unum cujus imitatione commissa sunt, et gratiam qua dimittuntur, eodem modo media sunt; quoniam ex illo uno ad multa venerunt, ut ex multis ad gratiam justificandi venirent.

Yet even that one, by which the carnal offspring which draws its origin from that first man is bound, he says to suffice for condemnation. Therefore the baptism of little ones is not superfluous, that those who through generation are bound to that condemnation, through regeneration may be loosed from the same condemnation: for as a man is not found who is generated carnally except from Adam; so a man is not found who is regenerated spiritually except from Christ. But carnal generation is liable to that one offense, and to its damnation; but spiritual regeneration makes not only that one to be abolished on account of which infants are baptized, but many offenses, which men by living badly, have added to that in which they were generated. Therefore he follows and says: For if on account of the offense of one death reigned through one, much more those who receive the abundance of grace and of justice, shall reign in life through the one Jesus Christ. And so as through the offense of one unto all men unto condemnation; so through the justification of one unto all men unto justification of life. For as through the disobedience of one man many were constituted sinners: so through the obedience of one many are constituted just (Rom. 5:17-19).

12. What are they going to say to these things? or what remains for them, except that they contend that the Apostle erred? The vessel of election cries out, the teacher of the Gentiles, the trumpet of Christ: Judgment from one unto condemnation: and these men cry out against it, asserting that little ones, whom they confess to draw their offspring from that one man of whom he speaks, do not go into condemnation, even if they have not been baptized in Christ. Judgment, he says, from one unto condemnation: what does he say, from one, except, offense? for it follows, But grace from many offenses unto justification. Therefore from that side judgment even from one offense leads into condemnation: but from this side grace even from many offenses leads into justification. Wherefore if they do not dare to resist the Apostle, let them explain to us why judgment from one offense should lead into condemnation, since men about to be damned come to judgment from many offenses. Or if they think it was so said for this reason, because the beginning of sin was made from Adam, which the rest imitated, so that thus from that one offense they were drawn into judgment and condemnation who sinned many things by imitating; why was it not also so said concerning grace and justification? why did he not say similarly: And grace from one offense unto justification? For just as many offenses of men are found in the middle between that one which they imitated, and the judgment by which they are punished; for from one surely they came to many, that from many they might be led to judgment and condemnation: so the same many offenses are in the same way in the middle between this same one by whose imitation they were committed, and the grace by which they are forgiven; since from that one they came to many, that from many they might come to the grace of being justified.

Cum ergo in utroque, id est et judicio et gratia, quod attinet ad unum et multa delicta, una eademque ratio sit; dicant isti nobis quare judicium dixerit ex uno delicto ducere in condemnationem, gratiam vero ex multis delictis in justificationem. Aut acquiescant ideo sic esse dictum, quia in hac causa duo constituuntur homines; Adam, ex quo consistit generatio carnalis, et Christus, ex quo regeneratio spiritualis. Sed quia tantum ille homo, iste autem et Deus et homo; non quomodo illa generatio uno delicto obligat, quod est ex Adam, ita ista regeneratio unum delictum solum solvit, quod est ex Adam. Sed illi quidem generationi sufficit ad condemnationem unius delicti connexio; quidquid enim postea homines ex malis suis operibus addunt, non pertinet ad illam generationem, sed ad, humanam conversationem: huic autem regenerationi non sufficit illud delictum tantummodo solvere quod ex Adam trahitur, sed quidquid etiam postea ex iniquis operibus humanae conversationis accedit. Ideo judicium ex uno in condemnationem, gratia autem ex multis delictis in justificationem.

13. Si enim ob unius delictum mors regnavit per unum, a quo delicto parvuli per Baptismum expiantur; multo magis qui abundantiam gratiae et justitiae accipiunt, in vita regnabunt per unum Jesum Christum: multo magis utique in vita regnabunt; quia aeternae vitae regnum erit, mors autem in eis temporaliter transit, non in aeternum regnabit. Itaque sicut per unius delictum in omnes homines ad condemnationem; de qua condemnatione parvuli per sacramentum Baptismi liberandi sunt: ita per unius justificationem in omnes homines ad justificationem vitae. Et hic omnes dixit, et ibi; non quia omnes homines veniunt ad gratiam justificationis Christi, cum tam multi alienati ab illa, in aeternum moriantur: sed quia onmes qui renascuntur in justificationem, nonnisi per Christum renascuntur, sicut omnes qui nascuntur in condemnationem, nonnisi per Adam nascuntur. Nemo quippe est in illa generatione praeter Adam, nemo in ista regeneratione praeter Christum: ideo omnes, et omnes; eosdem autem omnes, etiam multos postea dicit, adjungens, Sicut enim per inobedientiam unius hominis, peccatores constituti sunt multi: sic et per unius hominis obedientiam justi constituuntur multi. Qui multi, nisi quos jam paulo ante omnes dixerat?

14. Vide quemadmodum commendat unum et unum, id est Adam et Christum; illum ad condemnationem, hunc ad justificationem, cum tanto post Adam venerit Christus in carne: ut sciamus etiam antiquos justos, quicumque esse potuerunt, nonnisi per eamdem fidem liberatos, per quam liberamur et nos; fidem scilicet incarnationis Christi, quae illis praenumiabatur, sicut nobis facta annuntiatur.

Since therefore in both, that is both in judgment and in grace, as pertains to one and many offenses, there is one and the same reason; let these men tell us why he said judgment leads from one offense into condemnation, but grace from many offenses into justification. Or let them acquiesce that it was so said for this reason, because in this cause two men are constituted; Adam, from whom consists carnal generation, and Christ, from whom spiritual regeneration. But because only he was a man, but this one both God and man; not in the way that that generation binds by one offense, which is from Adam, so this regeneration solves one offense only, which is from Adam. But to that generation surely the connection of one offense suffices for condemnation; for whatever men afterward add from their own evil works, does not pertain to that generation, but to human conversation: but to this regeneration it does not suffice to solve that offense only which is drawn from Adam, but whatever also afterward from the iniquitous works of human conversation is added. Therefore judgment from one unto condemnation, but grace from many offenses unto justification.

13. For if on account of the offense of one death reigned through one, from which offense little ones are expiated through Baptism; much more those who receive the abundance of grace and of justice, shall reign in life through the one Jesus Christ: much more surely they shall reign in life; because there shall be the kingdom of eternal life, but death in them passes temporally, it shall not reign forever. And so as through the offense of one unto all men unto condemnation; from which condemnation little ones are to be delivered through the sacrament of Baptism: so through the justification of one unto all men unto justification of life. And here he said all, and there; not because all men come to the grace of the justification of Christ, since so many alienated from it, die forever: but because all who are reborn into justification, are not reborn except through Christ, as all who are born into condemnation, are not born except through Adam. For no one is in that generation except Adam, no one in this regeneration except Christ: therefore all, and all; but the same all, he also says many afterward, adding: For as through the disobedience of one man, many were constituted sinners: so also through the obedience of one man many are constituted just. Which many, except those whom he had just before called all?

14. See in what manner he commends one and one, that is Adam and Christ; the former to condemnation, the latter to justification, although Christ came in the flesh so long after Adam: so that we may know even the ancient just, whoever could have been, to have been liberated not except through the same faith through which we also are liberated; the faith, namely, of the incarnation of Christ, which to them was preannounced, just as to us it is announced as having been done.

Ideo idem Christum hominem dicit, cum sit et Deus, ne quis existimet antiquos justos per Deum tantummodo Christum, id est per Verbum quod erat in principio, non etiam per fidem incarnationis ejus, qua et homo Christus dicitur, potuisse liberari. Sententia quippe ista destrui non potest, de qua et alibi dicit: Per unum hominem mors, et per unum hominem resurrectio mortuorum. Sicut enim in Adam omnes moriuntur, ita et in Christo omnes vivificabuntur (I Cor. XV, 21). Utique resurrectionem dicit justorum, ubi est vita aeterna; non resurrectionem iniquorum, ubi mors erit aeterna: ideo ait, vivificabuntur; quia illi damnabuntur. Hinc et in veteribus Sacramentis circumcisio parvulorum octava die fieri praecepta est (Levit. XII, 3), quoniam Christus, in quo fit delicti carnalis exspoliatio, quam significat circumcisio, die dominico resurrexit, qui post septimum sabbati octavus est. Haec ergo fides etiam antiquorum justorum fuit. Unde et Apostolus dicit, Habentes autem eumdem spiritum fidei, propter quod scriptum est, Credidi propter quod locutus sum; et nos credimus, propter quod et loquimur (II Cor. IV, 13): non diceret, eumdem spiritum fidei, nisi admonens etiam antiquos justos habuisse ipsum spiritum fidei, hoc est incarnationis Christi. Sed quia illis futura praenuntiabatur, quae jam facta nobis annuntiatur; et tempore Veteris Testamenti velabatur, quae tempore Novi Testamenti revelatur; ideo ejus Sacramenta variata sunt, ut alia essent in Veteri Testamento, alia in Novo; cum fides ipsa varia non sit, sed una sit: quia sicut in Adam omnes moriuntur, sic et in Christo omnes vivificabuntur.

15. Quod vero illis verbis quae tractabamus, adjungit et dicit, Lex autem subintravit, ut abundaret delictum, jam non pertinet ad illud delictum quod trahitur ex Adam, de quo dicebat superius, Mors regnavit per unum: legem quippe sive naturalem intelligamus, quae in eorum apparet aetatibus, qui jam ratione uti possunt; sive conscriptam, quae data est per Moysen, quia nec ipsa vivificare potuit, et liberare a lege peccati et mortis, quae tracta est ex Adam, sed magis addidit praevaricationis augmenta; Ubi enim lex non est, ait idem apostolus, nec praevaricatio (Rom. IV, 15). Proinde quoniam lex est etiam in ratione hominis qui jam utitur arbitrio libertatis, naturaliter in corde conscripta, qua suggeritur ne aliquid faciat quisque alteri quod pati ipse non vult; secundum hanc legem praevaricatores sunt omnes, etiam qui legem per Moysen datam non acceperunt, de quibus in Psalmo legitur: Praevaricatores aestimati omnes peccatores terrae (Psal. CXVIII, 119). Non enim omnes peccatores terrae legem per Moysen datam praevaricarunt; sed tamen nisi aliquam praevaricassent, non appellarentur praevaricatores: Ubi enim lex non est, nec praevaricatio.

For the same reason he calls Christ a man, since he is also God, lest anyone should think the ancient just were able to be liberated through God only as Christ, that is through the Word which was in the beginning, not also through the faith of his incarnation, by which also the man Christ is spoken of. For that sentence cannot be destroyed, concerning which also he says elsewhere: Through one man death, and through one man the resurrection of the dead. For as in Adam all die, so also in Christ all shall be vivified (1 Cor. 15:21). Surely he speaks of the resurrection of the just, where there is eternal life; not the resurrection of the iniquitous, where death shall be eternal: therefore he says, they shall be vivified; because those others shall be damned. Hence even in the ancient Sacraments the circumcision of little ones was commanded to be done on the eighth day (Lev. 12:3), since Christ, in whom is done the despoiling of carnal offense, which circumcision signifies, rose on the Lord's day, which after the seventh sabbath is the eighth. This therefore was the faith even of the ancient just. Whence also the Apostle says: But having the same spirit of faith, on account of which it is written, I have believed, on account of which also I have spoken; and we believe, on account of which also we speak (2 Cor. 4:13): he would not say, the same spirit of faith, except admonishing that even the ancient just had the same spirit of faith, that is of the incarnation of Christ. But because to them it was preannounced as future, which now is announced to us as having been done; and in the time of the Old Testament it was veiled, which in the time of the New Testament is revealed; therefore its Sacraments were varied, so that some were in the Old Testament, others in the New; since the faith itself is not varied, but is one: because as in Adam all die, so also in Christ all shall be vivified.

15. But as to what he adds and says to those words which we were treating: But the law entered in, that sin might abound, it no longer pertains to that offense which is drawn from Adam, concerning which he was saying above: Death reigned through one: for whether we understand the law as natural, which appears in their ages who already are able to use reason; or the written one, which was given through Moses, because neither was it able to vivify, and to liberate from the law of sin and of death, which was drawn from Adam, but rather added the increments of prevarication; For where the law is not, says the same apostle, neither is prevarication (Rom. 4:15). Accordingly since the law is also in the reason of the man who already uses the choice of liberty, naturally written in the heart, by which it is suggested that no one should do to another what he himself does not wish to suffer; according to this law all are prevaricators, even those who did not receive the law given through Moses, concerning whom it is read in the Psalm: All the sinners of the earth accounted as prevaricators (Ps. 118:119). For not all the sinners of the earth prevaricated the law given through Moses; but yet unless they had prevaricated some law, they would not be called prevaricators: For where the law is not, neither is prevarication.

Praevaricata ergo lege quae in paradiso data est, nascitur homo ex Adam cum lege peccati et mortis, de qua dicitur: Video aliam legem in membris meis repugnantem legi mentis meae, et captivum me ducentem in lege peccati, quae est in membris meis (Rom. VII, 23). Quae tamen nisi mala postea consuetudine roboretur, facilius vincitur, non tamen nisi gratia Dei. Lege autem alia praevaricata, quae est in usu rationis animae rationalis in aetate hominis jam ratione utentis, praevaricatores fiunt omnes peccatores terrae. Praevaricata vero lege etiam illa quae data est per Moysen, multo amplius abundat delictum. Si enim data esset lex quae posset vivificare, omnino ex Lege esset justitia. Sed conclusit Scriptura omnia sub peccato, ut promissio ex fide Jesu Christi daretur credentibus: haec verba, si agnoscis, apostolica sunt. De qua lege iterum dicit, lex praevaricationis gratia posita est, donec veniret semen cui promissum est, disposita per Angelos in manu Mediatoris (Galat. III, 19-21): Christum commendans, cujus gratia salvi fiunt omnes, sive parvuli a lege peccati et mortis, cum qua nati sumus; sive majores, qui male utentes arbitrio voluntatis praevaricarunt legem naturalem ipsius rationis; sive qui legem acceperunt, quae data est per Moysen, eamque praevaricantes littera occisi sunt. Cum vero etiam evangelica praecepta homo praevaricat, velut quatriduanus mortuus putet: nec de illo tamen desperandum est propter ejus gratiam, qui non lente dixit, sed magna voce clamavit, Lazare, veni foras (Joan. XI, 43).

16. Lex ergo subintravit ut abundaret delictum: sive cum homines negligunt quod Deus jubet; sive cum de suis viribus praesumentes, adjutorium gratiae non implorant, et addunt infirmitati superbiam. Cum autem vocatione divina intelligunt cur sit ingemiscendum, et invocant eum in quem recte credunt, dicentes, Miserere mei, Deus, secundum magnam misericordiam tuam (Psal. L, 1); et, Ego dixi, Domine, miserere mei, sana animam meam, quia peccavi tibi (Psal. XL, 5); et, In tua justitia vivifica me (Psal. XXX, 2); et, Viam iniquitatis amove a me, et de lege tua miserere mei (Psal. CXVIII, 29); et, Non veniat mihi pes superbiae, et manus peccatorum non moveat me (Psal. XXXV, 12); et, Itinera mea dirige secundum verbum tuum, et ne dominetur mei omnis iniquitas (Psal. CXVIII, 133) (A Domino enim gressus hominis diriguntur, et viam ejus volet [Psal. XXXVI, 23]); et alia multa, quae propterea scripta sunt, ut nos admonerent, ad implenda ea quae nobis jubentur, ab illo petendum adjutorium a quo jubentur: cum ergo se homo ad illum extenderit, et sic ingemuerit, fiet quod sequitur, Ubi abundavit delictum, superabundavit et gratia (Rom. V, 20);

The law having been prevaricated, therefore, which was given in paradise, man is born from Adam with the law of sin and of death, concerning which it is said: I see another law in my members repugning the law of my mind, and leading me captive in the law of sin, which is in my members (Rom. 7:23). Which however unless it be afterward strengthened by bad custom, is more easily conquered, not however except by the grace of God. But another law having been prevaricated, which is in the use of the reason of the rational soul in the age of the man already using reason, all the sinners of the earth become prevaricators. But that law also having been prevaricated which was given through Moses, sin abounds much more. For if a law had been given which could vivify, justice would altogether be from the Law. But Scripture has concluded all things under sin, that the promise from the faith of Jesus Christ might be given to those who believe: these words, if you recognize them, are apostolic. Concerning which law again he says: the law was placed for the sake of prevarication, until the seed should come to whom it was promised, disposed through Angels in the hand of a Mediator (Gal. 3:19-21): commending Christ, by whose grace all are made safe, whether little ones from the law of sin and of death, with which we were born; or the older, who using badly the choice of the will prevaricated the natural law of reason itself; or those who received the law which was given through Moses, and prevaricating it were killed by the letter. But when a man prevaricates even evangelical precepts, let him be thought as one four days dead: yet not even concerning him is it to be despaired of on account of his grace, who did not speak slowly, but cried out with a great voice: Lazarus, come forth (John 11:43).

16. The Law, therefore, entered that sin might abound: either when men neglect what God commands; or when, presuming upon their own strength, they do not implore the help of grace, and add pride to their infirmity. But when by divine vocation they understand why they must groan, and invoke him in whom they rightly believe, saying: Have mercy on me, O God, according to thy great mercy (Ps. 50:1); and: I said, Lord, have mercy on me, heal my soul, for I have sinned against thee (Ps. 40:5); and: In thy justice quicken me (Ps. 30:2); and: Remove from me the way of iniquity, and out of thy law have mercy on me (Ps. 118:29); and: Let not the foot of pride come to me, and let not the hand of sinners move me (Ps. 35:12); and: Direct my goings according to thy word, and let no iniquity have dominion over me (Ps. 118:133) (for the steps of a man are directed by the Lord, and he shall like his way [Ps. 36:23]); and many other things, which were written for this purpose, that they might admonish us that help is to be sought from him by whom the things commanded of us are to be fulfilled: when, therefore, a man has stretched himself out to him, and has so groaned, that which follows shall happen: Where sin abounded, grace did more abound (Rom. 5:20);

et, Dimittuntur ei peccata multa, quoniam dilexit multum (Luc. VII, 47): et diffunditur in corde charitas Dei, unde fiat legis plenitudo; non per vires arbitrii quod est in nobis, sed per Spiritum sanctum qui datus est nobis. Noverat quippe ille Legem, qui dicebat, Condelector enim legi Dei secundum interiorem hominem; et tamen adjungebat, Video autem aliam legem in membris meis repugnantem legi mentis meae, et captivum me ducentem in lege peccati, quae est in membris meis. Infelix ego homo, quis me liberabit de corpore mortis hujus? Gratia Dei per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Cur non dixit potius, Per meum liberum arbitrium, nisi quia libertas sine gratia non est libertas, sed contumacia?

17. Cum ergo dixisset Apostolus, Lex subintravit, ut abundaret delictum: ubi autem abundavit delictum, superabundavit et gratia; secutus adjunxit, ut quemadmodum regnavit peccatum in morte, sic et gratia regnet per justitiam in vita aeterna per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Modo cum dixisset, ut quemadmodum regnavit peccatum in morte; non ait, Per unum hominem, aut per primum hominem, aut per Adam: quia jam dixerat, Lex subintravit, ut abundaret delictum; quae abundantia delicti non pertinet ad primi hominis propaginem, sed ad conversationis humanae praevaricationem, quae illi uni delicto quo solo obstricti tenentur infantes, jam in majoribus aetatibus ex abundantia iniquitatis adjecta est. Sed quoniam hoc totum, etiam quod non pertinet ad illius unius delicti originem, tamen idonea est solvere gratia Salvatoris; ideo cum dixisset, sic et gratia regnet per justitiam in vita aeterna, addidit, per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum.

18. Nullius itaque argumentationes contra haec apostolica verba prolatae impediant parvulos ad salutem, quae est in Christo Jesu Domino nostro: tanto magis enim pro eis loqui debemus, quanto ipsi pro se loqui non possunt. Per unum hominem intravit peccatum in mundum, et per peccatum mors; et ita in omnes homines pertransiit, in quo omnes peccaverunt. Sicut ab illo uno homine, sic ab eodem peccato infantes immunes esse non possunt, nisi ab ejus reatu per Christi Baptismum resolvantur. Usque enim ad legem peccatum in mundo fuit: non quia deinceps in nemine fuit, hoc dictum est; sed quia non poterat per litteram legis auferri, quod solo poterat Spiritu gratiae. Ne quisquam ergo fidens de viribus, non dico voluntatis, sed potius vanitatis suae, putaret libero arbitrio legem potuisse sufficere, et Christi gratiam derideret; ideo ait Apostolus: Usque enim ad legem peccatum in mundo fuit; peccatum autem non deputabatur cum lex non esset. Non dixit, Non erat; sed, non deputabatur; quia lex non erat, qua arguente demonstraretur, sive lex rationis in parvulo, sive lex litterae in populo.

and: Many sins are forgiven her, because she hath loved much (Luke 7:47): and the charity of God is poured forth in the heart, whence the fullness of the law may be accomplished; not by the strength of the will (arbitrium) which is in us, but by the Holy Spirit who is given to us. For he knew the Law well, who said: For I am delighted with the law of God, according to the interior man (homo interior); and yet he added: But I see another law in my members, fighting against the law of my mind, and captivating me in the law of sin, that is in my members. Unhappy man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death? The grace of God, by Jesus Christ our Lord. Why did he not rather say: By my free will (liberum arbitrium), except because liberty without grace is not liberty, but contumacy?

17. When, therefore, the Apostle had said: The law entered, that sin might abound: but where sin abounded, grace did more abound; he added in sequence: that as sin hath reigned in death, so also may grace reign by justice unto life everlasting, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Now when he had said: that as sin hath reigned in death; he did not say: By one man, or by the first man, or by Adam: because he had already said: The law entered, that sin might abound; which abundance of sin does not pertain to the progeny of the first man, but to the prevarication of human conversation, which is added to that one sin by which alone infants are held bound, now in more advanced ages from the abundance of iniquity. But since the grace of the Savior is sufficient to loosen all this, even what does not pertain to the origin of that one sin; therefore when he had said: so also may grace reign by justice unto life everlasting, he added: through Jesus Christ our Lord.

18. Therefore, let no arguments of anyone brought forth against these apostolic words hinder children from the salvation which is in Christ Jesus our Lord: for we ought to speak for them so much the more, as they themselves cannot speak for themselves. By one man sin entered into the world, and by sin death; and so it passed unto all men, in whom all have sinned. Just as from that one man, so from that same sin infants cannot be immune, unless they be loosed from its guilt by the Baptism of Christ. For until the law sin was in the world: this was said not because it was thereafter in no one; but because it could not be taken away by the letter of the law, which could be done only by the Spirit of grace. Lest any one, therefore, trusting in strength—I do not say of the will, but rather of his own vanity—should think that for the free will (libero arbitrio) the law could have sufficed, and should deride the grace of Christ; therefore the Apostle says: For until the law sin was in the world; but sin was not imputed, when the law was not. He did not say: It was not; but: it was not imputed; because there was no law by which, as it rebuked, it might be demonstrated, whether the law of reason in the child, or the law of the letter in the people.

19. Sed regnavit, inquit, mors ab Adam usque ad Moysen; quia nec lex data per Moysen potuit regnum mortis auferre, quod sola Christi abstulit gratia. In quos autem regnaverit vide: et in eos, inquit, qui non peccaverunt in similitudine praevaricationis Adae. Regnavit ergo et in eos qui non peccaverunt. Sed cur regnaverit, ostendit cum ait: In similitudine praevaricationis Adae. Iste est enim melior intellectus horum verborum, ut cum dixisset, regnavit mors in eos qui non peccaverunt; quasi nos moneret quare in eos regnaverit qui non peccaverunt, adderet, in similitudine praevaricationis Adae; id est, quia inerat eorum in membris similitudo praevaricationis Adae. Potest et sic intelligi, regnavit mors ab Adam usque ad Moysen, et in eos qui non in similitudine praevaricationis Adae peccaverunt: quia in semetipsis cum jam nati essent, nec ratione adhuc uterentur, qua ille utebatur quando peccavit, nec praeceptum accepissent quod ille transgressus est, sed solo originali vitio tenerentur obstricti, per quod eos regnum mortis in eis tantum non est, qui Christi gratia renati, ad ejus regnum pertinent; quoniam mors temporalis, quamvis et ipsa de originali delicto propagata sit, corpus in eis interimit, animam vero ad poenam non trahit, ubi voluit regnum mortis intelligi: ut anima renata per gratiam, jam non moriatur in gehennam, id est a vita Dei non alienetur, non separetur; temporalis autem mors corporis, etiam in iis qui Christi morte redimuntur, relinquatur interim ad exercitationem fidei, et agonem praesentis luctationis, in quo et martyres certaverunt; absumatur vero et ipsa in renovatione corporis, quam resurrectio pollicetur. Ibi enim penitus absorbebitur mors in victoriam (I Cor. XV, 54), cui modo gratia Christi adimit regnum, ne suorum animas ad poenas tartari trahat. Nonnulli sane codices non habent, in eos qui non peccaverunt; sed, in eos qui peccaverunt, in similitudine praevaricationis Adae: quibus quidem verbis nullo modo iste sensus aufertur. Secundum hoc quippe intelliguntur peccasse in similitudine praevaricationis Adae, secundum quod supra dictum est, in quo omnes peccaverunt. Sed tamen graeci codices, unde in latinum Scriptura translata est, illud plures habent quod diximus.

19. "But death reigned," he says, "from Adam unto Moses"; because not even the law given through Moses could take away the kingdom of death, which only the grace of Christ has removed. Now see over whom it reigned: "even over them," he says, "who have not sinned after the similitude of the transgression of Adam." Death, therefore, reigned even over those who have not sinned. But why it reigned, he shows when he says: "After the similitude of the transgression of Adam." For this is the better understanding of these words, that when he had said: "death reigned over them who have not sinned"; as if he were admonishing us why it reigned over them who have not sinned, he should add: "after the similitude of the transgression of Adam"; that is, because the similitude of the transgression of Adam was in their members. It can also be understood thus: "death reigned from Adam unto Moses, even over them who have not sinned after the similitude of the transgression of Adam": because in themselves, when they were already born, they did not yet use reason, which he used when he sinned, nor had they received a command which he transgressed, but were held bound by original vice alone, through which the kingdom of death is not in them alone, who, reborn by the grace of Christ, belong to his kingdom; since temporal death, although it also is propagated from the original sin, destroys the body in them, but does not drag the soul to punishment, where he wished the kingdom of death to be understood: so that the soul reborn through grace may no longer die unto Gehenna, that is, not be alienated from the life of God, not be separated; but the temporal death of the body, even in those who are redeemed by the death of Christ, is left for a time for the exercise of faith, and the agony of the present struggle, in which even the martyrs have contended; but it shall be consumed also in the renovation of the body, which the resurrection promises. For there death shall be utterly swallowed up in victory (1 Cor. 15:54), from which now the grace of Christ takes away the kingdom, lest it drag the souls of its own to the punishments of hell (tartari). Some manuscripts indeed do not have, "over them who have not sinned"; but, "over them who have sinned, after the similitude of the transgression of Adam": by which words indeed this sense is in no way taken away. For according to this they are understood to have sinned "after the similitude of the transgression of Adam," according to what was said above, "in whom all have sinned." But yet the Greek manuscripts, from which the Scripture was translated into Latin, have more of that which we have said.

20. Quod vero adjunxit de Adam, qui est forma futuri, neque hoc uno intelligitur modo. Aut enim forma Christi a contrario est, ut quemadmodum in illo omnes moriuntur, sic et in Christo omnes vivificentur; et quomodo per ipsius inobedientiam peccatores constituti sunt multi, sic per Christi obedientiam justi constituantur multi: aut formam futuri eum dixit, quod ipse inflixerit formam mortis posteris suis. Ille tamen est melior intellectus, ut a contrario forma esse credatur, quam multum commendat Apostolus. Denique ne omnino ex aequo in hac forma eadem contraria pensarentur, adjungit et dicit, Sed non sicut delictum, ita et donatio: si enim ob unius delictum multi mortui sunt, multo magis gratia Dei et donum in gratia unius hominis Jesu Christi in multos abundabit: ut intelligatur, non in magis multos, cum iniqui magis multi sint qui damnabuntur; sed magis abundabit, quod in iis qui per Christum redimuntur, temporaliter valet forma mortis ex Adam, in aeternum autem valebit vitae forma per Christum. Quamvis ergo, inquit, Adam futuri forma sit a contrario, plus tamen praestat Christus regeneratis, quam eis nocuerat ille generatis. Et non sicut per unum peccatum, ita et donum: nam judicium quidem ex uno in condemnationem, gratia autem ex multis delictis in justificationem. Non solum in hoc, inquit, non aequalis est forma, quia ille temporaliter nocuit eis quos in aeternum Christus redemit; verum etiam quia illius uno delicto posteri, nisi a Christo redimantur, traduntur in condemnationem: Christi autem redemptio etiam multa delicta dissolvit, quae illi uni abundantia praevaricatricis iniquitatis adjecit; unde jam superius disputavimus.

21. Contra haec Apostoli verba sanumque intellectum nemini acquiescas, si vis Christo et in Christo vivere. Nam si, quemadmodum illi dicunt, propterea ista commemorasset Apostolus, ut intelligeremus ad primum hominem peccatores ideo pertinere, quia non delictum ex illo nascendo traximus, sed eum imitando peccamus; diabolum potius poneret, qui et primus peccavit, et de quo nullam substantiae propaginem traxit genus humanum, sed eum sola imitatione secutum est: unde dicitur pater impiorum, sicut noster dicitur pater Abraham propter imitationem fidei, non propter originem carnis (Joan. VIII, 38). Nam ideo de ipso diabolo dictum est: Imitantur autem illum qui sunt ex parte ipsius (Sap. II, 25). Deinde si propter imitationem hoc loco Apostolus commemoraret primum hominem, quia primus peccator in hominibus fuit, ut ideo ad illum omnes homines peccatores diceret pertinere; cur non sanctum Abel posuit, qui primus in hominibus justus fuit, ad quem justi omnes propter imitationem justitiae pertinerent?

20. As to what he added concerning Adam, "who is a figure of him that was to come," this also is not understood in one way only. For either he is a figure of Christ by contrast, so that as in him all die, so also in Christ all shall be made alive; and as by his disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience of Christ many shall be made just: or he called him a figure of him that was to come, because he himself inflicted the figure of death upon his posterity. That, however, is the better understanding, that he be believed to be a figure by contrast, which the Apostle much commends. Finally, lest these same contraries should be weighed altogether equally in this figure, he adds and says: "But not as the offense, so also the gift: for if by the offense of one many died, much more the grace of God and the gift in the grace of one man Jesus Christ shall abound unto many": that it may be understood, not unto more many, since the wicked who shall be damned are more many; but it shall more abound, because in those who are redeemed through Christ, the figure of death from Adam prevails temporally, but the figure of life through Christ shall prevail eternally. Although, therefore, he says, Adam is a figure of him that was to come by contrast, yet Christ bestows more upon the reborn than that one had harmed the born. And not as through one sin, so also is the gift: for the judgment indeed was by one unto condemnation, but grace is from many offenses unto justification. Not only in this, he says, is the figure not equal, because that one harmed temporally those whom Christ redeemed eternally; but also because by that one's single sin his posterity, unless they be redeemed by Christ, are delivered unto condemnation: but the redemption of Christ dissolves even many sins, which the abundance of prevaricating iniquity added to that one; concerning which we have already disputed above.

21. Against these words of the Apostle and their sound understanding, do not yield to anyone, if you wish to live to Christ and in Christ. For if, as they say, the Apostle had commemorated these things for the purpose that we might understand that sinners belong to the first man for the reason that we did not draw sin from him by being born, but sin by imitating him; he would rather have put the devil, who both first sinned, and from whom the human race drew no progeny of substance, but followed him by imitation alone: whence he is called the father of the impious, just as Abraham is called our father because of the imitation of faith, not because of the origin of the flesh (John 8:38). For therefore it is said of the devil himself: "But they who are on his side imitate him" (Wisd. 2:25). Then if because of imitation the Apostle in this place had commemorated the first man, because he was the first sinner among men, so that he might therefore say that all men as sinners belong to him; why did he not put holy Abel, who was the first just man among men, to whom all the just would belong because of the imitation of justice?

Sed posuit Adam, contra quem non posuit nisi Christum; quia sicut ille homo delicto suo vitiavit posteritatem suam, sic ille Deus homo justitia sua salvavit haereditatem suam: ille trajiciendo carnis immunditiam, quod non poterat impius diabolus; ille donando spiritus gratiam, quod non poterat Abel justus.

22. Multa de his quaestionibus in aliis nostris opusculis et ecclesiasticis sermonibus diximus: quoniam fuerunt etiam apud nos quidam, qui ubicumque poterant haec sui erroris nova semina spargerent; quorum nonnullos per ministerium nostrum fratrumque nostrorum, misericordia Domini ab illa peste sanavit. Nec tamen hic deesse aliquos arbitror, maxime apud Carthaginem: sed jam occulte mussitant, timentes Ecclesiae fundatissimam fidem. Nam unus eorum nomine Celestius, in ejusdem civitatis ecclesia jam ad presbyterii honorem subrepere coeperat: sed fidelissima libertate fratrum, propter has ipsas contra Christi gratiam disputationes usque ad judicium episcopale perductus est. Tamen coactus est confiteri propter baptizandos parvulos, quod et ipsis redemptio sit necessaria. Ubi quanquam noluerit de originali peccato aliquid expressius dicere, tamen ipso redemptionis nomine non parum sibi praescripsit. Unde enim redimendi essent, nisi a diaboli potestate, in qua esse non possent, nisi originalis obligatione peccati? aut quo pretio redimuntur, nisi Christi sanguine, de quo apertissime scriptum est quod in remissionem effusus sit peccatorum (Matth. XXVI, 28)? Sed quia magis convictus et ab Ecclesia detestatus quam correctus et pacatus abscessit, veritus sum ne forte ibi sit ipse qui vestram fidem perturbare conatur: ideo nominis ipsius commemorationem putavi esse faciendam. Sed sive ipse sit, sive alii consortes ejus erroris: plures enim sunt quam sperare possumus; et ubi non redarguuntur, etiam alios ad suam sectam seducunt, et sic crebrescunt, ut nesciam quo sint erupturi: nos tamen malumus eos in Ecclesiae compage sanari, quam ex illius corpore velut insanabilia membra resecari, si tamen hoc permittit ipsa necessitas. Timendum est enim ne plura putrescant, dum putribus parcitur. Potens est autem misericordia Domini nostri, quae potius eos ab hac peste liberet: quod sine dubio faciet, si fideliter advertant teneantque quod scriptum est, Qui invocaverit nomen Domini, salvus erit (Joel. II, 32).

CAPUT IV.

But he put Adam, against whom he put nothing except Christ; because just as that man by his sin vitiated his posterity, so that God-man by his justice saved his inheritance: the former by transmitting the uncleanness of the flesh, which the impious devil could not do; the latter by giving the grace of the spirit, which the just Abel could not do.

22. We have said many things concerning these questions in our other works and ecclesiastical sermons: since there were even among us some who, wherever they could, would scatter these new seeds of their error; some of whom, through our ministry and that of our brethren, the mercy of the Lord has healed from that pestilence. Nor yet do I think some are lacking here, especially at Carthage: but they now murmur secretly, fearing the most well-founded faith of the Church. For one of them named Caelestius, in the church of that same city had already begun to creep into the honor of the presbyterate: but by the most faithful liberty of the brethren, because of these very disputations against the grace of Christ, he was brought even to an episcopal judgment. Yet he was forced to confess for the sake of infants to be baptized, that for them also redemption is necessary. In which, although he was unwilling to say anything more expressly concerning original sin, yet by the name of redemption itself he not a little prescribed for himself. For whence were they to be redeemed, unless from the power of the devil, in which they could not be, except by the obligation of original sin? Or by what price are they redeemed, except by the blood of Christ, of which it is most clearly written that it was shed for the remission of sins (Matt. 26:28)? But because he went away rather convicted and detested by the Church than corrected and pacified, I feared lest perhaps he himself might be there who endeavors to disturb your faith: therefore I thought a commemoration of his name was to be made. But whether it be he himself, or other partners of his error: for they are more than we can hope; and where they are not refuted, they also seduce others to their sect, and thus they increase, so that I know not where they will break out: yet we prefer that they be healed in the structure of the Church, than be cut off from its body like incurable members, if yet necessity itself permits this. For it is to be feared lest more should rot, while the rotten are spared. But the mercy of our Lord is powerful, which may rather free them from this pestilence: which without doubt it will do, if they faithfully heed and hold that which is written: "Whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved" (Joel 2:32).

CHAPTER IV.

23. Audi jam pauca de divitibus, quod in epistola tua sequitur inquirendum. Hoc enim posuisti illos dicere: Divitem manentem in divitiis suis, regnum Dei non posse ingredi, nisi omnia sua vendiderit, nec ei prodesse si forte ex ipsis divitiis mandata fecerit. Evaserunt istorum disputationes patres nostri Abraham et Isaac et Jacob, qui tanto ante ex hac vita migrarunt. Habebant quippe hi omnes non paucas divitias, sicut fidelissima Scriptura testatur: multos tamen venturos ab oriente et occidente, et non supra ipsos, vel extra ipsos, sed cum ipsis recubituros in regno coelorum, ille ipse qui propter nos factus est pauper cum vere dives esset, veracissima promissione praedixit (Matth. VIII, 11). Et quamvis superbus dives, qui induebatur purpura et bysso, et epulabatur quotidie splendide, mortuus apud inferos torqueretur: tamen si pauperis ulcerosi, qui ante januam ejus contemptus jacebat miseratus fuisset, mereretur et ipse misericordiam. Et si pauperi illi meritum esset inopia, non justitia; non utique ab Angelis in Abrahae gremium, qui dives hic fuerat, tolleretur. Sed ut nobis ostenderetur nec in isto paupertatem per seipsam divinitus honoratam, nec in illo divitias fuisse damnatas, sed in isto pietatem, in illo impietatem suos exitus habuisse; sic suscepit impium divitem cruciatus ignis, ut tamen pium pauperem susciperet sinus divitis (Luc. XVI, 19-22). Qui sane cum hic dives viveret, divitias sic habebat, et eas prae Dei praeceptis tam parvipendebat, ut etiam ipsius filii immolatione nollet offendere Deum jubentem, quem suarum divitiarum et sperabat et optabat haeredem (Gen. XXII, 1-10).

24. Hic utique dicunt, ideo patres antiquos non vendidisse omnia quae habebant, et dedisse pauperibus, quia hoc eis non praeceperat Dominus. Nondum enim revelato Testamento Novo, quod non fieri nisi plenitudine temporis oportebat, nec eorum virtus fuerat revelanda; qua virtute hoc eos facillime posse Deus in eorum cordibus noverat, qui testimonium illis tam insigne perhibebat, ut cum sit omnium sanctorum Deus, tanquam de praecipuis amicis suis dicere dignaretur: Ego sum Deus Abraham, Deus Isaac, Deus Jacob: hoc mini nomen est in aeternum (Exod. III, 15). Postea vero quam magnum pietatis sacramentum manifestatum est in carne (I Tim. III, 16), et vocandis omnibus gentibus Christi adventus illuxit, in quem etiam illi patres crediderant, sed hujus fidei olivam suo tempore manifestandam, in illius arboris de qua Apostolus loquitur (Rom. XI, 17), tanquam radice servabant, dictum est diviti: Vade, vende omnia quae habes, et da pauperibus, et habebis thesaurum in coelis; et veni, sequere me (Matth. XIX, 21).

23. Now hear a few things concerning the rich, which follows in your letter to be inquired into. For you have put this as their saying: "That a rich man remaining in his riches cannot enter the kingdom of God, unless he sells all his own, nor does it profit him if he happens to have done the commandments from those same riches." Our fathers Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, who migrated from this life so long ago, escaped the disputations of these men. For all these had not a few riches, as the most faithful Scripture testifies: yet he himself who was made poor for our sake when he was truly rich, predicted with a most true promise that many would come from the east and the west, and would sit down not above them, or outside them, but with them in the kingdom of heaven (Matt. 8:11). And although the proud rich man, who was clothed in purple and fine linen, and feasted splendidly every day, was tormented in hell after he died: yet if he had had mercy on the ulcerous poor man, who lay despised before his gate, he himself would have merited mercy. And if for that poor man penury had been a merit, not justice; he certainly would not have been carried by the Angels into the bosom of Abraham, who had been rich here. But that it might be shown to us that in that one poverty was not honored by itself divinely, nor in that other were riches condemned, but in the former piety, in the latter impiety had its outcomes; so did the torment of fire receive the impious rich man, as yet the bosom of the rich man received the pious poor man (Luke 16:19-22). Who indeed when he lived here as a rich man, so held his riches, and so little valued them before the commands of God, that even by the immolation of his own son he was unwilling to offend God commanding, whom he both hoped and desired to be the heir of his riches (Gen. 22:1-10).

24. Here indeed they say, that the ancient fathers did not sell all that they had and give to the poor for this reason, because the Lord had not commanded this of them. For since the New Testament was not yet revealed, which it was not proper to happen except in the fullness of time, nor had their virtue been revealed; by which virtue God knew in their hearts that they could very easily do this, he who bore so signal a testimony to them, that since he is the God of all saints, he deigned to speak of them as of his principal friends: "I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, the God of Jacob: this is my name forever" (Exod. 3:15). But after the great sacrament of piety was manifested in the flesh (1 Tim. 3:16), and the coming of Christ shone forth for the calling of all nations, in whom even those fathers had believed, but they kept the olive of this faith to be manifested in its own time, as in the root of that tree of which the Apostle speaks (Rom. 11:17), it was said to the rich man: "Go, sell all that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven; and come, follow me" (Matt. 19:21).

25. Haec si dicunt, videntur aliquid rationabiliter dicere. Sed totum audiant, totum advertant; non in parte aures aperiant, in parte surdescant. Cui enim Dominus haec praecepit? Profecto illi diviti qui vitae aeternae consequendae consilium quaerebat accipere: hoc enim Domino dixerat, Quid faciam, ut vitam aeternam consequar? Ille autem non ei respondit, Si vis venire ad vitam, vade, vende omnia quae habes; sed, Si vis venire ad vitam, serva mandata. Quae juvenis cum sibi a Domino ex lege commemorata se servasse dixisset, et quaesiisset quid adhuc sibi deesset, responsum accepit: Si vis perfectus esse, vade, vende omnia quae habes, et da pauperibus. Et ne se illa quae multum amabat, hoc modo perdere existimaret: Et habebis, inquit, thesaurum in coelis. Deinde addidit, Et veni, sequere me; ne cuiquam, cum haec fecerit, aliquid prodesse existimetur, si non sequitur Christum. At ille quidem tristis abscessit, qui viderit quemadmodum illa Legis mandata servaverat: puto enim quod se arrogantius quam verius servasse responderat. Verumtamen magister bonus mandata legis ab ista excellentiore perfectione distinxit: ibi enim dixit, Si vis venire ad vitam, serva mandata; hic autem, Si vis perfectus esse, vade, vende omnia quae habes, etc. Cur ergo negamus divites, quamvis ab illa perfectione absint, venire tamen ad vitam, si mandata servaverint, et dederint ut detur illis, et dimiserint ut dimittatur illis (Luc. VI, 37, 38)?

26. Credimus enim ministrum Novi Testamenti fuisse apostolum Paulum, cum scribens ad Timotheum diceret, Praecipe divitibus hujus mundi non superbe sapere, neque sperare in incerto divitiarum, sed in Deo vivo, qui praestat nobis omnia abundanter ad fruendum. Bene faciant, divites sint in operibus bonis, facile tribuant, communicent, thesaurizent sibi fundamentum bonum in futurum, ut apprehendant aeternam vitam (I Tim. VI, 17-19): de qua et illi adolescenti dictum est, Si vis venire ad vitam. Puto quod ista praecipiens, divites instruebat, non fallebat Apostolus: qui non ait, Praecipe divitibus hujus mundi ut vendant omnia quae habent, dent pauperibus, et sequantur Dominum; sed, non superbe sapere, neque sperare in incerto divitiarum. Ista superbia divitem illum qui jacentem ante januam suam contemnebat pauperem justum, et ista spes in incerto divitiarum, qua se propter purpuram, byssum, et epulas splendidas beatum putabat, non ipsae divitiae perduxerunt ad inferni tormenta.

25. If they say these things, they seem to say something reasonable. But let them hear all, let them heed all; let them not open their ears in part, and be deaf in part. For to whom did the Lord command these things? Surely to that rich man who was seeking to receive counsel for attaining eternal life: for he had said this to the Lord: "What shall I do, that I may attain eternal life?" But he did not answer him: If thou wilt come unto life, go, sell all that thou hast; but: "If thou wilt come unto life, keep the commandments." Which when the youth, when they were commemorated to him by the Lord from the law, said that he had kept, and asked what was yet lacking to him, he received the answer: "If thou wilt be perfect, go, sell all that thou hast, and give to the poor." And lest he should think that he would lose those things which he much loved in this way: "And thou shalt have," he said, "treasure in heaven." Then he added: "And come, follow me"; lest anyone, when he has done these things, should be thought to profit anything, if he does not follow Christ. But he indeed went away sad, who may have seen how he had kept those commands of the Law: for I think that he had answered that he had kept them more arrogantly than more truly. Nevertheless, the good master distinguished the commands of the law from that more excellent perfection: for there he said: "If thou wilt come unto life, keep the commandments"; but here: "If thou wilt be perfect, go, sell all that thou hast," etc. Why then do we deny that the rich, although they are absent from that perfection, yet come unto life, if they have kept the commandments, and have given that it may be given to them, and have forgiven that it may be forgiven to them (Luke 6:37, 38)?

26. For we believe that the apostle Paul was a minister of the New Testament, when writing to Timothy he said: "Charge the rich of this world not to be high-minded (superbe sapere), nor to hope in the uncertainty of riches, but in the living God, who giveth us all things abundantly to enjoy. Let them do well, be rich in good works, give easily, communicate, lay up in store for themselves a good foundation against the time to come, that they may apprehend eternal life" (1 Tim. 6:17-19): concerning which it was also said to that youth: "If thou wilt come unto life." I think that in commanding these things, the Apostle was instructing the rich, not deceiving them: who did not say: Charge the rich of this world to sell all that they have, give to the poor, and follow the Lord; but: "not to be high-minded, nor to hope in the uncertainty of riches." That pride led that rich man who despised the just poor man lying before his gate, and that hope in the uncertainty of riches, by which he thought himself happy because of his purple, fine linen, and splendid feasts, not the riches themselves, led him to the torments of hell.

27. An forte quia Dominus adjunxit, et dixit, Amen dico vobis, difficile dives intrabit in regnum coelorum: et iterum dico vobis, Facilius intrabit camelus per foramen acus, quam dives in regnum coelorum; ideo putant isti divitem, etiamsi faciat ista quae divitibus praecipienda scripsit Apostolus, in regnum coelorum intrare non posse? Quid ergo est? utrum Apostolus contra Dominum loquitur, an isti nesciunt quid loquuntur? Quid horum credat, eligat christianus. Puto melius nos credere istos nescire quid loquantur, quam Paulum contra Dominum loqui. Deinde cur non in consequentibus etiam ipsum Dominum audiunt dicentem discipulis pro miseria divitum contristatis: Quod hominibus impossibile est, Deo facile est?

28. Sed ideo, inquiunt, hoc dictum est, quia futurum erat ut audito Evangelio, divites vendito patrimonio erogatoque pauperibus Dominum sequerentur, et intrarent in regnum coelorum, atque ita fieret quod difficile videbatur: non ut manentes in divitiis suis, praecepta Apostoli custodiendo, id est non superbe sapiendo, neque sperando in incerto divitiarum, sed in Deo vivo, bene faciendo, facile tribuendo, et communicando indigentibus, veram apprehendant vitam; sed etiam ista praecepta apostolica venditis omnibus suis rebus implerent.

29. Haec si dicunt, scio quippe eos illa dicere, non attendunt primitus quemadmodum Dominus contra eorum dogma suam gratiam praedicaverit. Non enim ait, Quod hominibus impossibile videtur, facile est hominibus si voluerint; sed, Quod hominibus, inquit, impossibile est, Deo facile est: ostendens, quando ista recte fiunt, non fieri hominis potentia, sed Dei gratia. Hoc ergo attendant isti, et si reprehendunt eos qui gloriantur in divitiis suis, caveant ipsi in sua virtute confidere: simul enim utrique reprehenduntur in Psalmo, Qui confidunt in virtute sua, et qui in abundantia divitiarum suarum gloriantur (Psal. XLVIII, 7). Audiant itaque divites, Quod hominibus impossibile est, Deo facile est: et sive manentes in divitiis suis, atque ex eis bona opera facientes, sive illis venditis, et per indigentias pauperum distributis intrent in regnum coelorum, gratiae Dei tribuant, non propriis viribus bonum suum.

27. Or perhaps because the Lord added, and said: "Amen I say to you, that a rich man shall hardly enter into the kingdom of heaven: and again I say to you, It is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven"; therefore do these men think that a rich man, even if he does those things which the Apostle wrote were to be commanded to the rich, cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven? What then is it? Does the Apostle speak against the Lord, or do these men not know what they speak? Which of these a Christian should believe, let him choose. I think it is better for us to believe that these men do not know what they speak, than that Paul speaks against the Lord. Then why do they not in the following words also hear the Lord himself saying to his disciples saddened for the misery of the rich: "What is impossible to men, is easy to God"?

28. But therefore, they say, was this said, because it was to come to pass that having heard the Gospel, the rich, having sold their patrimony and bestowed it upon the poor, would follow the Lord, and enter into the kingdom of heaven, and thus would happen that which seemed difficult: not that remaining in their riches, by keeping the precepts of the Apostle, that is, by not being high-minded, nor hoping in the uncertainty of riches, but in the living God, by doing well, giving easily, and communicating to the indigent, they should apprehend true life; but that even those apostolic precepts they should fulfill by having sold all their things.

29. If they say these things—for I know indeed that they say them—they do not attend primarily to how the Lord has preached his grace against their dogma. For he did not say: What seems impossible to men, is easy to men if they wish; but: "What is impossible to men," he said, "is easy to God": showing that when these things are rightly done, they are not done by the power of man, but by the grace of God. Let these men, therefore, attend to this, and if they rebuke those who glory in their riches, let them beware of trusting in their own virtue: for both are rebuked together in the Psalm: "They that trust in their own virtue, and they that glory in the abundance of their riches" (Ps. 48:7). Let the rich therefore hear: "What is impossible to men, is easy to God": and whether remaining in their riches, and from them doing good works, or having sold them and distributed them through the needs of the poor, they enter into the kingdom of heaven, let them attribute it to the grace of God, not to their own strengths, their own good.

Quod enim hominibus impossibile est, non hominibus, sed Deo facile est. Audiant hoc et isti; et si jam omnia sua vel vendiderunt, et pauperibus tribuerunt, vel adhuc id agunt atque disponunt, et hoc modo praeparant intrare in regnum coelorum, non hoc tribuant virtuti suae, sed eidem gratiae divinae. Quod enim hominibus impossibile est, non ipsis, quia et ipsi homines sunt, sed Deo facile est. Hoc quippe illis et Apostolus dicit: Cum timore et tremore vestram ipsorum salutem operamini. Deus enim est qui operatur in vobis et velle, et operari, pro bona voluntate (Philipp. II, 12, 13). Certe ideo se dicunt de suis rebus vendendis perfectionis a Domino suscepisse consilium, ut sequantur Dominum, quoniam illic additum est, et veni, sequere me: cur ergo in iis bonis quae faciunt, de sua tantum voluntate praesumunt, nec audiunt Dominum, quem sequi se dicunt, increpantem atque testantem, Sine me nihil potestis facere (Joan. XV, 5)?

30. Si autem Apostolus ita dixit, Praecipe divitibus hujus mundi, non superbe sapere, neque sperare in incerto divitiarum, ut vendant omnia quae possident, et ea pretia distribuendo indigentibus, faciant quod sequitur, facile tribuant, communicent, thesaurizent sibi fundamentum bonum in futurum, et aliter eos in regnum coelorum intrare posse non credit; fallit ergo eos quorum domos tam diligenter doctrinae sanitate componit, admonens et praecipiens quales se praebere debeant uxores viris, viri uxoribus, filii parentibus, parentes filiis, servi dominis, domini servis: nam quomodo haec agi possunt sine domo, et sine aliqua re familiari?

31. An hoc eos movet quod ait Dominus: Quicumque dimiserit omnia sua propter me, accipiet in hoc saeculo centuplum, et in futuro vitam aeternam possidebit (Matth. XIX, 29)? Aliud est dimiserit; aliud est vendiderit: nam et in iis quae dimittenda mandavit, etiam uxor commemorata est, quam nullis humanis legibus licet vendere, Christi autem legibus nec dimittere, excepta causa fornicationis (Id. V, 32). Quid sibi ergo volunt ista praecipe (non enim possunt inter se esse contraria), nisi quia occurrit aliquando necessitatis articulus, ubi aut uxor dimittatur, aut Christus: ut alia omittam, si ipsi uxori maritus displicuerit christianus, eique proposuerit aut a se divortium, aut a Christo? Hic ille quid eligat nisi Christum, et dimittat uxorem laudabiliter propter Christum? Ambobus quippe christianis Dominus praecepit ne quisquam dimittat uxorem, excepta causa fornicationis.

For what is impossible to men, is easy not to men, but to God. Let these men also hear this; and if they have already sold all their things and given to the poor, or are still doing and arranging this, and in this way are preparing to enter into the kingdom of heaven, let them not attribute this to their own virtue, but to the same divine grace. For what is impossible to men, is easy not to them—because they also are men—but to God. For the Apostle also says this to them: "With fear and trembling work out your own salvation. For it is God who worketh in you both to will and to work, for his good will" (Phil. 2:12, 13). Certainly they say that they have received from the Lord the counsel of selling their things for the sake of perfection, so that they may follow the Lord, since it is added there: "and come, follow me": why then in these good things which they do, do they presume only upon their own will, nor hear the Lord, whom they say they follow, rebuking and testifying: "Without me you can do nothing" (John 15:5)?

30. But if the Apostle had said: "Charge the rich of this world, not to be high-minded, nor to hope in the uncertainty of riches," so that they should sell all that they possess, and by distributing those prices to the indigent, should do what follows: "let them give easily, communicate, lay up in store for themselves a good foundation against the time to come," and does not believe that they can enter into the kingdom of heaven otherwise; he deceives those whose houses he so diligently composes with the soundness of doctrine, admonishing and commanding what sort of persons wives (uxores) should show themselves to husbands (viri), husbands to wives, children (filii) to parents (parentes), parents to children, servants (servi) to masters (domini), masters to servants: for how can these things be done without a house, and without some domestic property?

31. Or does this move them, which the Lord says: "Whosoever shall leave all his own for my sake, shall receive a hundredfold in this world, and in the future shall possess eternal life" (Matt. 19:29)? It is one thing to "leave" (dimiserit); it is another to "sell" (vendiderit): for even among those things which he commanded to be left, even a wife was commemorated, whom by no human laws is it permitted to sell, and by the laws of Christ not even to leave, except for the cause of fornication (Matt. 5:32). What then do these precepts wish for themselves—for they cannot be contrary among themselves—unless because sometimes an article of necessity occurs, where either a wife is left, or Christ: to omit other things, if a Christian husband should be displeasing to the wife herself, and she should propose to him either divorce from herself, or from Christ? Here what should he choose except Christ, and leave his wife laudably for the sake of Christ? For to both Christians the Lord commanded that no one should leave his wife, except for the cause of fornication.

Ubi autem quaelibet ex eis persona infidelis est, consilium Apostoli attendatur: Ut si infidelis consentit habitare cum viro fideli, vir non dimittat uxorem. Similiter et uxor fidelis virum, si cum illa habitare consenserit. Quod si infidelis, inquit, discedit, discedat: non est enim servituti subjectus frater aut soror in hujusmodi (I Cor. VII, 12, 15): id est, si infidelis noluerit esse cum conjuge fideli, hic agnoscat fidelis suam libertatem, ne ita se subjectum deputet servituti ut ipsam dimittat fidem, ne conjugem amittat infidelem.

32. Hoc et de filiis atque parentibus, hoc de fratribus et sororibus intelligitur, propter Christum omnes esse dimittendos, cum proponitur ista conditio, ut Christum dimittat, si illos secum habere desiderat. Hoc ergo et de domo atque agris, hoc et de iis rebus quae jure pecuniario possidentur, hoc loco accipiendum est. Similiter enim etiam de his non ait, Quicumque vendiderit propter me quaecumque licitum est vendere; sed, Quicumque dimiserit. Fieri enim potest ut dicatur christiano ab aliqua potestate, Aut christianus non eris, aut si in hoc permanere volueris, domum, possessionesque non habebis. Tunc vero etiam illi divites, qui in suis divitiis sic statuerant permanere, ut ex earum bonis operibus promererentur Deum, haec dimittant potius propter Christum, quam propter haec Christum; ut accipiant in hoc saeculo centuplum, cujus numeri perfectione significantur omnia (Fidelis quippe hominis totus mundus divitiarum est; fiuntque hoc modo quasi nihil habentes, et omnia possidentes [II Cor. VI, 10]), et in futuro saeculo possideant vitam aeternam; ne propter ista dimisso Christo, in mortem praecipitentur aeternam.

33. Hac quippe lege et conditione, non illi tantum qui mentis excellentia perfectionis consilium receperunt, ut vendita sua pauperibus distribuerent, et humeris ab omni saeculi hujus sarcina liberioribus levem Christi sarcinam ferrent; sed etiam quisquis infirmior, et illi gloriosissimae perfectioni minus idoneus, qui tamen meminerit se veraciter esse christianum, cum audierit sibi proponi quod nisi haec omnia dimiserit, dimissurus est Christum, apprehendet potius turrim fortitudinis a facie inimici (Psal. LX, 4): quia cum eam in sua aedificaret fide, computavit sumptus quibus perfici posset (Luc. XIV, 28), id est, eo animo accessit ad fidem, ut huic saeculo non solum verbis renuntiaret; quia et si emit aliquid, tanquam non possidens erat, et si utebatur hoc mundo, tanquam non utens erat (I Cor. VII, 30, 31), non sperans in incerto divitiarum, sed in Deo vivo.

But where any person from them is an infidel, let the counsel of the Apostle be attended to: That if the infidel consents to dwell with the faithful husband, the husband should not leave his wife. Similarly also the faithful wife her husband, if he has consented to dwell with her. "But if the infidel," he says, "departs, let him depart: for a brother or sister is not subject to servitude in such cases" (1 Cor. 7:12, 15): that is, if the infidel should not wish to be with the faithful spouse, here let the faithful one acknowledge his liberty, lest he should think himself so subject to servitude that he should leave the faith itself, lest he should lose an infidel spouse.

32. This is to be understood also of children and parents, this of brothers and sisters, that all are to be left for the sake of Christ, when this condition is proposed, that one should leave Christ, if he desires to have those with him. This therefore is to be accepted in this place also of the house and lands, this also of those things which are possessed by pecuniary right. For similarly even concerning these he did not say: Whosoever shall sell for my sake whatever it is lawful to sell; but: "Whosoever shall leave." For it can happen that it be said to a Christian by some power: Either thou shalt not be a Christian, or if thou shalt wish to remain in this, thou shalt not have a house or possessions. Then indeed let even those rich men, who had so determined to remain in their riches that from their good works they might merit God, leave these things rather for the sake of Christ, than Christ for the sake of these; that they may receive a hundredfold in this world, by the perfection of which number all things are signified (For all the world of riches is of a faithful man; and they become in this way as having nothing, and possessing all things [2 Cor. 6:10]), and in the future world they may possess eternal life; lest for the sake of these, having left Christ, they should be precipitated into eternal death.

33. By this law and condition, not only those who by excellence of mind have received the counsel of perfection, so that they should sell their things and distribute them to the poor, and should carry the light burden of Christ with shoulders freer from every burden of this world; but also whosoever is weaker, and less fit for that most glorious perfection, who yet remembers that he is truly a Christian, when he hears it proposed to him that unless he shall have left all these things, he is about to leave Christ, he will rather apprehend the tower of strength from the face of the enemy (Ps. 60:4): because when he was building it in his faith, he computed the costs by which it could be finished (Luke 14:28), that is, he came to the faith with that mind, that he should renounce this world not only in words; because even if he bought something, he was as not possessing it, and if he used this world, he was as not using it (1 Cor. 7:30, 31), not hoping in the uncertainty of riches, but in the living God.

34. Cum enim omnis qui renuntiat huic saeculo, sine dubio renuntiet omnibus quae sunt ejus, ut possit Christi esse discipulus (ipse enim, cum de sumptibus ad turris aedificium necessariis, et de bello adversus regem alterum praeparando, similitudines praemisisset, adjunxit sic: Qui non renuntiat omnibus quae sunt ejus, non potest meus esse discipulus [Luc. XVI, 33]); profecto renuntiat etiam divitiis suis, si quas habet, aut sic ut eas omnino non diligens, totas distribuat indigentibus, et superfluis exoneretur sarcinis; aut sic ut plus diligens Christum spem ab eis transferat in ipsum, atque ita utatur illis, ut facile tribuens et communicans, thesaurizet in coelo; paratusque sit, quemadmodum parentes et filios et fratres et uxorem, hoc modo et istas relinquere, si talis conditio proposita fuerit, ut nisi dimisso Christo eas habere non possit. Nam si aliter huic saeculo renuntiat, quando accedit ad fidei sacramentum, facit quod de lapsis beatus Cyprianus ingemit, dicens: Saeculo verbis solis renuntiantes, et non factis. De hoc quippe dicitur, cum veniente tentatione magis ista metuit amittere, quam Christum negare: Ecce homo qui coepit aedificare, et non potuit perficere. Ipse est etiam qui, cum adhuc longe esset adversarius ejus, misit legatos quaerens pacem; id est, nondum affligente, sed adhuc imminente ac minante tentatione, ut iis non careat, quae plus diligit, ad relinquendum Christum negandumque consentit. Et multi sunt tales, qui etiam putant sibi ad augendas opes suas, et multiplicanda delectamenta terrena, religionem suffragari debere christianam.

35. Sed non sunt tales divites christiani, qui licet ista teneant, non tamen ab eis ita tenentur, ut haec Christo anteponant; quia veraci corde saeculo renuntiarunt, ut nullam spem in talibus ponant. Hi uxores et filios universasque familias ad christianam religionem tenendam sana erudiunt disciplina. Horum domus hospitalitate ferventes, recipiunt justum in nomine justi, ut mercedem justi accipiant (Matth. X, 41). Frangunt esurienti panem suum, nudum vestiunt, captivum redimunt (Isai. LVIII, 7, et Matth. XXV, 35, 36), thesaurizant sibi fundamentum bonum in futurum, ut apprehendant veram vitam. Et si forte pro fide Christi pecuniaria damna perpetienda sunt, oderunt divitias suas: si suorum orbitates vel separationes pro Christo minatur hic mundus, oderunt parentes, fratres, filios, uxores: postremo si de ipsa hujus corporis vita cum adversario paciscendum est, ne desertus deserat Christus, oderunt insuper animam suam. De iis quippe omnibus mandatum acceperunt, quod aliter discipuli Christi esse non possint (Luc. XIV, 26, 27).

34. For since everyone who renounces this world, without doubt renounces all things which are of it, so that he may be a disciple of Christ (for he himself, when he had premised similitudes concerning the costs necessary for building a tower, and concerning preparing for war against another king, added thus: "He who does not renounce all that is his, cannot be my disciple" [Luke 14:33]); surely he renounces also his riches, if he has any, either so that, not loving them at all, he should distribute all of them to the indigent, and be unburdened of superfluous loads; or so that, loving Christ more, he should transfer his hope from them into him, and so use them, that giving easily and communicating, he should lay up treasure in heaven; and should be prepared, just as to relinquish parents and children and brothers and wife, in this way also to relinquish those things, if such a condition should be proposed, that unless having left Christ he could not have them. For if he renounces this world otherwise, when he comes to the sacrament of faith, he does what the blessed Cipher groans concerning the lapsed, saying: "Renouncing the world in words only, and not in deeds." Concerning this one indeed it is said, when coming temptation fears more to lose those things than to deny Christ: "Behold the man who began to build, and was not able to finish." He is also the one who, when his adversary was yet far off, sent legates seeking peace; that is, temptation not yet afflicting, but still imminent and threatening, so that he may not lack those things which he loves more, he consents to relinquish and deny Christ. And there are many such, who even think that the Christian religion ought to support them for increasing their wealth, and for multiplying earthly delights.

35. But such are not the rich Christians who, although they hold these things, are not yet so held by them that they prefer them to Christ; because with a true heart they have renounced the world, so that they put no hope in such things. These instruct their wives and children and all their families with sound discipline to hold the Christian religion. The houses of these, fervent with hospitality, receive the just man in the name of a just man, that they may receive the reward of a just man (Matt. 10:41). They break their bread to the hungry, they clothe the naked, they redeem the captive (Isa. 58:7, and Matt. 25:35, 36), they lay up for themselves a good foundation against the time to come, that they may apprehend true life. And if perchance pecuniary losses are to be endured for the faith of Christ, they hate their riches: if this world threatens bereavements or separations of their own for Christ, they hate parents, brothers, children, wives: finally, if it is to be bargained with the adversary concerning the life of this body itself, lest having been deserted Christ should desert them, they hate moreover their own soul. Concerning all these indeed they have received a command, that otherwise they cannot be disciples of Christ (Luke 14:26, 27).

36. Nec tamen quia praeceptum est eis ut oderint pro Christo et animas suas, vendendas eas habent, aut illatis sibi manibus effundendas: sed parati sunt eas amittere, pro Christi nomine moriendo, ne mortui vivant, Christum negando. Sic etiam divitias, ad quas vendendas parati non fuerunt monente Christo, ad perdendas eas debent parati esse pro Christo, ne cum eis pereant perdito Christo. Habemus hinc utriusque sexus divites clarissimasque personas martyrii gloria sublimatas. Ita multi quos rerum suarum venditione piguerat ante perfici, Christi imitata passione sunt repente perfecti; et qui nonnullam infirmitatem carnis et sanguinis suis divitiis perfecerunt, subito adversus peccatum pro fide usque ad sanguinem certarunt. Quibus autem non provenit corona martyrii, neque illius perfectionis de vendendis rebus suis consilium tam grande tamque praeclarum receperunt, et tamen a damnabilibus immunes criminibus esurientem Christum paverunt, sitienti potum dederunt, nudum vestierunt, peregrinantem susceperunt; non sedebunt quidem cum Christo sublimiter judicaturi, sed ad ipsius dexteram stabunt misericorditer judicandi (Matt. XXV, 34-40). Beati enim misericordes, quoniam ipsorum miserebitur Deus (Id. V, 7). Et judicium sine misericordia fiet illi qui non fecit misericordiam: superexsultat autem misericordia judicio (Jacobi 11, 13).

37. Proinde isti desinant contra Scripturas loqui, et in suis exhortationibus ad majora sic excitent, ut minora non damnent. Num enim et sanctam virginitatem aliter exhortando persuadere non possunt, nisi conjugalia vincula damnaverint, cum docente Apostolo, unusquisque donum proprium habeat a Deo, alius sic, alius autem sic (I Cor. VII, 7)? Ambulent itaque perfectionis viam, venditis omnibus suis rebus, et misericorditer erogatis. Sed si vere pauperes Christi sunt, et non sibi, sed Christo colligunt, infirmiora ejus membra quare puniunt antequam sedes judiciarias acceperint? Si enim tales erunt, qualibus Dominus dicit, Sedebitis super duodecim sedes, judicantes duodecim tribus Israel (Matth. XIX, 28); et de qualibus Apostolus dicit, Nescitis quoniam Angelos judicabimus (I Cor. VI, 3); praeparent se potius non criminosos, sed religiosos divites recipere in tabernacula aeterna, a quibus amici facti sunt de mammona iniquitatis (Luc. XVI, 9). Puto enim quod quidam eorum qui haec impudenter atque imprudenter garriunt, a divitibus christianis et piis in suis necessitatibus sustentantur.

36. Nor yet, because it is commanded them that they should hate even their own souls for Christ, do they have them to be sold, or to be poured out by hands brought upon themselves: but they are prepared to lose them, by dying for the name of Christ, lest having died they should live, by denying Christ. So also the riches, which they were not prepared to sell at the admonition of Christ, they ought to be prepared to lose for Christ, lest they perish with them having lost Christ. We have from this rich men and most illustrious persons of both sexes sublimated by the glory of martyrdom. Thus many whom it had been irksome to be perfected before by the sale of their own things, have been suddenly perfected by the imitated passion of Christ; and they who had perfected some infirmity of flesh and blood by their riches, suddenly fought against sin for the faith even unto blood. But for those to whom the crown of martyrdom does not come, nor have they received so great and so illustrious a counsel of perfection concerning the selling of their things, and yet have been immune from damnable crimes and have fed the hungry Christ, given drink to the thirsty, clothed the naked, received the pilgrim; they shall not indeed sit sublimely with Christ as about to judge, but they shall stand at his right hand as about to be mercifully judged (Matt. 25:34-40). For blessed are the merciful, for God shall have mercy on them (Matt. 5:7). And judgment without mercy shall be done to him who has not done mercy: but mercy triumphs over judgment (James 2:13).

37. Therefore let these men cease to speak against the Scriptures, and in their exhortations let them so excite to greater things, that they do not condemn the lesser. For can they not otherwise persuade to holy virginity (virginitatem) by exhorting, unless they have condemned conjugal bonds, when as the Apostle teaches, everyone has his own proper gift from God, one thus, and another so (1 Cor. 7:7)? Let them walk, therefore, the way of perfection, having sold all their things and mercifully bestowed them. But if they are truly the poor of Christ, and gather not for themselves, but for Christ, why do they punish his weaker members before they have received the judicial seats? For if they shall be such as those to whom the Lord says: "You shall sit upon twelve seats, judging the twelve tribes of Israel" (Matt. 19:28); and of such as those of whom the Apostle says: "Know you not that we shall judge Angels?" (1 Cor. 6:3); let them rather prepare themselves to receive not criminal but religious rich men into the eternal tabernacles, by whom they have been made friends from the mammon of iniquity (Luke 16:9). For I think that some of those who impudently and imprudently prate these things, are supported in their necessities by Christian and pious rich men.

Habet enim Ecclesia quodammodo suos milites, et quodammodo provinciales: unde dicit Apostolus, Quis militat suis stipendiis unquam? Habet et vineam et plantatores, habet gregem et pastores: unde consequenter dicit, Quis plantat vineam, et de fructu ejus non edit? quis pascit gregem, et de lacte ejus non percipit (I Cor. IX, 7)? Quamvis talia disputare, qualia isti disputant, non sit militare, sed rebellare; non sit plantare vineam, sed eradicare; non sit pascendos congregare, sed perdendos a grege separare.

38. Sicut autem ipsi qui divitum religiosis obsequiis aluntur atque vestiuntur (neque enim ad suas necessitates nihil accipiunt, nisi ab eis qui res suas vendunt), non tamen judicantur atque damnantur ab excellentioribus Christi membris, qui majori virtute, quam multum commendat Apostolus, suis se manibus transigunt (Act. XX, 34): sic nec isti damnare debent inferioris meriti christianos, quorum opibus transiguntur; sed recte vivendo et recte docendo magis eis dicere, Si nos vobis spiritualia seminavimus, magnum est si vestra carnalia metamus (I Cor. IX, 11)? Multo quippe minori impudentia servi Dei, qui manuum suarum honestis operibus venditis vivunt, damnant istos a quibus nihil accipiunt, quam isti qui propter aliquam corporis infirmitatem non valentes manibus operari, damnant eos ipsos de quorum facultatibus vivunt.

39. Ego qui haec scribo, perfectionem de qua Dominus locutus est, quando ait diviti adolescenti, Vade, vende omnia quae habes, et da pauperibus, et habebis thesaurum in coelo; et veni, sequere me (Matth. XIX, 21), vehementer adamavi, et non meis viribus, sed gratia ipsius adjuvante sic feci. Neque enim quia dives non fui, ideo minus mihi imputabitur: nam neque ipsi Apostoli, qui priores hoc fecerunt, divites fuerunt. Sed totum mundum dimittit qui et illud quod habet, et quod optat habere, dimittit. Quantum autem in hac perfectionis via profecerim, magis quidem novi ego, quam quisquam alius homo; sed magis Deus quam ego. Et ad hoc propositum quantis possum viribus alios exhortor, et in nomine Domini habeo consortes, quibus hoc per meum ministerium persuasum est: sic tamen ut praecipue sana doctrine teneatur, nec eos qui ista non faciunt, vana contumacia judicemus, dicentes eis nihil prodesse quod pudice, quamvis conjugaliter vivunt, quod domos suas et familias christiane regunt, quod operibus misericordiae sibi thesaurizant in posterum; ne ista disputando, non Scripturarum sanctarum tractatores, sed earum accusatores inveniamur.

For the Church (Ecclesia) has in a certain way its soldiers (milites), and in a certain way provincials: whence the Apostle says: "Who ever serveth as a soldier at his own charges?" It has also a vineyard and planters, it has a flock and shepherds: whence consequently he says: "Who planteth a vineyard, and eateth not of the fruit thereof? Who feedeth a flock, and perceiveth not of the milk thereof?" (1 Cor. 9:7). Although to dispute such things as these men dispute, is not to serve as a soldier, but to rebel; it is not to plant a vineyard, but to eradicate it; it is not to gather those to be fed, but to separate those to be lost from the flock.

38. But just as those who are fed and clothed by the religious services of the rich (for neither do they receive anything for their necessities except from those who sell their own things), are yet not judged and condemned by the more excellent members of Christ, who with greater virtue, which the Apostle much commends, provide for themselves by their own hands (Acts 20:34): so neither ought these to condemn Christians of inferior merit, by whose resources they are provided for; but by living rightly and teaching rightly rather say to them: "If we have sown unto you spiritual things, is it a great matter if we reap your carnal things?" (1 Cor. 9:11). Surely with much less impudence do the servants of God, who live by the sale of the honest works of their hands, condemn those from whom they receive nothing, than these who because of some infirmity of body not being able to work with their hands, condemn those very ones from whose faculties they live.

39. I who write these things, have vehemently loved the perfection of which the Lord spoke, when he said to the rich youth: "Go, sell all that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven; and come, follow me" (Matt. 19:21), and not by my own strengths, but by his grace helping I have so done. Nor indeed because I was not rich, shall it therefore be imputed to me less: for neither were the Apostles themselves, who first did this, rich. But he renounces the whole world who renounces both that which he has, and that which he desires to have. But how much I have progressed in this way of perfection, I indeed know better than any other man; but God more than I. And to this purpose with what strengths I can I exhort others, and in the name of the Lord I have partners, who were persuaded of this through my ministry: yet so that primarily sound doctrine be held, nor should we judge those who do not do these things with vain contumacy, saying to them that it profits them nothing that they live chastely, although conjugally, that they rule their houses and families in a Christian way, that by works of mercy they lay up treasure for themselves for the future; lest by disputing these things, we be found not treaters of the holy Scriptures, but their accusers.

Quod ideo commemoravi, quoniam isti, quando talia dicere prohibentur ab eis qui hoc Domini consilium non ceperunt, respondent eos talia disputari nolle, quoniam vitiis suis favent, et dominica praecepta implere detrectant: quasi non, ut de iis taceam, qui, licet infirmiores, religiose tamen utuntur divitiis, etiam ipsi cupidi et avari male his utentes, et in terreno thesauro cor luteum figentes, quia et ipsos necesse est usque ad finem portet Ecclesia, sicut illa retia usque ad littus pisces malos (Idem, XIII, 47, 48), tolerabiliores in ea sint quam isti, qui talia sermocinando et disseminando, ita se videri magnos volunt, quia divitias suas vel quantulacumque patrimonia ex praecepto Domini vendiderunt, ut ejus haereditatem, quae usque ad fines terrae dilatatur atque diffunditur hac doctrina non sana perturbare atque evertere moliantur.

CAPUT V.

40. Unde quia ex hac quidem occasione, sed tamen jam breviter dixi quid etiam de Ecclesia Christi in hoc saeculo sentiam, id est, quia usque ad finem hujus saeculi necesse est portet bonos et malos, quoniam et hoc inter tuas quaestiones interrogasti, prolixam epistolam jam tandem aliquando concludam. Jurationem cave quantum potes. Melius quippe nec verum juratur, quam jurandi consuetudine, et in perjurium saepe caditur, et semper perjurio propinquatur. Sed illi, quantum aliquos eorum audivi, quid sit jurare prorsus ignorant: putant enim se non jurare, quando in ore habent, Scit Deus (II Cor. XII, 2); et, Testis est Deus (Rom. I, 9, et Philipp. I, 8); et, Testem Deum invoco super animam meam (II Cor. 1, 23); quia non dicitur, Per Deum, et quia talia reperiuntur in apostolo Paulo. Sed etiam illa ibi contra eos inventa est quam confitentur esse jurationem, ubi ait Apostolus: Quotidie morior, per vestram gloriam, fratres, quam habeo in Christo Jesu Domino nostro (I Cor. XV, 31). In graecis enim codicibus reperitur omnino esse hanc jurationem: ne quis in latina lingua hoc sic intelligat dictum, per vestram gloriam, quomodo dictum est, per meum adventum iterum ad vos; et multa similia, ubi dicitur, per aliquid, et non est juratio. Sed non ideo quia in suis Litteris juravit Apostolus, vir in veritate firmissimus, ludus nobis debet esse juratio. Multo enim tutius, ut dixi, quantum ad nos attinet, nunquam juramus; ut sit in ore nostro, Est, est; non, non, sicut Dominus monet (Matth. V, 37). Non quia peccatum est, verum jurare: sed quia gravissimum peccatum est falsum jurare; quo citius cadit qui consuevit jurare.

Which therefore I have commemorated, because these men, when they are prohibited from saying such things by those who have not taken this counsel of the Lord, answer that they do not wish such things to be disputed, because they favor their own vices, and refuse to fulfill the Lord's precepts: as if—to say nothing of those who, although weaker, yet use riches religiously—even the covetous and avaricious themselves using these badly, and fixing a clayey heart in earthly treasure, since it is necessary that the Church carry them even until the end, like those nets carry bad fishes even unto the shore (Matt. 13:47, 48), were not more tolerable in it than these, who by so speaking and disseminating such things, wish themselves so to be seen as great, because they have sold their riches or whatever small patrimonies according to the precept of the Lord, that they endeavor to disturb and overturn his inheritance, which is dilated and diffused even unto the ends of the earth, by this unsound doctrine.

CHAPTER V.

40. Whence because on this occasion, but yet briefly, I have already said what I feel also concerning the Church (Ecclesia) of Christ in this world, that is, because until the end of this world it is necessary that she carry both good and bad, since you also asked this among your questions, I will now at last conclude this long letter. Beware of swearing (jurationem) as much as you can. For it is better that it be not sworn even truly, than by the custom of swearing one should often fall into perjury (perjurium), and always be near to perjury. But those men, as much as I have heard some of them, are altogether ignorant of what it is to swear: for they think that they do not swear when they have in their mouth: "God knows" (2 Cor. 12:2); and: "God is witness" (Rom. 1:9, and Phil. 1:8); and: "I call God to witness upon my soul" (2 Cor. 1:23); because it is not said: "By God," and because such things are found in the apostle Paul. But even that was found there against them which they confess to be a swearing, where the Apostle says: "Daily I die, by your glory, brethren, which I have in Christ Jesus our Lord" (1 Cor. 15:31). For in the Greek manuscripts this is found to be altogether this swearing: lest anyone in the Latin language should understand it said: "by your glory," in the way it is said: "by my coming again to you"; and many similar things, where it is said "by" (per) something, and it is not a swearing. But not therefore because the Apostle, a man most firm in the truth, swore in his Letters, ought swearing to be a game to us. For it is much safer, as I said, as far as pertains to us, that we never swear; that there be in our mouth: "It is, it is; No, no," as the Lord admonishes (Matt. 5:37). Not because it is a sin to swear truly: but because it is a most grave sin to swear falsely; into which he falls more quickly who has been accustomed to swear.

41. Accepisti quod mihi videtur: melius exponant ista meliores; non isti quorum novi jam sententiam reprobandam, sed alii qui veraciter possunt. Nam et ego paratior sum dicere quam docere; et tu magnum conferes beneficium, si ea quae illic a sanctis fratribus adversus istorum vaniloquia disseruntur, non me facias ignorare. In Domino recte et fideliter vivas, dilectissime fili.

EPISTOLA CLVIII. Evodius Uzalensis episcopus laudabiles mores ac felicem adolescentis cujusdam obitum prosecutus, ejusque et aliorum defunctorum narratis apparitionibus, inquirit utrum anima per mortem soluta non omni careat corpore, quo possit ferri de loco in locum. Tum edoceri cupit qua varia ratione de Deo et hominibus dicitur sapientia.

Domino venerabiliterque dilectissimo fratri et consacerdoti AUGUSTINO, et fratribus qui tecum sunt, EVODIUS, et fratres qui mecum sunt, in Domino salutem.

1. Debitum flagito epistolae quam misi; et volui primo illud discere quod interrogavi, et postea hoc requirere. Audi rem, quia dignaris, quae me fecit impatientem, ut et id festinarem nosse, si fieri potest, in hac vita. Quemdam puerum habui presbyteri Armeni Melonitani filium notarium: hunc jam saeculo se mergentem, nam scholastico proconsulis excipiebat, per meam eruit Deus humilitatem. Fuit quidem, ut puerilis aetas habet, promptus, aliquantulum inquietus, et accedente aetate (nam vigesimo et secundo anno solvitur), ita eum gravitas morum, et custos bona vita ornavit, ut satis delectet ejus habere memoriam. Erat autem strenuus in notis, et in scribendo bene laboriosus, studiosus quoque esse coeperat lectionis, ut ipse meam tarditatem causa legendi nocturnis horis exhortaretur; nam aliquanto tempore noctis mihi ipse legebat, cum omnia siluissent: nec volebat praeterire lectionem, nisi intellexisset, et tertio et quarto repetebat, et nec dimittebat, nisi sibi apparuisset quod quaerebat. Coeperam eum non quasi puerum et notarium habere, sed amicum quemdam satis necessarium et suavem. Delectabant enim me fabulae ipsius.

2. Optabat quoque, quod ei praestitum est, dissolvi et esse cum Christo (Philipp. I, 23). Nam aegrotavit sexdecim diebus apud parentes suos, et memoriae vi de Scripturis pene tota aegritudine loquebatur. Sed ut ad finem vitae proximus esse coepit, psallebat audientibus omnibus, «Desiderat et properat anima mea ad atria Dei» (Psal. LXXXIII, 3); et post haec iterum psallebat, «Impinguasti in oleo caput meum; et poculum tuum inebrians quam praeclarum est (Psal. XXII, 5)!» Ibi fuit occupatus; hac se oblectabat consolatione.

41. You have received what seems to me: let better men expound these things better; not those whose opinion I already know is to be rejected, but others who truly can. For I also am more ready to say than to teach; and you will confer a great benefit, if you do not let me be ignorant of those things which are discussed there by the holy brethren against the vain talkings of these men. May you live rightly and faithfully in the Lord, most beloved son.

LETTER CLVIII. Evodius, bishop of Uzalis, having followed the laudable manners and happy death of a certain youth, and having narrated the apparitions of him and of other dead persons, inquires whether the soul loosed by death does not lack every body, by which it can be carried from place to place. Then he desires to be taught by what varied reason wisdom is spoken of concerning God and men.

To his Lord and most venerably beloved brother and fellow-priest AUGUSTINE, and to the brethren who are with you, EVODIUS, and the brethren who are with me, greeting in the Lord.

1. I demand the debt of the letter which I sent; and I wished first to learn that which I asked, and afterwards to require this. Hear the matter, because you deign, which made me impatient, so that I should hasten to know it, if it can be done, in this life. I had a certain boy (puerum), a notary (notarium), the son of an Armenian priest (presbyteri) of Melitene: this one already merging himself in the world, for he was an excerptor for the scholastic of the proconsul, God rescued through my humility. He was indeed, as boyish age has, prompt, somewhat restless, and as age approached (for in his twenty-second year he is loosed), so did gravity of manners and a good life as guardian adorn him, that it is quite delightful to have memory of him. Moreover he was strenuous in shorthand (notis), and in writing well laborious, he had also begun to be studious of reading, so that he himself would exhort my slowness for the sake of reading in the nocturnal hours; for for some time of the night he himself would read to me, when all things were silent: nor was he willing to pass over the reading, unless he had understood, and he would repeat it a third and fourth time, nor would he let go, until what he was seeking appeared to him. I had begun to have him not as a boy and a notary, but as a certain very necessary and sweet friend. For his stories (fabulae) delighted me.

2. He also desired, which was granted to him, to be dissolved and to be with Christ (Phil. 1:23). For he was sick for sixteen days at his parents' house, and by the force of his memory he spoke from the Scriptures through almost the whole sickness. But as he began to be near the end of his life, he sang psalms, all hearing him: "My soul longs and hastens for the courts of God" (Ps. 83:3); and after these things he sang again: "Thou hast anointed my head with oil; and how excellent is thy cup which inebriates (Ps. 22:5)!" There he was occupied; in this consolation he delighted himself.

Deinde cum solvi coepisset, signare se coepit in fronte, ita ut sic descenderet manus ad os quod sibi cupiebat signare, cum jam interior homo, et bene renovatus de die in diem, domum luteam dimisisset. Mihi tantum gaudium accrevit, ut arbitrer quod dimisso proprio corpore in meum animum ingressus sit, et ibi mihi quamdam luciditatem praesentiae suae praestet, quia liberatione et securitate illius nimis gaudeo; dici non potest. Non enim levem ei exhibui sollicitudinem, timens aetati adolescentis. Nam curavi ex eo quaerere, ne forte feminae contagione fuisset pollutus: liberum se esse testatus est, magis ut nostrum gaudium cumularetur. Solutus est ergo. Exsequias praebuimus satis honorabiles, et dignas tantae animae; nam per triduum hymnis Dominum collaudavimus super sepulcrum ipsius, et redemptionis Sacramenta tertio die obtulimus.

3. Sed ecce post biduum quaedam vidua honesta Urbica de Figentibus, quae duodecim se annos viduam dicebat, ancilla Dei, somnium vidit tale. Videt quemdam diaconum ante quadriennium corpore exutum, cum servis et ancillis Dei virginibus et viduis palatium praeparare. Ornabatur autem, ut claritas loci fulsisset, et locus omnis argenteus putaretur. Cum illa studiosius interrogasset cuinam hoc praepararetur; respondit ille diaconus, puero qui hesterno consumptus est, filio presbyteri praeparari. Et in eodem palatio quemdam senem candidatum apparuisse, qui juberet duobus candidatis ut pergerent, et corpus ablatum de sepulcro ad coelum levarent. Cumque, inquit, de sepulcro corpus fuisset assumptum atque in coelum levatum, ramos rosarum virginum (sic enim clausae appellari solent) de eodem sepulcro surrexisse.

4. Narravi quid fuerit gestum. Modo quaestionem audire dignare, et doce quod quaero. Cogit enim me istius animae migratio talia percunctari. Cum in corpore sumus, est nobis sensus interior solers pro agilitate studii nostri; et tanto vigilantior et ferventior, quanto fuerimus studiosiores, et adhuc impedimento corporis retardari nos videtur esse probabile. Quis autem omnia quae animus ex corpore patitur, poterit enarrare? Inter has turbas et molestias, ex suggestionibus, ex tentationibus, ex necessitatibus, diversisque calamitatibus venientes, fortitudinem suam non deserit animus: resistit, vincit; aliquando vincitur. Tamen quoniam meminit sui, agilior et sollicitior efficitur excitatus tantis laboribus, et rumpit quosque nodos malitiae, et transit ad meliora. Quid dicam dignatur intelligere Sanctitas tua. Ergo cum in hac vita sumus, talibus egestatibus impedimur, et tamen, sicut scriptum est, «supervincimus per eum qui dilexit nos» (Rom. VIII, 37). Exeuntes de corpore, et onus omne, et agile peccatum evadentes, qui sumus?

Then when he had begun to be loosed, he began to sign himself on the forehead, so that his hand descended to his mouth which he desired to sign for himself, when already the inner man, and well renewed from day to day, had dismissed the house of clay. To me so much joy accrued, that I think that, having dismissed his own body, he entered into my soul, and there provides me with a certain lucidity of his presence, because I rejoice too much in his liberation and security; it cannot be told. For I did not exhibit a light solicitude for him, fearing for the age of the youth. For I took care to ask from him, lest by chance he had been polluted by the contagion of a woman: he testified that he was free, the more so that our joy might be heaped up. He was loosed, therefore. We provided obsequies honorable enough, and worthy of such a soul; for during three days we praised the Lord together with hymns over his sepulcher, and on the third day we offered the Sacraments of redemption.

3. But behold, after two days a certain honorable widow, Urbica of Figentes, who said she had been a widow for twelve years, a handmaid of God (ancilla Dei), saw such a dream. She sees a certain deacon (diaconum), who had been stripped of his body four years before, preparing a palace with the servants and handmaids of God, virgins and widows. Moreover, it was adorned so that the brightness of the place shone, and the whole place was thought to be of silver. When she had more studiously asked for whom this was being prepared, that deacon replied that it was being prepared for the boy (puer) who was consumed yesterday, the son of the priest (presbyter). And in the same palace a certain old man clothed in white appeared, who commanded two candidates that they should proceed, and lift up the body taken away from the sepulcher to heaven. And when, she says, the body had been taken up from the sepulcher and lifted up into heaven, branches of roses of virgins (for so those enclosed are accustomed to be called) rose up from the same sepulcher.

4. I have narrated what was done. Now deign to hear the question, and teach what I seek. For the migration of that soul compels me to inquire into such things. When we are in the body, there is to us an interior sense skillful for the agility of our study; and the more vigilant and fervent, the more studious we have been, and yet it seems probable that we are retarded by the impediment of the body. But who will be able to narrate all the things which the soul suffers from the body? Amidst these crowds and troubles, coming from suggestions, from temptations, from necessities, and diverse calamities, the soul does not desert its fortitude: it resists, it conquers; sometimes it is conquered. Yet because it remembers itself, being excited by such great labors, it is made more agile and more solicitous, and it breaks whatever knots of malice, and passes over to better things. What I say your Holiness deigns to understand. Therefore when we are in this life, we are impeded by such wants, and yet, as it is written, "we over-conquer through him who loved us" (Rom. 8:37). Going out from the body, and escaping every burden and the agile sin, who are we?

5. Et primum quaero utrum aliquod corpus sit, quod rem incorpoream, hoc est ipsius animae substantiam non deserat, cum dimiserit hoc terrenum corpus, ne forte de quatuor unum sit, aut aerium, aut aetherium. Cum enim incorporea sit anima, si omni corpore caret, jam una est omnium. Et ubi erit ille dives purpuratus, et Lazarus vulneratus? Quomodo etiam meritis discernentur, ut ille poenam, ille gaudium habeat, si una ex omnibus incorporeis apparuerit anima: si tamen figurate illa significata non sunt. Certum est autem, quae locis tenentur, corporibus tenentur, ut ille dives in flamma, et pauper ille in sinu Abrahae (Luc. XVI, 19, 22). Si loca sunt, corpora sunt, et in corporibus animae sunt; in corpore autem si poenae vel praemia in conscientiis sunt. Quaevis est ista una anima, effecta ex multis animis, affligatur, et laetetur in una, ut appareat substantia ex multis animis collecta; aut si hoc dicitur quemadmodum una res animus incorporeus, et in eo memoria est, et voluntas, et intellectus, et hae omnes causae incorporeae sunt, et habent officiorum congruam portionem, nec tamen altera alteram impedit. Utcumque puto posse responderi, ut et aliquas poenae, et aliquas praemia comitentur in una ex multis animis collecta substantia.

6. Aut si non ita est, quid impedit si unusquisque animus, cum corpore hoc solido caret, aliud habeat corpus, ut ipse animus semper aliquod corpus animet; aut quo transitum facit, si ulla regio est ad quam eum necessitas ire compellit? Quandoquidem et ipsi Angeli nec multi dici possunt, si non corporibus numerentur; ut ait ipsa Veritas in Evangelio, «Possem rogare Patrem meum ut duodecim mihi legiones angelorum misisset» (Matth. XXVI, 53). Deinde cum constet Samuelem in corpore fuisse visum, quando excitatus est ad petitionem Saül (I Reg. XXVIII, 14); et Moysen, cujus corpus sepultum est secundum Evangelium, manifestum sit in corpore eum venisse ad Dominum in monte (Matth. XVII, 3), cum constitissent. Quanquam et in apocryphis, et in secretis ipsius Moysi, quae scriptura caret auctoritate, tunc cum ascenderet in montem ut moreretur, vi corporis efficitur, ut aliud esset quod terrae mandaretur, aliud quod angelo comitanti sociaretur. Sed non satis urget me apocryphorum praeferre sententiam illis superioribus rebus definitis. Videndum ergo, et sive auctoritate sive ratione indagandum quod quaeritur. Sed dicitur quod resurrectio futura ostendat eam omni corpore caruisse. Nec satis impedit, quandoquidem illi Angeli, qui invisibiles etiam sunt, cum corporibus apparere voluerunt et videri, et quaecumque illa positio corporum sit, eorum spiritibus digna, tamen apparuerunt ad Abraham (Gen. XVIII, 2) et ad Tobiam (Tob. XII, 15). Ita fieri potest ut resurrectio quidem carnis istius, quae bene creditur futura sit, tamen sic anima illa reddatur, ut corpore aliquo nunquam caruisse reperiatur.

5. And first I ask whether there is any body which does not desert an incorporeal thing, that is, the substance (substantia) of the soul itself, when it has dismissed this earthly body, lest by chance it be one of the four, either aerial or ethereal. For since the soul is incorporeal, if it lacks every body, it is now one of all. And where will that rich man clothed in purple be, and Lazarus full of sores? How also will they be discerned by merits, so that the one has punishment, the other joy, if one soul from all incorporeal ones should appear: if yet those things were not signified figuratively. Moreover, it is certain that those things which are held by places are held by bodies, as that rich man in the flame, and that poor man in the bosom of Abraham (Luke 16:19, 22). If there are places, there are bodies, and souls are in bodies; or if in a body punishments or rewards are in consciences. Should any one soul, made from many souls, be afflicted and rejoice in one, so that a substance (substantia) collected from many souls appears; or if this is said just as the incorporeal mind (animus) is one thing, and in it is memory, and will, and intellect, and all these causes are incorporeal, and have a congruous portion of offices, nor yet does one impede the other. Somehow I think it can be answered, that both some punishments and some rewards accompany them in one substance collected from many souls.

6. Or if it is not so, what hinders if each soul, when it lacks this solid body, should have another body, so that the soul itself always animates some body; or to where does it make a transition, if there is any region to which necessity compels it to go? Since even the Angels (Angeli) themselves cannot be called many, if they are not numbered by bodies; as Truth itself says in the Gospel: "I could ask my Father that he should have sent me twelve legions of angels" (Matt. 26:53). Then since it is certain that Samuel was seen in a body, when he was excited at the petition of Saul (1 Sam. 28:14); and Moses, whose body was buried according to the Gospel, it is manifest that he came in a body to the Lord on the mountain (Matt. 17:3), when they had stood together. Although also in the apocrypha (apocryphis), and in the secrets of Moses himself, which scripture lacks authority, then when he ascended into the mountain that he might die, it was effected by the force of the body that there should be one thing which was committed to the earth, and another which was associated with the accompanying angel. But it does not press me enough to prefer the opinion of the apocrypha to those superior things defined. It must be seen therefore, and tracked down either by authority or by reason, what is sought. But it is said that the future resurrection (resurrectio) shows that it lacked every body. Nor does it hinder enough, since those Angels, who are also invisible, when they wished to appear and be seen with bodies, and whatever that position of bodies may be, worthy of their spirits, yet they appeared to Abraham (Gen. 18:2) and to Tobit (Tobit 12:15). Thus it can happen that the resurrection of this flesh, which is rightly believed to be future, yet that soul is so rendered, that it is found never to have lacked some body.

Cum enim ex quatuor elementis corpus ipsum constet, unum videtur amittere, calidum scilicet, cum e corpore isto migrare videatur. Nam remanet quod terrenum est, et liquor non deest; nec frigidae materiae elementum abest: solum illi eximitur calidum; quod forte secum ipse animus trahit, si de loco ad locum migrat. Hoc interim de corpore dixerim.

7. Videtur quoque mihi quod si in corpore positus, ut jam dixi, vegeto, strenua utitur mentis intentione, quanto magis expeditus, agilis, vegetus, fervens, strenuus, intentus erit, et capacior efficitur ac melior, ut in corpore positus gustaverit virtutem! Quo deposito magis quoque abstersa nube, totus serenus effectus est, in tranquillitate sine tentatione positus, videat quod desideraverit, amplexetur quod amavit. Recordetur quoque et amicorum, et quos jam praemiserat, agnoscat, et quos post se dimisit: forte sic est; ego nescio, discere quaero. Satis autem me perturbat, si soporem quemdam accipit animus ipse, ne talis sit, qualis cum dormit in corpore constitutus, quasi sepultus, et in spe tantum vivens: caeterum nihil habens, nihil sciens; maxime si somnio nullo pulsetur. Quae res vehementer terret, et quasi exstinctum indicat animum.

8. Illud etiam quaero, si corpus habere fuerit indagatus, utrum et aliquo sensu non careat? Certe si non odorandi necessitas ei, ut puto, ingeri potest, neque gustandi, sed nec tangendi: dubito remanere videndi et audiendi. Nam quid est quod audire dicuntur daemones, non in omnibus quos vexant, nam et in his quaestio est; sed etiam cum apparent in corporibus suis? De visu autem quomodo transeunt de loco in locum, si corpus habent, si sensu visibili duce carent? Putas non ita sunt animae humanae cum de corporibus egrediuntur, ut et corpus aliquod habeant, et sensu aliquo non carent? Quid est et illud, quod plerique mortui visi sunt in domibus ita ingredi, ut soliti sunt, aut per diem, aut per noctem a vigilantibus, ab ambulantibus? Non hoc semel audivi, et illud quod dicitur plerumque in qua dam particula noctis, in locis in quibus humata corpora sunt, et maxime in basilicis fieri tumultus et orationes. Non enim ab uno hoc audisse me memini; nam testis est visionis istius vir quidam sanctus presbyter, qui multitudinem talium de baptisterio exeuntium in corporibus lucidis, et postea in medio ipsius ecclesiae orationes adverterit. Haec ergo omnia aut illi nostrae inquisitioni favent, aut si fabulae sunt, mirum: tamen vellem aliquid ex hac re nosse, quia veniunt, et visitant, et videntur exceptis somniis.

For since the body itself consists of four elements, it seems to lose one, namely the hot, when it seems to migrate from this body. For that which is earthy remains, and moisture is not lacking; nor is the element of cold matter absent: only the hot is taken away from it; which perhaps the soul itself draws with it, if it migrates from place to place. This meanwhile I would have said concerning the body.

7. It also seems to me that if, while placed in the body, as I have already said, he lives and uses a strenuous intention of mind, how much more unpedited, agile, vigorous, fervent, strenuous, and intent will he be, and he is made more capable and better, as he who while placed in the body tasted virtue! Which being laid aside, the cloud also being more wiped away, he is made entirely serene, placed in tranquility without temptation, may he see what he desired, may he embrace what he loved. May he also remember his friends, and recognize those whom he had already sent before him, and those whom he left behind him: perhaps it is so; I do not know, I seek to learn. But it disturbs me enough if the soul itself receives a certain sleep (soporem), lest it be such as it is when it is constituted sleeping in the body, as if buried, and living only in hope: otherwise having nothing, knowing nothing; especially if it be pulsed by no dream. Which thing vehemently terrifies, and indicates the soul as if extinguished.

8. This also I ask, if it should be found to have a body, whether it also does not lack some sense? Certainly if the necessity of smelling cannot, as I think, be cast upon it, nor of tasting, nor even of touching: I doubt that seeing and hearing remain. For what is it that demons (daemones) are said to hear, not in all whom they vex, for also in these there is a question; but even when they appear in their own bodies? Moreover, concerning sight, how do they pass from place to place, if they have a body, if they lack a visible sense as guide? Do you think human souls are not so when they go out from their bodies, that they both have some body, and do not lack some sense? What is that also, that many dead persons have been seen to enter into houses as they were accustomed, either by day or by night, by those watching and walking? I have heard this more than once, and that which is said to happen mostly in a certain part of the night, in places in which bodies are buried, and especially in basilicas (basilicis), that tumults and prayers are made. For I do not remember to have heard this from one person; for a certain holy man, a priest (presbyter), is a witness of this vision, who noticed a multitude of such persons coming out of the baptistery (baptisterio) in shining bodies, and afterwards prayers in the middle of the church itself. All these things, therefore, either favor our inquiry, or if they are fables (fabulae), it is a wonder: yet I would wish to know something of this matter, because they come, and visit, and are seen, dreams excepted.

9. Ex quibus alia nascitur quaestio. Non enim modo phantasiam ego curo, quam sibi cor ineruditum fingit: visitationes loquor. Quomodo apparuit Joseph per somnium (Matth. I, 20), quomodo plerique visitati sunt. Sic ergo et nostri quos praemisimus aliquando veniunt, ipsi apparent per somnium, et loquuntur. Nam memini me ego ipse, et Profuturum, et Privatum, et Servilium, quos memini sanctos viros de monasterio praecessisse, locutos mihi, et ita factum fuisse ut dixerunt. Aut si aliquis spiritus melior est, qui eorum figuram assumit, et mentem visitat, viderit ille cui omnia nuda a summa cervice sunt. Si quid ergo de his omnibus tuae Sanctitati Dominus per rationem loqui dignabitur, rogo ut facere me digneris participem hujus scientiae. Praeterire autem et hoc nolui; forte enim pertinet ad inquisitionem meam.

10. Puer ipse de quo agitur, tempore quo solvebatur, exhibitus quodammodo pergit. Nam videtur per somnium condiscipulus et conlector ipsius, cum quo mihi excipiebat, qui jam ante octo menses corpore erat exemptus, venisse. Cum interrogaretur ab eo qui eum tunc cernebat, cur advenisset; ait ille, Ad amicum meum hunc ducendum veni: et ita factum est. Nam et in domo ipsa seni cuidam pene vigilanti, apparuit homo laurum portans in manu, scriptum. At ubi ille visus est, adjungitur adhuc quod post exitum pueri, pater ipsius presbyter cum sene Theasio in monasterio esse coeperant consolandi se gratia, sed post tertium diem pueri defuncti, videtur idem puer ad monasterium ingressus, et a quodam fratre per quoddam somnium interrogatur utrum sciret se fuisse mortuum? Dixit se scire. Utrum fuisset a Deo receptus? Et hoc secum magna retulit gratulatione. Cumque causa quaereretur cur advenisset, ait tunc ille: Missus sum ut exhibeam patrem meum. Evigilat cui haec ostendebantur, et narrat. Pervenit usque ad aurem episcopi Theasii. Qui permotus objurgavit dicentem, ne facile perveniret ad aurem presbyteri, et perturbaretur tali nuntio. Quid diu? Post dies forte quatuor visitationis cum loquitur, nam modicam senserat febriculam, periculum nullum erat, medicus aberat, qui penitus sollicitudinem nullam esse testaretur: at ubi se in lectum inclinavit, solutus est idem presbyter.

9. From which another question arises. For I do not now care for phantasy (phantasiam), which an unlearned heart fashions for itself: I speak of visitations. How Joseph appeared through a dream (Matt. 1:20), how many were visited. So therefore also our own whom we have sent before sometimes come, they themselves appear through a dream, and speak. For I remember myself, and Profuturus, and Privatus, and Servilius, whom I remember as holy men to have preceded from the monastery (monasterio), spoke to me, and it happened so as they said. Or if it is some better spirit (spiritus), who assumes their figure and visits the mind, he who has all things naked from the highest neck will have seen. If therefore the Lord shall deign to speak any of all these things to your Holiness (Sanctitati) through reason, I ask that you deign to make me a participant of this knowledge. Moreover, I was unwilling to pass over this also; for perhaps it pertains to my inquiry.

10. The boy himself of whom we are treating, at the time when he was being loosed, proceeded as if exhibited in some way. For a certain classmate and fellow-excerptor (conlector) of his, with whom he used to take dictation for me, who had already been taken from the body eight months before, is seen through a dream to have come. When he was asked by him who then discerned him why he had come, he said: "I have come to lead this friend of mine"; and so it was done. For also in that same house to a certain old man almost awake, a man appeared carrying in his hand a written laurel. But where that was seen, it is added still that after the exit of the boy, his father the priest (presbyter), together with the old man Theasius, had begun to be in the monastery (monasterio) for the sake of consoling themselves, but after the third day of the deceased boy, the same boy is seen to have entered the monastery, and he is asked by a certain brother through a certain dream whether he knew that he had been dead? He said he knew it. Whether he had been received by God? And this he related with great congratulation for himself. And when the cause was asked why he had come, he then said: "I am sent that I may fetch my father." He to whom these things were shown awakes and narrates them. It reaches even to the ear of the bishop Theasius. He, being moved, rebuked the one speaking, lest it should easily reach the ear of the priest and he be disturbed by such a message. Why more? After perhaps four days of the visitation, when he speaks, for he had felt a slight fever, there was no danger, the physician was away, who would testify that there was entirely no solicitude; but when he reclined himself on his bed, the same priest was loosed.

Nec taceo, et in hoc ipso die quo puer solvebatur, petit patrem ad pacem, et petit tertio, et in singulis osculis dicebat patri, Pater, dicamus Deo gratias; et patrem cogebat ut pariter secum dixisset, quasi communem exhortans ad migrandum ex hac vita. Nam inter utrosque septem dies medii numerantur. Quid fiet de tantis rebus? Quis erit occultarum istarum causarum fidelissimus magister? Aestus cordis mei refundit se tibi in tempore angustiae. Dispensatio exitus pueri, ejusque patris est manifesta, quia duo passeres non cadent ad terram sine voluntate Patris (Matth. X, 29).

11. Animam ergo omni corpore carere penitus non posse, illa res, ut puto, ostendit, quia Deus solus omni corpore semper caret. Post transitum autem animam, quam magis vigilantiorem fore arbitror, expositio tantae molis corporeae ostendit; tunc enim in actione et cognitione expedita tanto vinculo, ut puto, apparet praestantior, et omnis illa quies spiritualis, omnibus perturbationibus et erroribus liberam demonstrat, non marcidam, et quasi segnem, et torpidam, et implicatam facit: quippe cui sufficit perfrui etiam ipsa libertate quam adepta est, cum mundo et corpore caret; nam intellectum ea pasci, et ponere os spirituale ad fontem vitae prudenter dixisti, ubi est felix et beata proprietate mentis suae. Nam aliquando ego Servilium fratrem post ejus exitum per somnium vidi adhuc positus in monasterio, qui dixit quod nos per rationem laboremus tendere ad intellectum, se autem et tales in ipsa contemplationis delectatione manere.

12. Peto quoque ut quot modis sapientia dicatur, ostendas mihi; ut sapientia Deus, ut sapientia animus sapiens, quomodo dicitur ut lux, ut sapientia Beseleel qui fabricatus est Tabernaculum, vel unguentarium, ut sapientia Salomonis, vel si qua est alia, et quid invicem distent: et utrum una illa sapientia aeterna cum Patre in his gradibus intelligenda sit, quomodo diversa munera dicuntur Spiritus sancti qui dividit unicuique propria prout vult. An excepta illa sola sapientia quae facta non est, istae factae sunt, et propriam habent substantiam? an effecta sunt et ex definitione operis acceperunt? Multa requiro; det tibi Dominus et gratiam inveniendi, et sapientiam dictandi, et ad nos celeriter scribendi. Imperite et rustice scripsi: sed quia dignaris nosse quid quaeram, per Christum Dominum obsecro ut in his corrigas me, et doceas quod intelligis me scire cupere.

Epistola CLIX.

Augustinus Evodio, respondens ad quaestiones de anima soluta corpore, et de visis prodigiosis.

Nor do I keep silent, also on this very day on which the boy was being loosed, he asks his father for the peace, and asks a third time, and in each kiss he said to his father: "Father, let us give thanks to God"; and he compelled his father that he should have said it likewise with him, as if exhorting his companion to migrate from this life. For between both, seven days are numbered in the middle. What will come of such great things? Who will be the most faithful teacher of these hidden causes? The heat of my heart pours itself out to you in a time of distress. The dispensation of the exit of the boy and of his father is manifest, because "two sparrows do not fall to the ground without the will of the Father" (Matt. 10:29).

11. That the soul cannot entirely lack every body, that matter, as I think, shows, because God alone always lacks every body. Moreover, the exposition of such great corporeal mass shows that after the transition the soul, which I think will be more vigilant, then in action and cognition expedited from such a bond, appears as I think more excellent, and all that spiritual rest demonstrates it free from all perturbations and errors, it does not make it withered, and as if sluggish, and torpid, and implicated: for to it it suffices even to enjoy that very liberty which it has attained, when it lacks the world and the body; for you said prudently that it is fed by the intellect, and places its spiritual mouth to the fountain of life, where it is happy and blessed by the property of its own mind. For once I saw the brother Servilius after his exit through a dream, while still placed in the monastery, who said that we by reason labor to strive towards the intellect, but he and such as he remain in the very delight of contemplation.

12. I ask also that you show me in how many ways wisdom (sapientia) is spoken of; as God is wisdom, as a wise soul is wisdom, how it is spoken of as light, as the wisdom of Bezaleel who fabricated the Tabernacle or the ointment-vessel, as the wisdom of Solomon, or if there is any other, and what they differ among themselves: and whether that one eternal wisdom with the Father is to be understood in these grades, in the way the diverse gifts of the Holy Spirit (Spiritus sancti) are spoken of, who divides to each his own as he wills. Or, that one wisdom alone excepted which was not made, are these made, and have their own substance (substantiam)? Or are they effects and have received from the definition of the work? I require many things; may the Lord give you both the grace of finding, and the wisdom of dictating, and of writing to us quickly. I have written unskillfully and rustically: but because you deign to know what I seek, through Christ the Lord I beseech that you correct me in these things, and teach what you understand I desire to know.

Letter CLIX.

Augustine to Evodius, replying to questions concerning the soul loosed from the body, and concerning prodigious visions.

Domino beatissimo, et venerabili ac desiderabili fratri ac consacerdoti meo EVODIO, et tecum fratribus, AUGUSTINUS, et mecum fratres, in Domino salutem.

1. Frater iste nomine Barbarus, servus Dei est jam diu apud Hipponem constitutus, et verbi Dei fervidus ac studiosus auditor. Desideravit ad tuam Sanctitatem litteras nostras; in quibus tibi eum in Domino commendamus, tibique per eum salutem debitam dicimus. Litteris autem Sanctitatis tuae, quibus ingentes texuisti quaestiones, respondere operosissimum est, etiam otiosis, et multo majore quam nos sumus, praeditis facultate disserendi et acrimonia intelligendi. Duarum sane epistolarum tuarum, quibus multa et magna conquiris, una nescio quomodo aberravit, et diu quaesita non potuit reperiri: altera vero, quae inventa est, habet commendationem suavissimam servi Dei boni et casti adolescentis, quomodo ex hac vita migraverit, et quibus visionum fraternarum attestationibus meritum ejus vobis insinuari potuerit. Deinde ex hac occasione proponis et versas de anima obscurissimam quaestionem, utrum cum aliquo corpore egrediatur e corpore, quo possit ad corporalia loca ferri, vel locis corporalibus contineri. Hujus igitur rei tractatus, si tamen ad liquidum a talibus quales nos sumus, examinari potest, curam atque operam negotiosissimam postulat, ac per hoc mentem ab his occupationibus otiosissimam. Si autem breviter vis audire quid mihi videatur, nullo modo arbitror animam e corpore exire cum corpore.

2. Visiones autem illae, futurorumque praedictiones quomodo fiant, ille jam explicare conetur, qui novit qua vi efficiantur in unoquoque animo tanta, cum cogitat. Videmus enim, planeque cernimus in eo fieri rerum multarum visibilium, et ad caeteros corporis sensus pertinentium, innumerabiles imagines: quae non interest quam ordinate vel turbide fiant; sed tantum quia fiunt, quod manifestum est, qua vi et quomodo fiant quisquis potuerit explicare (quae omnia certe quotidiana sunt atque continua), audeat praesumere aliquid ac definire etiam de illis rarissimis visis. Ego autem tanto minus hoc audeo, quanto minus id quoque in nobis quod vita continua vigilantes dormientesque experimur, quo pacto fiat explicare sufficio. Non cum ad te dictarem hanc epistolam, teipsum animo contuebar, te utique absente atque nesciente, et quomodo possis his verbis moveri, secundum notitiam quae mihi de te inest, imaginabar; atque id quonam modo in animo meo fieret, capere ac investigare non poteram, certus tamen non fieri corporeis molibus, nec corporeis qualitatibus, cum corpori simillimum fieret: hoc interim habeas, ut ab occupato et festinante dictatum.

To my most blessed Lord, and venerable and desirable brother and fellow-priest EVODIUS, and to the brethren with you, AUGUSTINE, and the brethren with me, greeting in the Lord.

1. This brother named Barbarus, a servant of God, has already for a long time been established at Hippo, and is a fervent and studious hearer of the word of God. He desired our letters to your Holiness (Sanctitatem); in which we commend him to you in the Lord, and to you through him we say the due greeting. Moreover, to answer the letters of your Holiness, in which you have woven immense questions, is most laborious, even for those at leisure, and endowed with a much greater faculty of discussing and sharpness of understanding than we are. Of your two letters indeed, in which you search out many and great things, one I know not how has gone astray, and having been long sought could not be found: but the other, which was found, has the most sweet commendation of the servant of God, a good and chaste youth, how he migrated from this life, and by what attestations of fraternal visions his merit could be insinuated to you. Then from this occasion you propose and revolve a most obscure question concerning the soul (anima), whether it goes out from the body with some body, by which it can be carried to corporeal places, or be contained by corporeal places. Therefore the treatment of this matter, if yet it can be clearly examined by such as we are, demands most busy care and labor, and through this a mind most at leisure from these occupations. But if you wish to hear briefly what seems to me, in no way do I think that the soul goes out from the body with a body.

2. Moreover, how those visions and predictions of future things are made, let him now attempt to explain who knows by what force so many things are effected in each soul (animo) when it thinks. For we see, and plainly discern that in it are made innumerable images of many visible things, and of things pertaining to the other senses of the body: which it does not matter how orderly or turbidly they are made; but only because they are made, which is manifest, by what force and in what way they are made whoever shall have been able to explain (all which things are certainly daily and continuous), let him dare to presume something and define even concerning those most rare visions. I moreover so much the less dare this, as I am so much the less sufficient to explain in what way that which also in us we experience in continuous life, waking and sleeping, is done. When I was dictating this letter to you, I was beholding you yourself in my mind, you being at any rate absent and not knowing it, and how you could be moved by these words, according to the notice which is in me concerning you, I was imagining; and in what way that was made in my soul, I was not able to grasp and investigate, certain yet that it is not made by corporeal masses, nor by corporeal qualities, although it was made most like to a body: this meanwhile you may have, as dictated by one busy and hurrying.

In duodecimo autem libro eorum quos de Genesi scripsi, versatur haec quaestio vehementer, et ex multis rerum expertarum atque credibiliter auditarum exemplis disputatio illa silvescit. Quid in ea potuerimus vel effecerimus, cum legeris, judicabis; si tamen Dominus dignabitur donare ut eos mihi libros, quantum possum congruenter emendatos, jam liceat edere, et multorum fratrum exspectationem non jam longa disputatione suspendere.

3. Narrabo autem unum aliquid breviter unde cogites. Frater noster Gennadius, notissimus fere omnibus, nobisque charissimus medicus, qui nunc apud Carthaginem degit, et Romae suae artis exercitatione praepolluit, ut hominem religiosum nosti, atque erga pauperum curam impigra misericordia facillimoque animo benignissimum, dubitabat tamen aliquando, ut modo nobis retulit, cum adhuc esset adolescens, et in his eleemosynis ferventissimus, utrum esset ulla vita post mortem. Hujus igitur mentem et opera misericordiae quoniam Deus nullo modo desereret, apparuit illi in somnis conspicuus juvenis et dignus intendi, eique dixit: Sequere me. Quem dum sequeretur, venit ad quamdam civitatem, ubi audire coepit a dextera parte sonos suavissimae cantilenae, ultra solitam notamque suavitatem; tunc ille intento quidnam esset, ait hymnos esse beatorum atque sanctorum: sinistra autem parte quid se vidisse retulit, non satis memini. Evigilavit, et somnium fugit, tantumque de illo quantum de somnio cogitavit.

4. Alia vero nocte, ecce idem ipse juvenis eidem rursus apparuit, atque ab illo utrum cognosceretur interrogavit: respondit iste quod eum bene planeque cognosceret. Tunc ille quaesivit ubi se nosset. Nec memoriae defuit quid iste identidem responderet; totumque visum illud, hymnosque sanctorum ad quos audiendos eo duce venerat, qua recentissimos recordabatur facilitate narravit. Hic ille percontatus est utrumnam id quod narraverat, in somnis vidisset, an vigilans: respondit, in somnis. At ille, Bene, inquit, recolis: verum est, in somnis illa vidisti; sed etiam nunc in somnis te videre scias. Haec cum audisset iste, ita esse credidit, atque id responsione firmavit. Tunc qui hominem docebat, adjecit et ait: Ubi est modo corpus tuum? Ille respondit: In cubiculo meo. Scisne, inquit ille, in eodem corpusculo nunc illigatos esse, et clausos, et otiosos oculos tuos, nihilque illis oculis te videre? Respondit: Scio. Tunc ille: Qui sunt ergo, inquit, isti oculi quibus me vides? Ad hoc iste non inveniens quid responderet, obticuit.

Moreover, in the twelfth book of those which I wrote concerning Genesis (Genesi), this question is vehemently revolved, and from many examples of things experienced and credibly heard that disputation grows thick. What we have been able or effected in it, when you have read it, you will judge; if yet the Lord shall deign to grant that it may now be allowed to me to publish those books, corrected as congruously as I can, and not now to suspend the expectation of many brethren by a long disputation.

3. Moreover, I will narrate one thing briefly from which you may think. Our brother Gennadius, a physician very well known to almost all, and most dear to us, who now lives at Carthage, and excelled at Rome in the exercise of his art, as you know him to be a religious man, and most benign towards the care of the poor with unwearied mercy (misericordia) and a most easy mind, yet he sometimes doubted, as he just now related to us, when he was still a youth, and most fervent in these alms, whether there was any life after death. Therefore, since God would in no way desert his mind and works of mercy, there appeared to him in dreams a conspicuous youth and worthy to be attended to, and said to him: "Follow me." While he followed him, he came to a certain city, where he began to hear from the right side the sounds of a most sweet song, beyond accustomed and known sweetness; then he, intent on what it was, said they were hymns of the blessed and the holy: but on the left side what he related to have seen, I do not well remember. He awoke, and the dream fled, and he thought only so much of it as of a dream.

4. But on another night, behold that same youth appeared to him again, and asked of him whether he was recognized: he replied that he recognized him well and plainly. Then he asked where he had known him. Nor did memory fail what he replied likewise; and he narrated that whole vision, and the hymns of the saints to hear which he had come under his lead, with that facility with which he remembered most recent things. Here he inquired whether that which he had narrated, he had seen in dreams, or while awake: he replied, in dreams. But he said: "You recall well: it is true, you saw those things in dreams; but know that even now you see in dreams." When he had heard these things, he believed it to be so, and confirmed it by his response. Then he who was teaching the man added and said: "Where is your body now?" He replied: "In my bedroom." "Do you know," he said, "that in that same little body your eyes are now bound, and closed, and idle, and that you see nothing with those eyes?" He replied: "I know." Then he said: "What are therefore these eyes with which you see me?" To this he, not finding what he should reply, was silent.

Cui haesitanti, ille quod his interrogationibus docere moliebatur, aperuit; et continuo: Sicut, inquit, illi oculi carnis tuae utique in dormiente atque in lectulo jacente, nunc vacant, nec aliquid operantur, et tamen sunt isti quibus me intueris, et ista uteris visione; ita cum defunctus fueris, nihil agentibus oculis carnis tuae vita tibi inerit qua vivas, sensusque quo sentias. Cave jam deinceps ne dubites vitam manere post mortem. Ita sibi homo fidelis ablatam dicit hujus rei dubitationem: quo docente, nisi providentia et misericordia Dei?

5. Ista narratione dixerit aliquis tantae rei nos non solvisse, sed vinxisse quaestionem. Verumtamen cum his verbis credere, vel non credere, liberum cuique sit; seipsum quisque habet, quo se avocet ad profundissimam quaestionem. Et vigilat homo, et dormit homo quotidie, et cogitat homo: dicat unde fiant ista similia formis, similia qualitatibus, similia motibus corporum, nec tamen materie corporali; dicat si potest. Si autem non potest, quid se praecipitat de rarissimis aut inexpertis quasi definitam ferre sententiam, cum continua et quotidiana non solvat? Ego autem, quamvis quo modo fiant ista veluti corporea sine corpore, verbis prorsus explicare non possim; tamen sicut scio non ea corpore fieri, utinam sic scirem quo modo discernerentur quae videntur aliquando per spiritum, et per corpus videri putantur; quove modo distinguantur visa eorum quos error vel impietas plerumque deludit, quando visis piorum atque sanctorum similia pleraque narrantur! quorum exempla si commemorare voluissem, tempus mihi potius quam copia defuisset. In Domini misericordia vegeteris, domine beatissime, et venerabilis et desiderabilis frater.

Epistola CLX.

Evodius Augustino, movens quaestionem de ratione et Deo.

EVODIUS AUGUSTINO Episcopo, salutem.

1. Perfecta ratio illa est quae omnium rerum praestat scientiam, et maxime aeternarum rerum quae intellectu comprehenduntur: hanc aeternam esse, aeternam esse debuisse; aeternum illud esse quod nec coepit, nec mutatur, nec variatur, ipsa docet atque ostendit ratio: quam necesse est esse aeternam, non solum quod aeterna doceat et demonstret, sed multo magis quod ipsa aeternitas non potest esse sine ratione; quia, arbitror, non esset aeternitas, si ratio ipsa aeterna non fuisset. Deinde Deum esse, vel esse debuisse, nec aliter fieri debere quam ut Deus esset, ratio demonstrat.

To him hesitating, he opened what he was striving to teach by these interrogations; and immediately: "Just as," he said, "those eyes of your flesh are certainly now vacant in one sleeping and lying in a little bed, nor do they work anything, and yet these are they with which you behold me, and you use this vision; so when you shall have died, while the eyes of your flesh act nothing, life will be in you by which you live, and sense by which you perceive." Beware now henceforth lest you doubt that life remains after death." Thus the faithful man says the doubt of this matter was taken away from him: by whose teaching, if not by the providence (providentia) and mercy of God?

5. By that narration someone might say that we have not solved, but bound the question of such a great matter. Nevertheless, since to believe or not to believe these words is free to each one; each one has himself, by which he may call himself away to a most profound question. Both a man wakes, and a man sleeps daily, and a man thinks: let him say whence those things are made similar to forms, similar to qualities, similar to motions of bodies, and yet not of corporeal matter; let him say if he can. But if he cannot, why does he precipitate himself to bring as if a defined opinion concerning most rare or unexperienced things, when he does not solve continuous and daily ones? I moreover, although in what way those things are made as if corporeal without a body I cannot at all explain in words; yet as I know they are not made by a body, would that I so knew in what way those things are discerned which are seen sometimes through the spirit (spiritum), and are thought to be seen through the body; or in what way are distinguished the visions of those whom error or impiety for the most part deludes, when many things similar to the visions of the pious and the holy are narrated! Examples of which if I had wished to commemorate, time rather than abundance would have failed me. May you be strengthened in the mercy of the Lord, most blessed lord, and venerable and desirable brother.

Letter CLX.

Evodius to Augustine, moving a question concerning reason and God.

EVODIUS to Bishop AUGUSTINE, greeting.

1. That perfect reason (ratio) is that which provides the knowledge of all things, and especially of eternal things which are comprehended by the intellect: reason itself teaches and shows that this is eternal, and ought to have been eternal; that that is eternal which neither began, nor is changed, nor is varied: which reason must be eternal, not only because it teaches and demonstrates eternal things, but much more because eternity itself cannot be without reason; because, I think, there would be no eternity if reason itself had not been eternal. Then reason demonstrates that God is, or ought to have been, nor ought it to be otherwise than that God should be.

Quae utique sive essent qui hoc scirent, sive non essent, tamen cum aeternus sit Deus, dubitandum non est aeternam esse rationem quae Deum esse oportuisse intenderet, et ita ut illi se demonstraret esse coaeternam.

2. Sunt autem quaedam quae ratione coguntur ut sint, ut anterior sit ratio, et effectus posterior ejus rei quam futuram esse ostendit ratio: ut verbi gratia, cum mundus factus est, ratio habuit ut fieret mundus. Prior ergo ratio quam mundus est. Ea ergo quae scivit ratio futura esse, subsecuta sunt, ut sit princeps ratio, postea mundi operatio. Jam nunc quoniam ratio ostendit Deum esse, vel necesse esse ut Deus esset, quid cui praeponemus? rationem Deo, aut rationem mundo, an Deum rationi, sine qua Deum nullatenus esse probabile est? si enim Deum esse aeternum, est ratione esse aeternum, quae est ratio? Ergo aut Deus est, aut Dei est, ut ipsa docet ratio: quae si ipsa est Deus, ratio ostendit Deum esse rationem, et possunt ista coaeva et coaeterna esse. Si autem Dei est similitudo haec ratio, ostendit rationem Dei esse similiter: et hoc erit coaevum et coaeternum. Deum autem esse similiter fieri non posse, nisi esset Deus, ipsa ratio ostendit: quae ratio si auferatur, quod dictu nefas est, non erit Deus, si ratio non ostenderit necesse esse Deum. Tunc ergo Deus est, cum ejus ratio ostendit ut sit Deus. Deus ergo quia est: sine dubio est ratio quae docuit quia est.

3. Quid ergo est, si dici potest, in Deo primum, ratio, an Deus? Sed Deus non erit, nisi fuerit ratio quae doceat Deum esse debere. Ratio quoque non erit, nisi Deus erit. Nihil ergo ibi primum, et postremum. Natura ergo haec divina simul quodammodo habet et rationem et Deum. Unum autem unum generat, aut ratio Deum, aut Deus rationem. Subjectum autem, aut in subjecto forte dicatur ratio et Deus. Deus et ratio unus in uno. Bene autem Deus generat rationem: quia ratio Deum esse demonstrat. Intelligitur autem Deus a ratione ut Filius a Patre, et ratio a Deo, ut Pater a Filio. Nam et ipsa ratio cum Deo Deus est. Neque enim Deus aliquando sine ratione fuit, aut ratio sine Deo. Tunc enim Deus est si est ratio, et tunc Filius est si est Pater; ut si ratio auferatur, sicut dictum est, quod dici fas non est, ne ipse quidem Deus est: per ejus enim rationem est actus et operatio ut sit Deus. Rursus eadem dicamus. Si ratio non fuit, Deus non fuit; et si Deus non est, ratio non fuit. Ratio ergo et Deus sempiterna res: et Deus et ratio simili modo res sempiterna.

Which certainly whether there were those who knew this, or were not, yet since God is eternal, it is not to be doubted that reason is eternal which would intend that God ought to have been, and so that it should demonstrate itself to be coeternal (coaeternam) with him.

2. Moreover, there are certain things which are compelled by reason that they should be, so that reason is prior, and the effect is posterior to that thing which reason shows will be: as for the sake of example, when the world (mundus) was made, reason held that the world should be made. Prior therefore is reason than the world is. Those things therefore which reason knew would be, followed after, so that reason is the prince, afterwards the operation of the world. Now since reason shows that God is, or that it is necessary that God should be, what shall we prefer to what? Reason to God, or reason to the world, or God to reason, without which it is in no way probable that God should be? For if that God is eternal, is by reason being eternal, what is reason? Therefore either it is God, or it is of God, as reason itself teaches: which if it is God itself, reason shows that God is reason, and these can be coeval and coeternal. But if this reason is a likeness of God, it shows that the reason of God is likewise: and this will be coeval and coeternal. Moreover, reason itself shows that it cannot happen that God should be likewise, unless there were God: which reason if it be taken away, which is impious to say, God will not be, if reason should not show that God is necessary. Then therefore God is, when his reason shows that he be God. God therefore because he is: without doubt there is reason which taught because he is.

3. What therefore is, if it can be said, first in God, reason, or God? But God will not be, unless there were reason which should teach that God ought to be. Reason also will not be, unless God shall be. Nothing therefore is there first, and last. Therefore this divine nature in some way has both reason and God together. Moreover, one generates one, either reason God, or God reason. Moreover, subject, or in a subject perhaps reason and God may be said. God and reason, one in one. But well does God generate reason: because reason demonstrates that God is. Moreover, God is understood by reason as the Son (Filius) from the Father (Patre), and reason from God, as the Father from the Son. For also reason itself with God is God. For neither was God ever without reason, nor reason without God. For then he is God if there is reason, and then he is the Son if there is the Father; so that if reason be taken away, as it was said, which is not lawful to say, not even God himself is: for through his reason is the act and operation that he be God. Again let us say the same things. If reason was not, God was not; and if God is not, reason was not. Reason therefore and God are an everlasting thing: and God and reason in a similar way are an everlasting thing.

Connexio autem atque unitio rationis ad Deum, et Dei ad rationem, Patris ad Filium, Filii ad Patrem, principia sibi quodammodo et causas existendi praestant; quia alterum sine altero esse non potest. Deficitur in verbis, et quodcumque dicitur, ad hoc dicitur, ne sileatur. Utrum autem germen rationis Deum dicamus, an Dei germen rationem, quia nec fructus sine radice esse potest, nec sine fructu radix aliquid est? (Similitudo sit ducta, ut quiddam intelligentiae de Deo signetur; vivit enim et in grano tritici ratio fecundans, qua sterile non sinitur esse: sed iterum si granum tritici non esset, ex qua re ista produceret, ratio non haberet.)

4. Cum igitur ratio quae Deus est, aut ostendat Deum rationem, aut rationem esse Deum, unum quodam modo alterum ostendens; non ostenditur Pater nisi per Filium, nec Filius ostenditur nisi per Patrem; et tunc quasi in silentio sit Filius, quando per Patrem venitur ad Filium, ut unum quodam modo abscondatur, alterum demonstretur: ut demonstrans se unus, demonstret et alterum, nec possit unus sciri, ut lateat alter; quia «Qui me vidit,» inquit, «vidit et Patrem;» et, «Nemo venit ad Patrem, nisi per me» (Joan. XIV, 9, 6); et, «Nemo venit ad me, nisi quem Pater attraxerit» (Id. VI, 44). Arduum vehementerque difficile negotium inivimus, ut aliquid de Deo non intelligentes intelligeremus. Tamen quemadmodum omnia quae sunt, sine quadam specie non intelliguntur, et incognoscibilia sunt; sic multo magis sine Filio, hoc est, sine ratione incognitus est Deus. Quid enim? an aliquando sine ratione Pater alogus fuit? Quis hoc audeat dicere? Cognoscendum itaque ratione Deum unum ex uno, vel unum in uno simul unum esse: quia unus est Deus, cui necesse est illam inesse dilectionem quam semper habendam ipsa ratio docet, vel Deus praecipit dilectionem exhibendam esse.

EPISTOLA CLXI. Evodius Augustino, de eo quod scriptum est in epistola 137, ad Volusianum, «Si ratio quaeritur, non erit mirabile,» etc., quo dicto abuti eos posse ostendit, qui vellent corporeis oculis a Christo Deum videri, contra quam docuit Augustinus in epistola 92, ad Italicam.

Domino sancto, venerabiliter dilectissimo fratri et consacerdoti AUGUSTINO, et fratribus qui recum sunt, EVODIUS, et fratres qui mecum sunt, salutem in Domino.

1. Per Jobinum qui ad possessionem Marcianensem missus erat, dudum unam quaestionem de ratione et Deo missa epistola mea interrogavi; cujus adhuc responsum non merui.

Moreover, the connection and union of reason to God, and of God to reason, of the Father to the Son, of the Son to the Father, provide to themselves in some way principles and causes of existing; because the one cannot be without the other. Words fail, and whatever is said, is said to this end, lest there be silence. Whether moreover shall we call God the germ of reason, or reason the germ of God, because neither can the fruit be without the root, nor without the fruit is the root anything? (Let a likeness be drawn, so that something of understanding concerning God may be signified; for there lives also in a grain of wheat a fecundating reason, by which it is not permitted to be sterile: but again if the grain of wheat were not, from what thing it should produce these, reason would not have.)

4. Since therefore reason (ratio) which is God, either shows God to be reason, or reason to be God, one in some way showing the other; the Father (Pater) is not shown except through the Son (Filium), nor is the Son shown except through the Father; and then the Son is as if in silence, when through the Father one comes to the Son, so that one is in some way hidden, the other demonstrated: so that one demonstrating himself, demonstrates also the other, nor can one be known so that the other remains hidden; because he says: "He who sees me, sees also the Father" (John 14:9); and: "No one comes to the Father, except through me" (John 14:6); and: "No one comes to me, except him whom the Father has drawn" (John 6:44). We have entered upon an arduous and vehemently difficult business, that not understanding something concerning God, we might understand. Yet just as all things which are, are not understood without a certain species, and are incognizable; so much more without the Son, that is, without reason, God is unknown. For what? Was the Father at any time "alogos" (without reason)? Who would dare to say this? Therefore God is to be known by reason as one from one, or one in one together being one: because God is one, in whom it is necessary that that love (dilectionem) should be in him which reason itself teaches ought always to be had, or God commands that love is to be exhibited.

LETTER CLXI. Evodius to Augustine, concerning that which was written in Letter 137, to Volusianus: "If reason is sought, it will not be wonderful," etc., by which saying he shows they could abuse it, who would wish that God be seen with corporeal eyes by Christ, contrary to what Augustine taught in Letter 92, to Italica.

To his holy Lord, venerably most beloved brother and fellow-priest AUGUSTINE, and to the brethren who are with you, EVODIUS, and the brethren who are with me, greeting in the Lord.

1. Through Jobinus who had been sent to the Marcianensian estate, I recently asked one question concerning reason and God by my sent letter; the response to which I have not yet merited.

Sed quia epistolas Sanctitatis tuae, unam ad illustrem virum Volusianum, et alteram ad Italicam illustrem in Christo feminam, in manibus legentes habuimus; occurrit quod in priore epistola de Domini Jesu Christi Dei nostri carnali in Virgine conceptione, et ex ea nativitate posuisti, «Si ratio quaeritur, non erit mirabile; si exemplum poscitur, non erit singulare:» et visum est posse de omni nativitate, et hominis vel cujuslibet animantis vel seminis tale aliquid dici. Si ratio enim ejus quaeratur, non indagabitur, et utique erit mirabile; et si exemplum poscatur, quia nihil tale sit in exemplis, erit singulare. Neque enim quis conventus viri et feminae, vel cujuslibet conceptionis aliquando, quod in secreto formatur, ratione poterit exponi: aut vero seminum ex terra nascentium, primitus putrescentium, postea fructificantium ulla ratio invenietur. Non enim et hoc mirabile non est vermem unum sine ullo parente, si ad singularitatem aliquid requiratur, intra pomum virgineo conceptu formatum, perfectum inveniri: unde ad exemplum arbitror dictum, «Ego vermis, et non homo» (Psal. XXI, 7). De conceptionibus ergo sive conjunctorum, sive singularium, nescio quaenam possit ratio exhiberi. Non ergo de conceptione Virginis tantum non redditur, sed de nulla quidem arbitror conceptione posse persolvi rationem.

2. Si exemplum poscitur: ecce et de vento dicuntur equae, et de cinere gallinae, et de aqua anates, et alia nonnulla animalia, sine virili semine, fetus proprios edere. Certe si integrae non reddunt, tamen possunt illibatae concipere: quomodo ergo ponitur, «Si exemplum poscitur, non erit singulare,» quando tot exempla procedunt? Nasci etiam in corporibus, non solum femineis, verum etiam virorum, intrinsecus dico, quaedam animalia, notum est omnibus: numquid et ibi semen facit conceptionem? Ecce exempla, ecce miracles, de quibus ratio nullatenus redditur. Aut si ad hoc redditur, quia in virgine homine nihil tale unquam contingit; tamen sunt exempla in aliis rerum naturis, quia nata et sine seminibus concipiuntur, ex quibus penitus ratio reddi nequaquam potest. Tamen et in generatione est aliquid tale invenire quod sic edat partus, ut integritas naturae non violetur. Soleo enim audire quod aranea sine ulla virili conceptione et partus corruptione, illa omnia fila ex quibus tentis haerere solet, secundum naturae suae modum proferat mirabiliter, et sibi tantum quasi singulari praestitum esse demonstret.

But because we have had in our hands reading the letters of your Holiness (Sanctitatis), one to the illustrious man Volusianus, and another to Italica, an illustrious woman in Christ; it occurred that in the former letter concerning the carnal conception of the Lord Jesus Christ our God in the Virgin, and the birth from her, you placed: "If reason is sought, it will not be wonderful; if an example is asked, it will not be singular:" and it seemed that something such could be said concerning every birth, both of a man or of any living creature or seed. For if the reason of it be sought, it will not be tracked down, and certainly it will be wonderful; and if an example be asked, because nothing such is in examples, it will be singular. For neither will the meeting of a man and a woman, or of any conception at any time, which is formed in secret, be able to be explained by reason: or truly will any reason be found of seeds being born from the earth, first rotting, afterwards fructifying. For is this not also wonderful, that one worm without any parent, if something be required for singularity, should be found perfect within an apple formed by a virginal (virgineo) conception: whence I think it was said for an example: "I am a worm, and no man" (Ps. 21:7). Concerning conceptions therefore, whether of those joined together, or of singular ones, I know not what reason can be exhibited. Therefore not concerning the conception of the Virgin only is it not rendered, but I think that of no conception can the reason be paid.

2. If an example is asked: behold, even mares are said to bring forth from the wind, and hens from ashes, and ducks from water, and some other animals, to bring forth their own offspring without male seed. Certainly if they do not render them whole, yet they can conceive unviolated: how therefore is it placed, "If an example is asked, it will not be singular," when so many examples proceed? It is known to all that also in bodies, not only of females, but even of males, I say intrinsically, certain animals are born: does seed make the conception there also? Behold examples, behold miracles, of which reason is in no way rendered. Or if it is rendered to this, because in a human virgin nothing such ever happens; yet there are examples in other natures of things, because things born are also conceived without seeds, of which entirely a reason can in no way be rendered. Yet also in generation there is something such to find which so brings forth births, that the integrity of nature is not violated. For I am accustomed to hear that the spider, without any male conception and corruption of birth, brings forth all those threads by which, being stretched out, it is accustomed to hang, according to the mode of its nature, wonderfully, and demonstrates it to have been granted to itself only as if singularly.

Ergo si et hoc quaeratur, non tantum mirabile est, sed exempla talia rerum dari nullatenus possunt. Metuo enim ne ob hoc ipsa praecesserint in exemplis, ut qui non credidissent virginem concipere posse, his exemplis convincerentur esse quidem mirabile, sed tamen non erit singulare: nam omnia Dei opera mirabilia; quia in sapientia facta sunt. Si ergo hoc nobis objiciatur, quid respondebimus?

3. Illud etiam me urget vehementissime, quod sic potest dici de corporis ipsius Domini clarificati substantia, quia et ipsa poterit videre Dei substantiam (aisti enim in epistola ad Italicam non posse; et certum est): ut cum rationem reddere coeperimus quia non potest, hoc nobis objiciatur, quia si quod illa conceptione et nativitate factum est, mirabile est et singulare, nec ratio quam volunt, nec exemplum redditur, quia unico hoc praestitum est: quemadmodum eis ratio non redditur de conceptione et generatione, sed in illo solo invenitur singulare; sic de ejus visione ratio non reddatur, nec exemplum requiratur, sed soli illi singulariter licere divinitatis substantiam corpore videre. Si respondebitur rationem posse reddi, quia corporea re incorpoream rem nequaquam cernere liceat; metuo ne respondeatur quia et conceptio illa ratione exponi, et exemplis possit firmari. Aut enim in hominibus ratio deficiet, et exempla cessabunt, et confirmabunt corpore suo Unigenitum videre posse Deum: aut si ratio hic reddita fuerit, consequetur rationem reddi posse ab aliquibus nimis sapientibus viris, et illius conceptionis, et consequentis generationis. Quid ergo talibus respondeatur, percunctor. Non enim certamina semino, sed quemadmodum insidiosis respondeatur interrogo. Ego tamen sic credo Virginis conceptionem et partum, quomodo semper credidi: et corpore quoque clarificato Deum videri non posse, utcumque ratione colligo. Obviandum tamen censeo hominibus qui aut seditiones ex quaestionibus solent excitare, aut ferventi studio ad discendum evigilare. Ora pro nobis. Pax et Charitas Christi Sanctitatem tuam nostri memorem perficiat, domine sancte, venerabiliterque beatissime frater.

EPISTOLA CLXII.

Augustinus Evodio respondet solutionem quaestionis in epistola 160 propositae petendum esse ex aliis opusculis a se editis. Confirmat opinionem quam in epistola 159 tetigerat de anima corpore soluta, deque visis prodigiosis. Postremo vindicat sententiam illam in praemissa proxime epistola reprehensam: «Si ratio quaeritur, non erit mirabile,» etc.

Therefore if this also be sought, it is not only wonderful, but such examples of things can in no way be given. For I fear lest for this cause they themselves have preceded in examples, so that they who would not have believed that a virgin could conceive, might be convinced by these examples that it is indeed wonderful, but yet it will not be singular: for all the works of God are wonderful, because they were made in wisdom. If therefore this be objected to us, what shall we reply?

That also presses me most vehemently, which can be so said of the substance (substantia) of the clarified body of the Lord himself, because even it will be able to see the substance of God (for you said in the letter to Italica that it cannot; and it is certain): so that when we shall have begun to render a reason why it cannot, this be objected to us, because if that which was done by that conception and birth is wonderful and singular, neither the reason which they wish, nor an example is rendered, because it was granted to this one alone: just as a reason is not rendered to them concerning the conception and generation, but in that alone is found the singular; so concerning his vision a reason should not be rendered, nor an example be required, but to him alone singularly is it allowed to see the substance of the divinity with a body. If it shall be replied that a reason can be rendered, because it may in no way be allowed for a corporeal thing to discern an incorporeal thing; I fear lest it be replied that even that conception can be explained by reason and be confirmed by examples. For either in men reason will fail, and examples will cease, and they will confirm that the Only-begotten (Unigenitum) can see God with his body: or if reason shall have been rendered here, it will follow that a reason can be rendered by some men too wise, both of that conception and of the consequent generation. What therefore should be replied to such, I inquire. For I do not sow strifes, but I ask how it should be replied to the insidious. I nevertheless so believe the conception and birth of the Virgin as I have always believed: and also that God cannot be seen by a clarified body, I gather somehow by reason. Yet I judge that those men should be met who either are accustomed to excite seditions from questions, or to wake up with fervent study to learning. Pray for us. May the peace and Charity of Christ make your Holiness perfect, mindful of us, holy lord and venerably most blessed brother.

LETTER CLXII.

Augustine replies to Evodius that the solution of the question proposed in Letter 160 is to be sought from other treatises published by himself. He confirms the opinion which he had touched upon in Letter 159 concerning the soul loosed from the body, and concerning prodigious visions. Finally, he vindicates that sentence censured in the next preceding letter: "If reason is sought, it will not be wonderful," etc.

Domino beatissimo, et venerabili fratri et coepiscopo sancto EVODIO, et tecum fratribus, AUGUSTINUS, et mecum fratres, in Domino salutem.

1. Multa quaeris ab homine multum occupato; et, quod est gravius, ea putas praecipitari debere dictando, quae sunt tam difficilia, ut cum magna diligentia dictata vel scripta, vix perduci possint ad intellectum etiam talium qualis ipse es. Huc accedit quia non tu et tales tantummodo cogitandi estis lecturi esse quod scribimus; sed utique et illi qui minus acuto minusque exercitato ingenio praediti, eo tamen studio feruntur ad cognoscendas litteras nostras, sive amico, sive inimico animo, ut eis subtrahi omnino non possint. Ista cogitanti cernis quanta cura in scribendo esse debeat, praesertim de rebus ita magnis, ut in eis et magni laborent. Si autem cum aliquid in manibus habeo, intermittendum est et differendum, ut ad ea potius respondeatur quae supervenientia requiruntur; quid fiet si etiam ipsis dum respondetur, alia supervenerint? Num placet ut etiam his omissis illa suscipiantur, et semper priora fiant quae posteriora oboriuntur, eaque sola terminare contingat, quibus cum scribuntur non supervenerit aliquid quod quaeratur? Quod ut mihi accidat difficillimum est; sed non opinor tibi hoc placere. Non ergo debui alia interrumpere cum tua supervenissent, sicut nec tua, si alia rursus irruerint; et tamen servare hanc justitiam non sinor. Nam ecce ut tibi haec ipsa rescriberem, quibus id admonerem, intermisi quae agebam, et animum meum ad hanc epistolam ab alia magna intentione detorsi.

2. Facile autem fuit hanc excusationem, ut arbitror, non iniquam, litteris inditam tibi remittere; respondere autem inquisitionibus tuis non ita facile est: et puto in ipsis opusculis quae me nunc intentissimum detinent, non defutura quaedam loca, ubi haec ipsa expediam quae requiris, si Dominus faverit. Jam etiam ex iis quaestionibus quas modo misisti, multa soluta sunt in eis libris quos nondum edidi, sive de Trinitate, sive de Genesi.

To his most blessed Lord, and venerable brother and holy fellow-bishop EVODIUS, and to the brethren with you, AUGUSTINE, and the brethren with me, greeting in the Lord.

1. You ask many things from a man very much occupied; and, what is more serious, you think those things ought to be precipitated by dictating, which are so difficult that when dictated or written with great diligence, they can hardly be brought to the understanding even of such as you yourself are. To this is added that not only you and such as you are to be thought of as going to read what we write; but certainly also those who, endowed with less acute and less exercised genius, are yet carried by such study to know our letters, whether with a friendly or unfriendly mind, that they cannot be withdrawn from them at all. To one thinking these things you see how much care there ought to be in writing, especially concerning matters so great that even great men labor in them. But if, when I have something in my hands, it must be intermitted and deferred, that response may rather be made to those things which are required supervening; what will happen if, while response is being made even to them, others supervene? Does it please you that even these being omitted those should be taken up, and always those should be made prior which arise posterior, and it should happen to terminate those alone while they are being written something should not supervene which is sought? Which that it should happen to me is most difficult; but I do not think this pleases you. I ought not therefore to have interrupted other things when yours had supervened, just as nor yours if others again should rush in; and yet I am not permitted to preserve this justice. For behold, that I might rewrite these very things to you, by which I might admonish you of this, I intermitted what I was doing, and turned my mind to this letter from another great intention.

2. Moreover, it was easy to send back to you this excuse, not unjust as I think, put into letters; but to answer your inquiries is not so easy: and I think in those very treatises which now hold me most intent, there will not be lacking certain places where I may expedite these very things which you require, if the Lord shall favor. Already even from those questions which you just now sent, many are solved in those books which I have not yet published, whether concerning the Trinity (Trinitate), or concerning Genesis (Genesi).

Quanquam et illa si relegas quae tibi jamduu nota sunt, vel, nisi fallor, fuerunt, quia ea fortasse oblitus es quae te conferente mecum ac sermocinante conscripsi, sive de Animae Quantitate, sive de Libero Arbitrio; invenies unde dissolvas, etiam sine mea opera, dubitationes tuas, adhibito scilicet nonnullo labore cogitationis, ut iis quae ibi ad intellectum liquidum certumque perducta sunt, consequentia nectantur. Habes etiam librum de Vera Religione, quem si recoleres atque perspiceres, nunquam tibi videretur, ratione cogi Deum esse, vel ratiocinando effici Deum esse debere. Quandoquidem in ratione numerorum, quam certe in usu quotidiano habemus, si dicimus, Septem et tria decem esse debent, minus considerate loquimur; non enim decem esse debent, sed decem sunt. De quibus itaque rebus recte dicatur quod esse debeant, sive jam sint, sive ut sint, satis quantum arbitror disputavimus in eis libris quos commemoravi. Homo enim sapiens esse debet, si est, ut maneat; si nondum est, ut fiat: Deus autem sapiens non esse debet, sed est.

3. Illa quoque de visis, quae tibi nuperrime scripsi, et ea commemoras subtiliter dicta, sed majoribus te quaestionibus implicasse, recense etiam atque etiam, et cogita diligentius, nec pertranseat, sed habitet in eis consideratio tua; et inde fortasse utcumque conjicies quomodo sit anima praesens vel absens. In eis quippe visis demoratur in somnis, cum abest a sensu praesentiaque cernendi quam praebet oculis, vigilans: hanc autem ab oculis, hoc est tanquam a luminaribus corporis animae absentiam, quae fit cum dormimus, si vis major augeat, ut totum quod est inde subtrahatur, mors est. Sicut ergo a cernendi sensu ad visa somniorum, non cum aliquo corpore abscedit, nisi forte illa quae videntur in somnis corporea, nosque ipsos inter illa, hac atque illac ferri ac referri cum aliquo corpore existimabimus; quod jam tibi arbitror non videri: ita si tota penitus abstrahatur atque absit, quod fit in morte, non secum putanda est auferre aliquod corpus ex corpore. Nam si auferret, profecto etiam cum dormimus et abscedit ab oculis, in quantum eos relinquit, in tantum oculos secum auferret, quamlibet subtiliores, corporeos tamen; quod non facit. Verumtamen aufert secum quosdam simillimos, sed non corporeos, quibus visa simillima cernit in somnis, sed nec ipsa corporea.

Although if you re-read those things which have for a long time been known to you, or, unless I am deceived, were, because perhaps you have forgotten those things which I composed while you were conferring and conversing with me, whether concerning the Quantity of the Soul (Animae Quantitate), or concerning Free Will (Libero Arbitrio); you will find whence you may dissolve, even without my work, your doubts, some labor of thought being applied, namely, so that consequences may be woven to those things which were there brought to a clear and certain understanding. You have also the book concerning True Religion (Vera Religione), which if you should recall and perceive, it would never seem to you that God is compelled by reason to be, or that it is effected by reasoning that God ought to be. Since in the ratio of numbers, which certainly we have in daily use, if we say: "Seven and three ought to be ten," we speak less considerately; for they ought not to be ten, but they are ten. Concerning which things therefore it may rightly be said that they ought to be, whether they now are, or that they may be, we have sufficiently discussed as much as I think in those books which I commemorated. For a man ought to be wise, if he is, that he may remain; if he is not yet, that he may become: but God ought not to be wise, but is.

3. Also those things concerning visions, which I wrote to you very recently, and which you mention were subtly expressed but have entangled you in greater questions, review again and again, and consider more diligently; let your consideration not merely pass through them, but dwell in them; and from there perhaps you will somehow conjecture how the soul is present or absent. For in those visions it lingers during dreams, when it is absent from the sense and the presence of perceiving which it provides to the eyes while awake: moreover, if a greater power should increase this absence from the eyes—that is, as if from the lights of the body—which occurs when we sleep, so that all that is there is withdrawn, it is death. Just as, therefore, it departs from the sense of perceiving to the visions of dreams without any body, unless perhaps we think that those things seen in dreams are corporeal, and that we ourselves are carried and brought back among them with some body; which I think no longer seems so to you: so if it should be entirely withdrawn and absent, which happens in death, it must not be thought to take away some body from the body with itself. For if it did take one away, surely even when we sleep and it departs from the eyes, in as much as it leaves them, it would take the eyes away with it—however much more subtle, yet still corporeal; which it does not do. Nevertheless, it takes away with itself certain things most similar, but not corporeal, by which it perceives most similar visions in dreams, but not corporeal ones themselves.

4. Porro si aliquis contendat etiam visa somniorum quae similia corporibus apparent, non esse nisi corporea, videtur sibi aliquid dicere, nec ista ingenii tarditas facile convincitur; multorum quippe est etiam non mediocriter acutorum: quoniam parum attendunt quantum valeant imagines corporum, quae fiunt in spiritu, nec omnino sunt corpora. Cum vero eas coguntur intueri, si recte adverterint, atque compererint non eas esse corporeas, sed corporum simillimas, rationem tamen de his non continuo valent reddere, quibus causis et quemadmodum fiant, qua denique natura sua subsistant, vel in quo subjecto sint: utrum ita in animo fiant ut in membrana ex atramento litterae, ubi utraque substantia est, membrana scilicet et atramentum; an sicut sigillum in cera, vel figura quaelibet cui cera subjectum est, illa in subjecto; an utroque modo fiant ista in spiritu nostro, aliquando sic, aliquando autem sic.

5. Movent enim non solum ea quae absunt a sensibus corporis, et in nostra reperiuntur memoria, vel quae nos ipsi ut libitum est, facimus, disponimus, augemus, minuimus, situ, habitu, motu, innumerabilibus qualitatibus formisque variamus. Talia sunt fortassis etiam illa quibus deludimur dormientes, quando non divinitus admonemur; nisi quod haec volentes agimus, illa praeter arbitrium patimur. Non solum haec movent quae in animo de ipso animo fieri non absurde quis putat (quamvis et hoc causis occultioribus, quibus agitur ut istud potius quam illud in conspectum animi veniat); sed etiam quod ait propheta, Et dixit mihi Angelus qui loquebatur in me (Zach. I, 9). Neque enim forinsecus voces ad aures corporeas Prophetae venisse credendum est, cum dicit, qui loquebatur in me, non, Ad me. Utrum voces erant de spiritu factae, corporalibus similes, quales agimus cum apud nos taciti multa memoriter, plerumque etiam cantando transcurrimus, sed tamen editae ab Angelo sibi suggerente? Et quod in Evangelio scriptum est, Ecce Angelus Dei apparuit illi in somnis dicens (Matth. I, 20): Quomodo enim apparuerit, vel corpus angelicum oculis clausis (Abrahae quippe vigilanti sic apparuerunt, ut eos etiam, cum pedes lavit eis [Gen. XVIII, 4], contrectando sentiret)? vel spiritus spiritui dormientis in specie aliqua simili corpori, sicut nos ipsi nobis videmur tali figura etiam per loca moveri somniantes, longe aliter quam membra in stratis jacentia moventur.

6. Haec ideo mira sunt, quia occultiorem habent rationem, quam ut videri vel reddi ab homine homini possit. Nam istae causae sunt admirationis, cum vel ratio cujusque rei latet, vel eadem res usitata non est, quod aut singularis aut rara est.

4. Furthermore, if anyone should contend that even the visions of dreams which appear similar to bodies are nothing but corporeal, he seems to himself to be saying something, nor is that slowness of wit easily refuted; for indeed it belongs to many who are even not moderately sharp: because they attend too little to how much the images of bodies can do, which are formed in the spirit and are not bodies at all. But when they are compelled to gaze upon them, if they have correctly observed and discovered that they are not corporeal but most similar to bodies, they are nevertheless not immediately able to give a reason concerning these, by what causes and in what manner they are formed, or finally by what nature of their own they subsist, or in what subject they are: whether they are formed in the mind as letters from ink on parchment, where each is a substance—namely, the parchment and the ink; or like a seal in wax, or any figure for which the wax is the subject, that thing being in the subject; or whether these things are formed in our spirit in both ways, sometimes in this way, and at other times in that way.

5. For not only are those things moved which are absent from the senses of the body and are found in our memory, or which we ourselves—as it pleases us—create, arrange, increase, diminish, and vary in position, appearance, motion, and in innumerable qualities and forms. Such things perhaps are even those by which we are deluded while sleeping, when we are not divinely admonished; except that we do these things willingly, whereas we suffer those things beyond our choice. Not only do these move, which someone might not absurdly think happen in the mind from the mind itself (although this too occurs through more hidden causes, by which it is brought about that this rather than that comes into the sight of the mind); but also what the prophet says: *And the Angel who spoke in me said to me* (Zech. 1:9). For it is not to be believed that voices came from without to the corporeal ears of the Prophet, when he says, *who spoke in me*, not, *to me*. Were they voices produced from the spirit, similar to corporeal ones, such as we produce when, silent within ourselves, we run through many things from memory, often even singing, yet issued by the Angel suggesting them to him? And what is written in the Gospel: *Behold, the Angel of the Lord appeared to him in a dream, saying* (Matt. 1:20): For how did he appear? Was it an angelic body to closed eyes (for to Abraham while awake they appeared in such a way that he even felt them by touching, when he washed their feet [Gen. 18:4])? Or was it spirit to the spirit of the sleeper in some appearance similar to a body, just as we ourselves seem to move in such a figure even through places while dreaming, far differently than the limbs lying on the beds are moved?

6. These things are therefore wondrous because they have a reason more hidden than can be seen or rendered by man to man. For those are the causes of admiration, when either the reason for each thing is hidden, or the thing itself is not customary because it is either singular or rare.

Ex illa ergo causa latentis rationis, ego dixi in epistola quam te legisse commemoras (Epist. 137, ad Volusianum), cum eis responderem qui negant esse credendum, quod Christum virgo pepererit, virgo permanserit, Si ratio quaeritur, non erit mirabile: hoc enim dictum est, non quod ratione res careat, sed quod eos lateat quibus hoc Deus voluit esse mirabile. Ex alia vero admirationis causa, quae ideo est, quia insolitum aliquid occurrit, scriptum est de Domino quod miratus sit Centurionis fidem; neque enim eum rei ullius ratio potuit latere, sed admiratio pro laude posita est ejus cujus par in populo Hebraeo non apparuerat: unde ipsa admiratio satis exposita est, cum Dominus ait, Amen dico vobis, non inveni tantam fidem in Israel (Luc. VII, 9).

7. Quod autem adjeci in eadem epistola, Si exemplum poscitur, non erit singulare; frustra tibi visus es velut exempla invenisse de vermiculo qui in pomo nascitur, et aranea quae filum textrinae suae corpore velut integro parit. Dicuntur enim aliqua argute cujusdam similitudinis gratia, alia remotius, alia congruentius; sed solus Christus natus est ex virgine: unde jam intelligis, quantum existimo, cur hoc esse dixerim sine exemplo. Habent itaque omnia causas suas atque rationes rectas et inculpabiles, quae Deus vel usitata vel inusitata operatur. Sed hae causae atque rationes cum latent, miramur quae fiunt; cum autem patent, consequenter ea vel convenienter fieri dicimus; nec mirandum esse, quia facta sunt, quae ratio exigebat ut fierent. Aut, si miramur, non inopinata stupendo, sed excellentia laudando miramur: quo genere admirationis Centurio ille laudatus est. Nec ideo reprehendenda est sententia qua dictum est, Si ratio quaeritur, non erit mirabile; quoniam est aliud genus admirationis, etiam cum ratio manifesta est admiranti: neque enim propterea culpatur sententia qua dictum est, Deus neminem tentat (Jacobi I, 13), quoniam est aliud genus tentationis, propter quod recte itidem dictum est, Tentat vos Dominus Deus vester (Deut. XIII, 3).

8. Nec quisquam existimet ideo merito posse dici corporeis oculis a Filio Patrem videri, ac non potius sicut a Patre Filium, quia illi qui hoc putant, cum in reddenda ratione defecerint, possunt et ipsi dicere, Si ratio quaeritur, non erit mirabile: hoc enim dictum est, non quia non est ratio, sed quia latet. Illius autem non miraculi, sed erroris, demonstrare debet nullam esse rationem, quisquis id opinantes refellere aggreditur.

For that cause of hidden reason, I said in the letter which you mention you have read (Letter 137, to Volusianus), when I was answering those who deny that it is to be believed that a virgin gave birth to Christ and remained a virgin: *If a reason is sought, it will not be wonderful*; for this was said not because the thing lacks a reason, but because it is hidden from those for whom God wished this to be wonderful. From another cause of admiration, indeed, which is because something unusual occurs, it is written of the Lord that he wondered at the Centurion's faith; for no reason of any thing could be hidden from him, but his wonder was put for the praise of one whose equal had not appeared among the Hebrew people: hence the wonder itself was sufficiently explained when the Lord said, *Amen I say to you, I have not found such great faith in Israel* (Luke 7:9).

7. But what I added in the same letter, *If an example is sought, it will not be singular*; in vain you seemed to yourself to have found examples in the little worm which is born in an apple, and the spider which brings forth the thread of its weaving with its body as if intact. For some things are said wittily for the sake of a certain similarity, others more remotely, others more fittingly; but Christ alone was born of a virgin: from which you already understand, as I think, why I said this was without example. Thus all things have their causes and their right and blameless reasons, which God works whether customary or uncustomary. But when these causes and reasons are hidden, we wonder at what is done; but when they are open, we consequently say that they are done appropriately or fittingly; and that it is not to be wondered at that those things were done which reason required should be done. Or, if we wonder, we wonder not by being stunned at the unexpected, but by praising the excellence: in which kind of admiration that Centurion was praised. Nor is the sentence to be rebuked in which it was said, *If a reason is sought, it will not be wonderful*; since there is another kind of wonder, even when the reason is manifest to the one wondering: for neither is the sentence blamed in which it was said, *God tempts no one* (James 1:13), because there is another kind of temptation, on account of which it was likewise rightly said, *The Lord your God tempts you* (Deut. 13:3).

8. Nor let anyone think it can deservedly be said that the Father is seen by the Son with bodily eyes, and not rather as the Son by the Father, because those who think this, when they have failed in rendering a reason, can themselves say, *If a reason is sought, it will not be wonderful*; for this was said, not because there is no reason, but because it is hidden. But he who undertakes to refute those holding such opinions ought to demonstrate that there is no reason for that—not a miracle, but an error.

Sicut enim nulla ratio est qua Dei natura moriatur, aut corrumpatur, aut peccet; et cum hoc Deum non posse dicimus, non derogamus potestati ejus, sed aeternitatem veritatemque laudamus: ita cum dicimus non posse videri oculis corporeis, non latet, sed patet ratio bene intelligentibus, qua perspicuum est Deum corpus non esse, nec aliquid corporeis oculis cerni posse, nisi quod alicujus intervalli interpositione cernatur: id autem nonnisi corpus esse, eamque substantiam quae minor sit in parte quam in toto; quod de Deo credere nefas esse debet etiam iis qui hoc intelligere nondum valent.

9. Latet ratio diversarum commutationum; et hinc est omnium visibilium silva miraculorum: numquid tamen ideo latet esse corpora, habere nos corpus, nullum esse quantulumcumque corpusculum, quod non pro suo modo loci occupet spatium; nec in eo quod occupat ubique sit totum, sed minus sit in parte quam in toto? Haec quoniam non latent, his contexenda sunt consequentia, quod nunc facere nimis longum est, quibus ostendatur non rationem latere, sed rationem omnino nullam esse qua credi debeat, vel possit intelligi, Deum qui ubique totus est, nec per spatia locorum corporea mole diffunditur, in qua necesse habeat partibus majoribus minoribusque constare, cerni corporeis oculis posse. Unde plura dicerem si hoc in epistola ista suscepissem, in cujus longitudinem non sentiens progressus sum, pene oblitus occupationum mearum, ita ut fortasse, quod non arbitrabar, intentioni tuae satis fecerim, qui potes paucis admonitus plura cogitare quae competunt; sed non etiam eorum in quorum manus non inaniter venire ista possunt, si diligentius et copiosius disserantur. Laborant autem homines in discendo, et brevia non valent intelligere, prolixa non amant legere. Laborant itidem in docendo, qui et pauca tardis, et multa pigris frustra ingerunt. Mitte et illius epistolae exemplum, quae apud nos aberrans non potuit inveniri.

Epistola CLXIII.

Evodius Augustino proponit aliquot quaestiones.

EVODIUS episcopus, AUGUSTINO episcopo.

Pridem quaestiones misi ad Sanctitatem tuam: unam de ratione et Deo, puto per Jobinum qui servit ancillis Dei ; alteram de corpore Salvatoris, de quo aestimatur quod substantiam Dei videat. Tertiam dico nunc: anima rationalis quam Salvator cum corpore assumpsit, utrum in una de opinionibus est illis quae proponuntur cum de animae origine quaeritur, si qua ibi potest veritate fulciri; an quanquam rationalis sit, non tamen ex iis speciebus quae de animalium anima dicuntur, sed in alia habetur.

For just as there is no reason by which the nature of God should die, or be corrupted, or sin; and when we say God cannot do this, we do not derogate from his power, but we praise his eternity and truth: so when we say he cannot be seen with bodily eyes, the reason is not hidden but open to those understanding well, by which it is clear that God is not a body, nor can anything be perceived with bodily eyes unless it be perceived by the interposition of some interval: but that this is nothing but a body, and that substance which is less in a part than in the whole; which it ought to be a crime to believe concerning God even for those who are not yet able to understand this.

9. The reason for various changes is hidden; and from here arises the forest of miracles of all visible things: yet does it for that reason remain hidden that there are bodies, that we have a body, that there is no little body, however small, which does not occupy its own space according to its measure; and that in the space it occupies it is not whole everywhere, but is less in a part than in the whole? Since these things are not hidden, the consequences are to be woven from these, which to do now would be too long, by which it may be shown not that the reason is hidden, but that there is absolutely no reason by which it ought to be believed, or can be understood, that God, who is everywhere whole, nor is diffused through spaces of places by corporeal mass (in which he would necessarily consist of larger and smaller parts), can be seen with bodily eyes. From which I would say more if I had undertaken this in that letter, into the length of which I have progressed without noticing, having almost forgotten my occupations, so that perhaps—what I did not expect—I have satisfied your intention, who are able, being admonished by a few things, to think of many things which are appropriate; but not also for those into whose hands these things might come not in vain, if they were discussed more diligently and copiously. For men labor in learning, and are not able to understand brief things, nor do they love to read long ones. Likewise, they labor in teaching, who fruitlessly press few things upon the slow, and many things upon the lazy. Send also a copy of that letter which, wandering among us, could not be found.

Letter CLXIII.

Evodius proposes some questions to Augustine.

EVODIUS, bishop, to AUGUSTINE, bishop.

A while ago I sent questions to your Holiness: one concerning reason and God, I think through Jobinus who serves the handmaids of God; another concerning the body of the Savior, about which it is considered that he sees the substance of God. I now state the third: the rational soul which the Savior assumed with a body, is it in one of those opinions which are proposed when the origin of the soul is sought, if any there can be supported by truth; or although it is rational, is it nevertheless not of those species which are spoken of regarding the soul of animals, but held in another?

Quartam interrogo: qui sunt illi spiritus, de quibus in Epistola sua ponit Petrus testimonium de Domino, dicens, «Mortificatus carne, vivificatus spiritu: in quo et eis qui in carcere erant spiritibus veniens praedicavit» (I Petr. III, 18, 19), et caetera; hoc inserens quod in inferno fuerunt, et descendens Christus omnibus evangelizavit, omnesque a tenebris et poenis per gratiam liberavit, ut a tempore resurrectionis Domini, judicium exspectetur exinanitis inferis. Quid ergo in hac re Sanctitati tuae videatur, cupio nosse.

EPISTOLA CLXIV . Augustinus Evodio, respondens ad duas quaestiones, quarum altera est de loco obscuro primae Petri, tertio capite, altera de anima Christi. Domino beatissimo, fratri et coepiscopo EVODIO, AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

CAP. PRIMUM. 1. Quaestio quam mihi proposuisti ex Epistola apostoli Petri, solet nos, ut te latere non arbitror, vehementissime commovere, quo modo illa verba accipienda sint tanquam de inferis dicta. Te replico ergo tibi eamdem quaestionem, ut sive ipse potueris, sive aliquem qui possit inveneris, auferas de illa atque finias dubitationem meam. Quod si prior potuero, cum id donaverit Dominus, tibique impartiri valuero, non fraudabo Dilectionem tuam: nunc autem quae me ibi moveant intimabo, ut secundum haec de illis verbis apostolicis, vel ipse cogites, vel quem idoneum repereris consulas.

2. Cum dixisset Christum mortificatum carne, vivificatum spiritu; continuo subjecit, In quo et iis qui in carcere erant conclusi, spiritibus veniens praedicavit, qui increduli fuerunt aliquando, quando exspectabat Dei patientia in diebus Noe, cum fabricaretur arca, in qua pauci, id est octo animae salvae factae sunt per aquam: deinde subjunxit et ait, Quod et vos nunc simili forma Baptisma salvos fecit (I Petr. III, 18, 21). Movet itaque, si apud inferos Dominus, quando mortuus est, in carcere conclusis spiritibus praedicavit, quid boni soli meruerint, ut Dominus ad inferna descenderet, qui tunc infideles fuerunt cum fabricaretur arca. Etenim post tempora Noe, multa millia tot gentium usque ad passionem Christi mortua sunt, quae potuit apud inferos invenire: non utique eorum qui in Deum crediderant, sicut Prophetae et Patriarchae de stirpe Abrahae, sicut ipse retro Noe et tota domus ejus, quae salva facta est per aquam, excepto fortassis uno filio, qui postea reprobatus est; sicut etiam praeter progeniem Jacob, alii fuerunt credentes in Deum, sicut Job, sicut civitas Ninive, et si qui alii sunt, qui vel apparent in Scripturis, vel in genere humano latent:

I ask the fourth: who are those spirits, concerning whom Peter places a testimony in his Epistle about the Lord, saying: "Put to death in the flesh, but made alive by the spirit: in which also he came and preached to those spirits who were in prison" (1 Pet. 3:18, 19), and the rest; inserting this, that they were in hell, and Christ descending evangelized all, and liberated all from darkness and punishments through grace, so that from the time of the resurrection of the Lord, judgment is expected, with hell being emptied. Therefore, what may seem to your Holiness in this matter, I desire to know.

LETTER CLXIV. Augustine to Evodius, responding to two questions, one of which is concerning the obscure passage of the first of Peter, third chapter, the other concerning the soul of Christ. To the most blessed lord, brother and fellow bishop EVODIUS, AUGUSTINE, greeting in the Lord.

CHAPTER I. 1. The question which you proposed to me from the Epistle of the apostle Peter is accustomed, as I think is not hidden from you, to move us most vehemently, as to how those words are to be understood as if spoken concerning those in hell. I therefore return the same question to you, so that either you yourself may be able, or you may find someone who can, to take away from it and end my doubt. But if I should be able first, when the Lord has granted it, and should be able to impart it to you, I will not defraud your Love: but now I will intimate what moves me there, so that according to these things concerning those apostolic words, either you yourself may think, or consult someone whom you find suitable.

2. Since he had said that Christ was put to death in the flesh, but made alive in the spirit; he immediately added, *In which also he came and preached to those spirits who were shut up in prison, who were once incredulous, when the patience of God waited in the days of Noah, while the ark was being built, in which a few, that is eight souls, were saved through water:* then he added and said, *Which also now Baptism in a similar form has saved you* (1 Pet. 3:18, 21). It moves me therefore, if the Lord, when he died, preached to the spirits shut up in prison among those in hell, what good those alone deserved, who were then infidels when the ark was being built, so that the Lord should descend to the lower regions for them. For after the times of Noah, many thousands of so many nations died until the passion of Christ, whom he could have found among those in hell: not certainly of those who had believed in God, like the Prophets and Patriarchs of the stock of Abraham, like Noah himself of old and all his house, which was saved through water, except perhaps one son, who was afterwards reproved; just as also besides the progeny of Jacob, there were others who believed in God, like Job, like the city of Nineveh, and if there are any others, who either appear in the Scriptures or are hidden in the human race:

sed eorum dico multa millia hominum, qui Deum ignorantes, et daemonum vel simulacrorum cultui dediti, a temporibus Noe usque ad passionem Christi, ex hac vita emigrarunt, quos apud inferos Christus inveniens, quomodo illis non praedicavit, sed illis tantum, qui in diebus Noe increduli fuerunt, cum fabricaretur arca? Aut si omnibus praedicavit, cur illos solos Petrus commemoravit, praetermissa multitudine tam innumerabili caeterorum?

CAPUT II.

3. Et Dominum quidem carne mortificatum venisse in infernum, satis constat. Neque enim contradici potest vel prophetiae quae dixit, Quoniam non derelinques animam meam in inferno; quod ne aliter quisquam sapere auderet, in Actibus Apostolorum, idem Petrus exponit: vel ejusdem Petri illis verbis, quibus eum asserit solvisse inferni dolores, in quibus impossibile erat eum teneri (Psal. XV, 10, et Act. II, 24, 27). Quis ergo nisi infidelis negaverit fuisse apud inferos Christum? Quod si movet quemadmodum accipiendum sit inferni ab illo solutos dolores (neque enim coeperat in eis esse tanquam in vinculis, et sic eos solvit tanquam si catenas solvisset quibus fuerat alligatus); facile est intelligere sic eos solutos esse quemadmodum solvi possunt laquei venantium, ne teneant; non quia tenuerunt. Potest et sic, ut eos dolores eum solvisse credamus, quibus teneri ipse non poterat, sed quibus alii tenebantur, quos ille noverat liberandos.

4. Verum quinam isti sint, temerarium est definire. Si enim omnes omnino dixerimus tunc esse liberatos, qui illic inventi sunt, quis non gratuletur, si hoc possimus ostendere? praesertim propter quosdam qui nobis litterario labore suo familiariter innotuerunt, quorum eloquium ingeniumque miramur; non solum poetas et oratores, qui eosdem ipsos falsos deos gentium multis opusculorum suorum locis contemnendos ridendosque monstrarunt, et aliquando etiam unum Deum verumque confessi sunt, quamvis illa superstitiosa cum caeteris colerent; verum etiam illos qui haec non cantando vel declamando, sed philosophando dixerunt: multos etiam quorum litteras non habemus, sed in illorum litteris didicimus secundum quemdam modum laudabiles vitas, ut excepto Dei cultu, in quo erraverunt colentes vana quae publice colenda fuerant instituta, et creaturae potius quam Creatori servientes, in caeteris moribus parcimoniae, continentiae, castitatis, sobrietatis, mortis pro patriae salute contemptus, servataeque fidei non solum civibus, verum et hostibus, imitandi merito proponantur.

but I speak of those many thousands of men who, being ignorant of God and given to the worship of demons or idols, departed from this life from the times of Noah until the passion of Christ; whom Christ finding among those in hell, how did he not preach to them, but only to those who were incredulous in the days of Noah while the ark was being built? Or if he preached to all, why did Peter mention only those, passing over the so innumerable multitude of the rest?

CHAPTER II.

3. And that the Lord indeed, being put to death in the flesh, came into hell, is sufficiently clear. For neither can it be contradicted, either by the prophecy which said, *Because you will not leave my soul in hell;* which, lest anyone should dare to understand otherwise, in the Acts of the Apostles the same Peter explains: or by those words of the same Peter, in which he asserts that he *loosed the sorrows of hell, in which it was impossible for him to be held* (Ps. 15:10, and Acts 2:24, 27). Who therefore but an infidel would deny that Christ was among those in hell? But if it moves one how it is to be understood that the sorrows of hell were loosed by him (for he had not begun to be in them as if in chains, and thus loosed them as if he had loosed the chains with which he had been bound); it is easy to understand that they were loosed in the same way as the snares of hunters can be loosed, so that they do not hold; not because they did hold. It can also be thus, that we believe he loosed those sorrows by which he himself could not be held, but by which others were held, whom he knew were to be liberated.

4. But who these may be, it is rash to define. For if we should say that all those without exception who were found there were then liberated, who would not rejoice if we could show this? especially on account of certain ones who have become familiarly known to us through their literary labor, whose eloquence and genius we admire; not only the poets and orators, who in many places of their small works showed that those same false gods of the nations were to be despised and laughed at, and sometimes even confessed one and the true God, although they worshipped those superstitious things with the rest; but even those who said these things not by singing or declaiming, but by philosophizing: many also whose writings we do not have, but in whose writings we have learned of lives praiseworthy in a certain manner, so that, except for the worship of God, in which they erred worshipping vain things which had been publicly established to be worshipped, and serving the creature rather than the Creator, in other morals of parsimony, continence, chastity, sobriety, contempt of death for the safety of the fatherland, and faith kept not only to citizens but even to enemies, they are deservedly proposed to be imitated.

Quae quidem omnia quando non referuntur ad finem rectae veraeque pictatis, sed ad fastum inanem humanae laudis et gloriae, etiam ipsa inanescunt quodammodo, steriliaque redduntur: verumtamen quadam indole animi ita delectant, ut eos in quibus haec fuerunt, vellemus vel praecipue, vel cum caeteris ab inferni cruciatibus liberari, nisi aliter se haberet sensus humanus, aliter justitia Creatoris.

5. Quae cum ita sint, si omnes inde solvit Salvator, et, sicut requirens scripsisti, exinanivit inferna, ut deinceps judicium jam exspectaretur extremum: haec sunt quae in hac re non immerito movent, quae mihi interim cogitanti solent occurrere. Primum, qua auctoritate firmetur ista sententia. Quod enim scriptum est in morte Christi factum solutis doloribus inferni: vel ad ipsum potest intelligi pertinere, quod eos hactenus solverit, hoc est irritos fecerit, ne ab eis ipse teneretur, praesertim quia sequitur, in quibus impossibile erat teneri eum. Vel si causa quaeritur cur voluerit venire in infernum, ubi dolores illi essent, quibus teneri omnino non poterat, quia erat, ut scriptum est, in mortuis liber (Psal. LXXXVII, 6), in quo princeps et praepositus mortis non invenit aliquid, quod supplicio deberetur: hoc scilicet quod scriptum est, solutis doloribus inferni, non in omnibus, sed in quibusdam accipi potest, quos ille dignos ista liberatione judicabat; ut neque frustra illuc descendisse existimetur, nulli eorum profuturus qui ibi tenebantur inclusi, nec tamen sit consequens ut quod divina quibusdam misericordia justitiaque concessit, omnibus concessum esse putandum sit.

CAPUT III.

6. Et de illo quidem primo homine patre generis humani, quod eum inde solverit, Ecclesia fere tota consentit; quod eam non inaniter credidisse credendum est, undecumque hoc traditum sit, etiamsi canonicarum Scripturarum hinc expressa non proferatur auctoritas: quanquam illud quod in libro Sapientiae scriptum est, Haec illum, qui primus factus est, patrem orbis terrarum, cum solus esset creatus, custodivit, et eduxit illum a delicto suo, et dedit ei virtutem continendi omnia (Sap. X, 1, 2), magis pro hac sententia quam pro ullo alio intellectu facere videatur. Addunt quidam hoc beneficium antiquis etiam sanctis fuisse concessum, Abel, Seth, Noe, et domui ejus, Abraham, Isaac, et Jacob, aliisque Patriarchis et Prophetis, ut cum Dominus in infernum venisset, illis doloribus solverentur.

All of which things indeed, when they are not referred to the end of right and true piety, but to the empty pride of human praise and glory, even they themselves become empty in a certain way, and are rendered sterile: nevertheless, by a certain natural quality of mind they so delight, that we would wish those in whom these things were to be liberated from the torments of hell either especially or with the rest, unless human sense were one thing, and the justice of the Creator another.

5. Since these things are so, if the Savior loosed all from there, and, as you wrote inquiring, *emptied hell, so that henceforth the final judgment should already be expected:* these are the things which in this matter not undeservedly move me, which are accustomed to occur to me while thinking in the meantime. First, by what authority is that opinion confirmed. For what is written, that in the death of Christ it was done with the *sorrows of hell loosed:* can be understood to pertain to himself, that he loosed them thus far—that is, made them void—lest he himself should be held by them, especially because it follows, *in which it was impossible for him to be held.* Or if the cause is sought why he wished to come into hell, where those sorrows were by which he could not at all be held, because he was, as it is written, *free among the dead* (Ps. 87:6), in whom the prince and ruler of death found nothing that was due to punishment: this namely, what is written, *with the sorrows of hell loosed,* can be understood not in all, but in certain ones, whom he judged worthy of that liberation; so that it should neither be thought that he descended there in vain, to profit none of those who were held shut up there, nor yet is it consequent that what divine mercy and justice granted to certain ones, should be thought to have been granted to all.

CHAPTER III.

6. And concerning that first man, the father of the human race, that he loosed him from there, almost the whole Church agrees; which it is to be believed she has not believed in vain, from wherever this has been handed down, even if no express authority from the canonical Scriptures is brought forward for this: although that which is written in the book of Wisdom, *She preserved him, who was first formed by God, the father of the world, when he was created alone, and she brought him out of his sin, and gave him the power of containing all things* (Wisd. 10:1, 2), seems to make more for this opinion than for any other understanding. Certain ones add that this benefit was also granted to the ancient saints, Abel, Seth, Noah, and his house, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and other Patriarchs and Prophets, so that when the Lord had come into hell, they might be loosed from those sorrows.

7. Sed quonam modo intelligatur Abraham, in cujus sinum pius etiam pauper ille susceptus est, in illis fuisse doloribus, ego quidem non video: explicant fortasse qui possunt. Solos autem duos, id est Abraham et Lazarum, in illo memorabilis quietis sinu fuisse antequam Dominus in inferna descenderet, et de istis tantum duobus dictum fuisse illi diviti, Inter vos et nos chaos magnum firmatum est, ut ii qui volunt hinc transire ad vos non possint, neque inde huc transmeare (Luc. XVI, 26), nescio utrum quisquam sit cui non videatur absurdum. Porro si plures quam duo ibi erant, quis audeat dicere non ibi fuisse Patriarchas et Prophetas, quibus in Scriptura Dei justitiae pietatisque tam insigne testimonium perhibetur? Quid his ergo praestiterit qui dolores solvit inferni, in quibus illi non fuerunt, nondum intelligo; praesertim quia ne ipsos quidem inferos uspiam Scripturarum in bono appellatos potui reperire. Quod si nusquam in divinis auctoritatibus legitur, non utique sinus ille Abrahae, id est secretae cujusdam quietis habitatio, aliqua pars inferorum esse credenda est. Quanquam in his ipsis tanti magistri verbis, ubi ait dixisse Abraham, Inter vos et nos chaos magnum firmatum est, satis, ut opinor, appareat non esse quamdam partem, et quasi membrum inferorum, tantae illius felicitatis sinum. Chaos enim magnum quid est, nisi quidam hiatus, multum ea separans inter quae non solum est, verum etiam firmatus est? Quapropter si in illum Abrahae sinum Christum mortuum venisse sancta Scriptura dixisset, non nominato inferno ejusque doloribus, miror si quisquam ad inferos eum descendisse asserere auderet.

8. Sed quia evidentia testimonia et infernum commemorant et dolores, nulla causa occurrit cur illo credatur venisse Salvator, nisi ut ab ejus doloribus salvos faceret; sed utrum omnes quos in eis invenit, an quosdam quos illo beneficio dignos judicavit, adhuc requiro: fuisse tamen eum apud inferos, et in eorum doloribus constitutis hoc beneficium praestitisse non dubito. Unde illis justis qui in sinu Abrahae erant, cum ille in inferna descenderet, nondum quid contulisset inveni, a quibus eum secundum beatificam praesentiam suae divinitatis nunquam video recessisse: sicut etiam eodem ipso die quo mortuus est, promisit latroni quod cum illo in paradiso fuisset futurus (Luc. XXIII, 43), quando ad solvendos inferni dolores fuerat descensurus. Profecto igitur in paradiso atque sinu Abrahae, etiam ante jam erat beatificante sapientia, et apud inferos judicante potentia: ubi enim non est nullo loco obsessa divinitas? Verumtamen secundum creaturam, quam ex quodam tempore suscipiendo, manens Deus homo factus est, hoc est secundum animam eum fuisse apud inferos aperte Scriptura declarat, et per prophetiam praemissa, et per apostolicum intellectum satis exposita, qua dictum est: Non derelinques animam meam in inferno (Psal. XV, 10).

7. But in what way it may be understood that Abraham, into whose bosom also that pious poor man was received, was in those sorrows, I indeed do not see: perhaps those who are able can explain. But that only two, that is, Abraham and Lazarus, were in that bosom of memorable rest before the Lord descended into hell, and that of these two only it was said to that rich man, *Between you and us a great chaos is fixed, so that those who wish to pass from here to you cannot, nor pass from there to here* (Luke 16:26), I know not whether there is anyone to whom it would not seem absurd. Furthermore, if more than two were there, who would dare to say that the Patriarchs and Prophets were not there, to whom such notable testimony of justice and piety is given in the Scripture of God? What then he performed for these by loosing the sorrows of hell, in which they were not, I do not yet understand; especially because I have not been able to find the lower world (inferi) itself anywhere in the Scriptures called in a good sense. But if it is nowhere read in the divine authorities, that bosom of Abraham, that is, the habitation of a certain secret rest, is surely not to be believed to be any part of hell. Although in these very words of so great a master, where he says Abraham said, *Between you and us a great chaos is fixed,* it sufficiently appears, as I think, that the bosom of so great happiness is not some part, and as it were a member of hell. For what is the great chaos, unless some gulf, greatly separating those things between which it not only is, but also is fixed? Wherefore if holy Scripture had said that the dead Christ had come into that bosom of Abraham, without naming hell and its sorrows, I wonder if anyone would dare to assert that he descended to the lower world.

8. But because evident testimonies mention both hell and sorrows, no cause occurs why the Savior should be believed to have come there, except that he might save from its sorrows; but whether all whom he found in them, or certain ones whom he judged worthy of that benefit, I still inquire: yet that he was in the lower world, and performed this benefit for those established in their sorrows, I do not doubt. Whence I have not yet found what he would have conferred upon those just ones who were in the bosom of Abraham, when he descended into hell, from whom I see that he never withdrew according to the beatific presence of his divinity: even as on that very day on which he died, he promised the thief that he would be with him in paradise (Luke 23:43), when he was about to descend to loose the sorrows of hell. Truly, therefore, he was already in paradise and the bosom of Abraham before by his beatifying wisdom, and in the lower world by his judging power: for where is the divinity not, which is besieged by no place? Nevertheless, according to the creature, which by assuming it from a certain time, the remaining God became man, that is, according to the soul, the Scripture openly declares that he was in the lower world, both set forth by prophecy, and sufficiently explained by apostolic understanding, by which it was said: *You will not leave my soul in hell* (Ps. 15:10).

9. Scio quibusdam videri, morte Domini Christi jam talem resurrectionem praestitam justis, qualis nobis in fine promittitur; quoniam scriptum est, illo terrae motu quo in ejus passione petrae scissae et monumenta aperta sunt, multa corpora resurrexisse justorum, et visa cum illo quando resurrexit in sancta civitate (Matth. XXVII, 51-53). Qui utique si non iterum repositis corporibus dormierunt, videndum est quemadmodum intelligatur Christus primogenitus a mortuis (Apoc. I, 5), si eum in illa resurrectione tot praecesserunt. Quod si respondetur hoc dictum esse per anticipationem, ut monumenta quidem illo terrae motu aperta intelligantur, cum Christus in cruce penderet, resurrexisse autem justorum corpora non tunc, sed cum ille prior resurrexisset: quamvis tunc, ut dixi, anticipando fuisset adjunctum, ut et Christus primogenitus a mortuis sine ambiguitate credatur, et illis justis continuo concessum ut ipso praeeunte in aeternam incorruptionem atque immortalitatem resurgerent; illud adhuc restat quod moveat, quomodo a Petro dici potuerit, quod utique verissime dictum est, quando per illam prophetiam non de David, sed de Christo asseruit fuisse praedictum, carnem ejus non vidisse corruptionem; et quod adjunxit de David, apud eos esse monumentum ejus (Act. II, 27, 29): unde illos utique non convincebat, si corpus ejus ibi jam non erat; quia si et ante in recenti sua morte resurrexisset, nec caro ejus vidisset corruptionem, posset nihilominus illud monumentum manere. Durum autem videtur ut David non fuerit in illa resurrectione justorum, si eis jam aeterna donata est, cujus Christus ex semine tam crebro, et tanta evidentia, tantaque honorificentia commendatur. Periclitabitur etiam illud quod ad Hebraeos de justis antiquis dicitur, Quia pro nobis meliora providerunt, ne sine nobis perfecti perficerentur (Heb. XI, 40); si jam in illa resurrectionis incorruptione constituti sunt, quae nobis perficiendis in fine promittitur.

CAPUT IV.

10. Cur ergo Petrus eos tantum commemorare voluerit, quibus in carcere inclusis Evangelium praedicatum est, qui in diebus Noe cum fabricaretur arca increduli fuerunt, vides quam latebrosum sit, et quae me moveant ne affirmare hinc aliquid audeam.

9. I know that it seems to certain ones, that by the death of the Lord Christ such a resurrection was already granted to the just, as is promised to us in the end; because it is written, that by that earthquake in which at his passion the rocks were rent and the monuments were opened, many bodies of the just arose, and were seen with him when he arose in the holy city (Matt. 27:51-53). Who surely, if they did not sleep again with their bodies laid back, it must be seen how Christ is understood as the *firstborn from the dead* (Rev. 1:5), if so many preceded him in that resurrection. But if it is answered that this was said by anticipation, so that the monuments indeed should be understood to have been opened by that earthquake, while Christ was hanging on the cross, but that the bodies of the just arose not then, but when he first had arisen: although then, as I said, it would have been added by anticipation, so that both Christ may be believed without ambiguity to be the firstborn from the dead, and it was immediately granted to those just ones that he going before they should rise into eternal incorruption and immortality; that yet remains which may move me, how it could be said by Peter, which surely was most truly said, when by that prophecy he asserted that it was predicted not of David, but of Christ, that his flesh should not see corruption; and what he added concerning David, that his monument was among them (Acts 2:27, 29): whence he surely would not convince them, if his body were not there already; because if even before in his recent death he had arisen, and his flesh had not seen corruption, that monument could nonetheless remain. But it seems hard that David should not have been in that resurrection of the just, if eternal things were already given to them, from whose seed Christ is so often, and with such evidence, and with such honor commended. That also will be endangered which is said to the Hebrews concerning the ancient just, *Because they provided better things for us, lest without us they should be made perfect* (Heb. 11:40); if they are already established in that incorruption of the resurrection, which is promised for our perfecting in the end.

CHAPTER IV.

10. Why therefore Peter wished to mention those only, who being shut up in prison the Gospel was preached to them, who in the days of Noah while the ark was being built were incredulous, you see how obscure it is, and what things move me lest I should dare to affirm anything from here.

Huc accedit, quia cum dixisset apostolus, Quod et vos nunc simili forma Baptisma salvos facit; non carnis depositio sordium, sed conscientiae bonae interrogatio in Deum per resurrectionem Jesu Christi, qui est in dextera Dei, deglutiens mortem, ut vitae aeternae haeredes efficeremur, profectus in coelos, subjectis sibi Angelis et Potestatibus et Virtutibus; continuo subjecit, Christo igitur in carne passo, et vos eadem scientia armamini; quia qui passus est in carne, desiit a peccatis, in hoc ut jam non hominum desideriis, sed voluntate Dei quod reliquum est in carne vivat tempus: deinde ait, Sufficit enim praeteritum tempus ad voluntatem hominum consummatum ambulantibus in libidinibus, et concupiscentiis, et ebrietate, comessationibus, potationibus, et illicitis idolorum servitutibus, in quo stupescunt non concurrere vos in eamdem luxuriae confusionem blasphemantes. Qui reddent rationem ei qui paratus est judicare vivos et mortuos: his dictis subnectit, Propter hoc enim et mortuis evangelizatum est, ut judicentur quidem secundum homines in carne, vivant autem secundum Deum spiritu.

11. Quem non moveat ista profunditas? Mortuis dicit evangelizatum: quos profecto si intellexerimus, qui de corpore exierunt, illi opinor erunt de quibus supra dixit, Qui increduli fuerunt in diebus Noe; aut certe omnes, quos apud inferos Christus invenit. Quid sibi ergo vult, ut judicentur quidem secundum homines in carne, vivant autem secundum Deum spiritu? quomodo judicantur in carne, quam non habent, si apud inferos sunt; vel quam nondum receperunt, si etiam a doloribus inferni soluti sunt? Neque enim si, ut quaerendo dicis, exinaniti sunt inferi, omnes etiam qui tunc ibi fuerunt, in carne resurrexisse credendi sunt; aut qui resurgentes apparuerunt cum Domino, ad hoc carnem receperunt, ut in ea judicarentur secundum hominem: quod nec de illis video quo modo accipi possit, qui increduli fuerunt in diebus Noe; non enim eos in carne vixisse scriptum est, aut credi potest ideo solutos dolores inferni, ut qui inde liberarentur, carnem ad luendam poenam reciperent. Quid est ergo, ut judicentur secundum homines in carne, vivant autem secundum Deum spiritu? an forte hoc praestitum est eis quos apud inferos Christus invenit, ut per Evangelium vivificarentur spiritu, quamvis in futura resurrectione in carne judicandi sint, ut per aliquam carnis poenam transeant in regnum Dei? Quod si ita est, cur hoc tantum de illis qui quondam non crediderunt in diebus Noe, ac non etiam de caeteris quos illic Christi visitatio comperit, per Evangelii praedicationem spiritu revixerunt, postea transitoria poena in carne judicandi?

Hither it is added, that when the apostle had said, *Because also baptism now in a like form saves you; not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the interrogation of a good conscience toward God by the resurrection of Jesus Christ, who is at the right hand of God, swallowing up death, that we might be made heirs of eternal life, having gone into heaven, with Angels and Powers and Virtues subjected to him;* immediately he added, *Christ therefore having suffered in the flesh, be you also armed with the same knowledge; because he who has suffered in the flesh, has ceased from sins, that now he may live the rest of the time in the flesh, not by the desires of men, but by the will of God:* then he says, *For the time past is sufficient to have fulfilled the will of men for those walking in lusts, and concupiscences, and drunkenness, revelings, drinkings, and unlawful services of idols, in which they wonder that you do not run together into the same confusion of luxury, blaspheming.* Who shall render an account to him who is ready to judge the living and the dead: these things being said he subjoins, *For on this account also it was preached to the dead, that they might indeed be judged according to men in the flesh, but live according to God in the spirit.*

11. Whom would that depth not move? To the dead he says it was preached: whom surely if we shall have understood as those who have gone out of the body, those I think will be they of whom he said above, *Who were incredulous in the days of Noah;* or certainly all whom Christ found in the lower world. What therefore does it mean, *that they might indeed be judged according to men in the flesh, but live according to God in the spirit?* how are they judged in the flesh, which they have not, if they are in the lower world; or which they have not yet received, if they have even been loosed from the sorrows of hell? For neither if, as you say in inquiring, *hell was emptied,* are all even who were then there to be believed to have risen in the flesh; or those who arising appeared with the Lord, did they for this receive the flesh, that in it they might be judged according to man: which I do not see how it can be accepted even concerning those who were incredulous in the days of Noah; for it is not written that they lived in the flesh, nor can it be believed that therefore the sorrows of hell were loosed, so that those who were liberated from there should receive the flesh to pay the penalty. What is it therefore, *that they might be judged according to men in the flesh, but live according to God in the spirit?* or was this perhaps performed for those whom Christ found in the lower world, that through the Gospel they might be quickened in the spirit, although in the future resurrection they are to be judged in the flesh, so that through some punishment of the flesh they might pass into the kingdom of God? But if it is so, why is this said only of those who formerly did not believe in the days of Noah, and not also of the rest whom the visitation of Christ found there, who lived again in the spirit through the preaching of the Gospel, afterwards to be judged in the flesh by a transitory punishment?

Quod si de omnibus acceperimus, manet quaestio, quare Petrus eos tantum commemoravit, qui tunc increduli fuerunt cum fabricaretur arca.

12 Movet etiam illud, quod ii qui de hac re conantur reddere rationem, ideo dicunt Christo ad inferos descendente, iis qui ibi inventi sunt, illa loca poenalia tanquam carceres exinanitos, qui non audierant Evangelium, quod illis viventibus nondum toto orbe praedicabatur, et justas habebant causas cur non credidissent, quod eis non fuerat annuntiatum: deinceps autem non habituros excusationem, qui praedicationem Evangelii per omnes gentes celebratam diffusamque contemnunt; et ideo illis tunc evacuatis carceribus jam justum restare judicium, quo contumaces et infideles etiam aeterno igne puniantur. Nec attendunt qui hoc sentiunt, hanc excusationem habere posse omnes qui etiam post resurrectionem Christi antequam ad eos Evangelium perveniret, ex hac vita emigrarunt. Neque enim posteaquam Dominus remeavit ab inferis, nemo permissus est iterum ire ad inferos, nisi audito Evangelio, cum tam multi morerentur toto orbe terrarum, antequam ad eos haec annuntiatio perveniret; qui omnes habebunt excusationem, quae ablata dicitur eis quibus Dominus cum venisset, quia ante non audierant, in inferno dicitur praedicasse.

13. Nisi forte dicatur etiam istos qui post Domini resurrectionem, nondum sibi annuntiato Evangelio mortui sunt, sive moriuntur, illic apud inferos audire potuisse vel posse, ut illic credant quod de Christi veritate credendum est, et habeant etiam ipsi remissionem ac salutem, quam illi meruerunt quibus ibi Christus annuntiavit. Neque enim quia rursus ascendit Christus ab inferis, ideo ibi fama ejus exstincta est; nam et hinc ascendit in coelum, et tamen ejus annuntiatione, qui in eum crediderint, salvi erunt. Ideo quippe exaltatus est, et donatum est ei nomen quod est super omne nomen, ut in nomine ejus omne genu flectatur, non solum coelestium et terrestriam, verum etiam infernorum (Philipp. II, 9, 10). Sed hanc opinionem si admittimus, qua putari potest, homines, qui cum viverent, minime crediderunt, posse in Christum apud inferos credere, quis ferat quae consequuntur absurda, fideique contraria? Primum, ne frustra dolere videamur eos qui sine ista gratia de corpore exierunt, frustraque curam gerere, atque instanter hortari ut eam homines priusquam moriantur percipiant, ne sempiterna morte puniantur.

But if we shall have accepted it concerning all, the question remains, why Peter mentioned those only, who were then incredulous when the ark was being built.

12. That also moves me, because those who attempt to render a reason concerning this matter, say that for this cause Christ descended to the lower world, that for those who were found there, those penal places should be emptied as it were prisons—who had not heard the Gospel, because while they were living it was not yet preached in the whole world, and they had just causes why they should not have believed, because it had not been announced to them: but that henceforth those will not have an excuse, who despise the preaching of the Gospel celebrated and diffused through all nations; and that therefore, those prisons being then evacuated, a just judgment now remains, by which the contumacious and infidels also may be punished with eternal fire. Nor do those who think this attend to the fact, that all those who even after the resurrection of Christ went out of this life before the Gospel reached them, could have this excuse. For after the Lord returned from the lower world, no one was permitted to go again to the lower world, except after hearing the Gospel, when so many were dying in the whole world before this announcement reached them; all of whom will have the excuse, which is said to be taken away from those to whom the Lord, when he had come, because they had not heard before, is said to have preached in hell.

13. Unless perhaps it should be said that also those who after the Lord's resurrection died, or are dying, before the Gospel was announced to them, could have been able or are able to hear there in the lower world, that they may believe there what is to be believed concerning the truth of Christ, and they themselves also may have remission and salvation, which those merited to whom Christ announced it there. For neither because Christ ascended again from the lower world, for that reason was his fame extinguished there; for from here also he ascended into heaven, and yet by his announcement, those who shall believe in him will be saved. For on that account indeed he was exalted, and a name was given to him which is above every name, that in his name every knee should bow, not only of those in heaven and on earth, but also of those in the lower world (Phil. 2:9, 10). But if we admit this opinion, by which it can be thought that men, who when they were living believed not at all, can believe in Christ in the lower world, who will bear the consequences of such absurdities, and things contrary to the faith? First, lest we should seem to grieve in vain for those who have gone out of the body without this grace, and in vain to take care, and instantly to exhort that men should perceive it before they die, lest they be punished with eternal death.

Aut si illi tantum apud inferos inutiliter atque infructuose credunt, qui Evangelio sibi annuntiato hic credere noluerunt; illis autem proderit credere, qui non hic contempserunt quod audire minime potuerunt; aliud sequitur absurdius, ut hic non sit Evangelium praedicandum, quoniam omnes utique morituri sunt, et sine ullo reatu contempti Evangelii venire ad in eros debent, ut eis prodesse possit, cum ibi crediderint: quod sentire, impiae vanitatis est.

CAPUT V.

14. Quamobrem teneamus firmissime, quod fides habet fundatissima auctoritate firmata, Quia Christus mortuus est secundum Scripturas, et quia sepultus est, et quia resurrexit tertia die secundum Scripturae (I Cor. XV, 3, 4), et caetera quae de illo testatissima veritate conscripta sunt: in quibus etiam hoc est, quod apud inferos fuit, solutisque eorum doloribus quibus cum erat impossibile teneri, a quibus etiam recte intelligitur solvisse et liberasse quos voluit, corpus quod in cruce reliquerat in sepulcro positum recepisse. In illa vero quam proposuisti de verbis Petri apostoli quaestione, quoniam quae me moveant perspicis, et alia fortasse, si diligentius discutiantur, possunt movere; vel apud nos ea cogitando, vel quos dignum est et possumus consulendo, quaeramus.

15. Considera tamen ne forte totum illud quod de conclusis in carcere spiritibus, qui in diebus Noe non crediderant, Petrus apostolus dicit, omnino ad inferos non pertineat; sed ad illa potius tempora quorum formam ad haec tempora transtulit. Illa quippe res gesta forma fuerat futurorum, ut ii qui modo non credunt Evangelio, dum in omnibus gentibus aedificatur Ecclesia, illis intelligantur esse similes, qui tunc non crediderunt cum fabricaretur arca: illi autem qui crediderunt, et per Baptismum salvi fiunt, illis comparentur, qui tunc in eadem arca salvi facti sunt per aquam; unde ait, Sic et vos simili forma Baptisma salvos facit. Ad hanc igitur formae similitudinem, caetera etiam de incredulis coaptemus, et non suspicemur quod apud inferos ad faciendos fideles atque liberandos Evangelium praedicatum sit, vel adhuc etiam praedicetur, quasi et ibi sit Ecclesia constituta.

Or if they only believe uselessly and fruitlessly in the lower world, who when the Gospel was announced to them refused to believe here; but it will profit those to believe, who here did not despise what they were not at all able to hear; another more absurd thing follows, that the Gospel is not to be preached here, since surely all are about to die, and without any guilt of a despised Gospel they ought to come to the lower world, that it may be able to profit them, when they shall have believed there: to think which is of impious vanity.

CHAPTER V.

14. Wherefore let us hold most firmly, what the faith has confirmed by most well-founded authority, *That Christ died according to the Scriptures, and that he was buried, and that he arose the third day according to the Scripture* (1 Cor. 15:3, 4), and the rest which are written concerning him with most attested truth: in which also this is, that he was in the lower world, and the sorrows of those being loosed by whom it was impossible for him to be held, from which also it is rightly understood that he loosed and liberated whom he wished, he received again the body which he had left on the cross placed in the sepulcher. But in that question which you proposed concerning the words of Peter the apostle, since you perceive what things move me, and others perhaps, if they are more diligently discussed, can move us; let us seek them either by thinking on them among ourselves, or by consulting those whom it is fitting and we are able to consult.

15. Consider however lest perhaps that whole matter which the apostle Peter says concerning the spirits shut up in prison, who in the days of Noah did not believe, should not at all pertain to the lower world; but rather to those times whose form he translated to these times. For that thing performed was a form of things to come, so that those who now do not believe the Gospel, while the Church is being built among all nations, should be understood to be like those who then did not believe when the ark was being built: but those who believed, and are saved by Baptism, should be compared to those who then in the same ark were saved by water; whence he says, *So also baptism in a like form saves you.* To this likeness of form, therefore, let us also adapt the rest concerning the incredulous, and let us not suspect that the Gospel was preached in the lower world for making and liberating the faithful, or even is still preached, as if the Church were established there also.

16. Ad illum ergo sensum qui te movet, ideo videntur attracti qui hoc Petrum sensisse crediderunt, quia dixit, conclusis in carcere spiritibus praedicatum, quasi animae non possint intelligi spiritus, quae tunc erant in carne, atque ignorantiae tenebris velut carcere claudebantur; de quali carcere se desiderat liberari ille qui dicit, Educ de carcere animam meam, ut confiteatur nomini tuo (Psal. CXLI, 8); quae alibi umbra mortis appellatur: de qua non utique apud inferos, sed hic liberati sunt, de quibus scriptum est, Qui sedebant in umbra mortis, lumen ortum est eis (Isai. IX, 2). Illis autem in diebus Noe frustra praedicatum est, quia non crediderunt, cum exspectaret eos Dei patientia per tempus tot annorum quibus arca eadem fabricata est (nam ejus etiam fabricatio quodammodo praedicatio fuit); sicut modo similes eorum non credunt, qui sub eadem forma, ignorantiae tenebris velut carcere concluduntur, frustra intuentes Ecclesiam toto mundo construi, imminente judicio, tanquam diluvio quo tunc omnes increduli perierunt: ait quippe Dominus, Sicut in diebus Noe, ita erit et in diebus Filii hominis. Manducabant, bibebant, nubebant, uxores ducebant, donec intravit Noe in arcam; venit diluvium, et perdidit omnes (Luc. XVII, 26). Sed quia ea res gesta etiam futuram rem significabat, ideo ibi diluvium, et Baptismum significavit fidelibus, et infidelibus poenam: sicut in figura non rei gestae, sed tantummodo dictae, quod de lapide scriptum est (Psal. CXVII, 22; Isai. VIII, 14, et XXVIII, 16; Dan. II, 34, 45; Matth. XXI, 44; Luc. XX, 17; Act. IV, 11; Rom. IX, 33, etc.), quo significatus est Christus, duo quaedam praenuntiata sunt, et infidelibus offendiculum, et fidelibus aedificium. Aliquando autem in eadem figura vel gesta vel dicta, etiam duae res aliquid unum significant; sicut fideles significaverunt ligna quae in arcae fabricam coaptata sunt, eosdemque etiam animae octo quae in eadem arca liberatae sunt: quomodo in illa evangelica similitudine de ovili, idem ipse Christus est et pastor et janua (Joan. X, 1, 2).

CAPUT VI.

17. Nec moveat ad impediendum istum intellectum, quod eumdem Christum dixit apostolus Petrus praedicasse illis in carcere conclusis qui quondam non crediderant in diebus Noe, ut ideo non arbitremur hoc intelligendum quia illo tempore nondum venerat Christus.

16. To that sense therefore which moves you, those seem to have been drawn who believed that Peter thought this, because he said, *preached to the spirits shut up in prison,* as if the spirits cannot be understood as the souls, which then were in the flesh, and were shut up in the darkness of ignorance as if in a prison; from what kind of prison he desires himself to be liberated who says, *Bring my soul out of prison, that it may confess to your name* (Ps. 141:8); which elsewhere is called the shadow of death: from which they were surely liberated not in the lower world, but here, concerning whom it is written, *To those who sat in the shadow of death, light has arisen to them* (Isa. 9:2). But it was preached in vain in those days of Noah to them, because they did not believe, when the patience of God waited for them through the time of so many years in which that same ark was built (for its very building was in a certain way a preaching); even as now those like them do not believe, who under the same form are shut up in the darkness of ignorance as if in a prison, looking in vain at the Church being constructed in the whole world, while judgment is imminent, as if a deluge by which then all the incredulous perished: for the Lord says, *As in the days of Noah, so shall it be also in the days of the Son of man. They ate, they drank, they married, they were given in marriage, until Noah entered into the ark; the deluge came, and destroyed all* (Luke 17:26). But because that thing performed also signified a future thing, therefore the deluge there signified both Baptism to the faithful, and punishment to the infidels: even as in a figure not of a thing performed, but only of a thing said, what is written concerning the stone (Ps. 117:22; Isa. 8:14, and 28:16; Dan. 2:34, 45; Matt. 21:44; Luke 20:17; Acts 4:11; Rom. 9:33, etc.), by which Christ was signified, two certain things were foretold, both a stumbling-block to the infidels, and a building to the faithful. But sometimes in the same figure either performed or said, also two things signify some one thing; as the faithful were signified by the wood which was adapted into the building of the ark, and the same also by the eight souls which were liberated in the same ark: as in that evangelical similitude concerning the sheepfold, the same Christ is both the shepherd and the door (John 10:1, 2).

CHAPTER VI.

17. Nor let it move to impede that understanding, that the apostle Peter said that the same Christ preached to those shut up in prison who formerly did not believe in the days of Noah, so that we should not therefore think this is to be understood because at that time Christ had not yet come.

Nondum enim venerat scilicet in carne, sicut venit quando post haec in terra visus est, et cum hominibus conversatus est (Baruch III, 38): verumtamen ab initio generis humani, vel ad arguendos malos, sicut ad Cain, ac prius ad ipsum Adam uxoremque ejus; vel ad consolandos bonos, vel ad utrosque admonendos, ut alii ad salutem suam crederent, alii ad poenam suam non crederent, ipse utique non in carne, sed in spiritu veniebat, visis congruis alloquens, quos volebat, sicut volebat. Quod autem dixi, In spiritu veniebat, et ipse quidem Filius in substantia Deitatis, quoniam corpus non est, utique spiritus est: sed quid facit Filius sine Spiritu sancto, vel sine Patre, cum inseparabilia sint omnia opera Trinitatis?

18. Ipsa quoque Scripturae verba de quibus agitur, satis hoc, ut puto, indicant eis qui diligenter attendunt: Quia Christus, inquit, semel pro peccatis nostris mortuus est, justus pro injustis, ut nos adducat Deo, mortificatus quidem carne, vivificatus autem spiritu: in quo et iis qui in carcere conclusi erant, spiritibus adveniens praedicavit, qui increduli fuerant aliquando, quando exspectabat Dei patientia in diebus Noe, cum fabricaretur arca. Jam ut arbitror, attenditur ordo verborum, Christus mortificatus carne, vivificatus autem spiritu. In quo spiritu adveniens praedicavit et illis spiritibus qui increduli fuerant aliquando in diebus Noe: quoniam prius quam veniret in carne pro nobis moriturus, quod semel fecit, saepe antea veniebat in spiritu ad quos volebat, visis eos admonens, sicut volebat, utique in spiritu, quo spiritu et vivificatus est, cum in passione esset carne mortificatus. Quid est enim quod vivificatus est spiritu, nisi quod eadem caro, qua sola fuerat mortificatus, vivificante spiritu resurrexit?

CAPUT VII.

19. Nam quod fuerit anima mortificatus Jesus, hoc est eo spiritu qui hominis est, quis audeat dicere; cum mors animae non sit nisi peccatum, a quo ille omnino immunis fuit, cum pro nobis carne mortificaretur? Si enim omnium hominum animae ex illa una sunt, quae insufflata est primo homini per quem peccatum intravit in mundum, et per peccatum mors, et ita in omnes homines pertransiit (Rom. V, 12); aut non est inde anima Christi, quoniam nullum habuit omnino peccatum, vel originale, vel proprium, propter quod ei mors debita videretur; pro nobis eam quippe quam non debebat exsolvit, in quo princeps mundi, mortisque praepositus nihil invenit (Joan. XIX, 30); neque enim absurdum est ut qui primo homini animam creavit, crearet et sibi: aut si et ipsa inde est, eam suscipiendo mundavit, ut sine ullo prorsus peccato, vel perpetrato, vel traducto, ad nos veniens de virgine nasceretur.

For he had not yet come, namely, in the flesh, as he came when after these things he was seen on earth, and conversed with men (Baruch 3:38): yet from the beginning of the human race, either for reproving the evil, as to Cain, and before to Adam himself and his wife; or for consoling the good, or for admonishing both, so that some might believe to their salvation, others might not believe to their punishment, he surely came not in the flesh, but in the spirit, addressing with congruent visions whom he wished, as he wished. But what I said, *He came in the spirit,* even the Son himself in the substance of the Deity, since he is not a body, is surely a spirit: but what does the Son do without the Holy Spirit, or without the Father, since all the works of the Trinity are inseparable?

The very words of the Scripture also of which we are treating, sufficiently indicate this, as I think, to those who diligently attend: *Because Christ,* he says, *once died for our sins, the just for the unjust, that he might bring us to God, being put to death indeed in the flesh, but quickened by the spirit: in which also he coming preached to those who were shut up in prison, to the spirits, who had been incredulous formerly, when the patience of God waited in the days of Noah, while the ark was being built.* Now, as I judge, the order of words is attended to, *Christ put to death in the flesh, but quickened by the spirit.* In which spirit coming he preached also to those spirits who had been incredulous formerly in the days of Noah: because before he came in the flesh to die for us, which he did once, he often before came in the spirit to whom he wished, admonishing them by visions, as he wished, surely in the spirit, by which spirit also he was quickened, when in his passion he was put to death in the flesh. For what is it that he was quickened by the spirit, unless that the same flesh, in which alone he had been put to death, rose again by the quickening spirit?

CHAPTER VII.

19. For who would dare to say that Jesus was put to death in the soul, that is, in that spirit which is of man; since the death of the soul is nothing but sin, from which he was altogether free, when he was put to death in the flesh for us? For if the souls of all men are from that one which was breathed into the first man through whom sin entered into the world, and death through sin, and so passed into all men (Rom. 5:12); either the soul of Christ is not from there, since it had no sin at all, either original or proper, on account of which death should seem due to it; for he paid for us that which he did not owe, in whom the prince of the world and ruler of death found nothing (John 14:30); for neither is it absurd that he who created the soul for the first man, should create one also for himself: or if even it is from there, he cleansed it in assuming it, so that coming to us he should be born of a virgin without any sin at all, either perpetrated or transmitted.

Si autem animae non ex illa una propagantur, et sola ex Adam caro trahit originale peccatum, ita sibi creavit animam Dei Filius, ut caeteris creat, quam non tamen carni peccati miscuit, sed similitudini carnis peccati (Rom. VIII, 3). Sumpsit enim ex Virgine veram quidem carnis substantiam; non tamen peccati carnem, quia non ex carnali concupiscentia, sive seminatam, sive conceptam; mortalem sane, ac per aetates mutabilem, tanquam carni peccati sine peccato simillimam.

20. Ac per hoc quaecumque de anima opinio vera sit, quarum nullam temere affirmare adhuc audeo, nisi tantum illam repudiare, qua creduntur animae pro meritis nescio quorum superiorum actuum suorum, singulae in singula corpora tanquam in carceres trudi; certe anima Christi non solum immortalis secundum caeterarum naturam, sed etiam nullo mortificata peccato vel damnatione punita est, quibus duabus causis mors animae intelligi potest; et ideo non secundum ipsam dici potuit Christus vivificatus spiritu. In ea re quippe vivificatus est, in qua fuerat mortificatus: ergo de carne dictum est. Ipsa enim revixit anima redeunte, quia ipsa erat mortua, anima recedente. Mortificatus ergo carne dictus est, quia secundum solam carnem mortuus est: vivificatus autem spiritu, quia illo spiritu operante, in quo ad quos volebat veniebat et praedicabat, etiam ipsa caro vivificata surrexit, in qua modo ad homines venit.

21. Proinde etiam illud quod postea dictum est de incredulis, Qui reddent rationem ei qui paratus est vivos et mortuos judicare, non est consequens ut eos hic intelligamus mortuos qui de corpore exierunt. Fieri enim potest ut mortuos dixerit infideles; hoc est in anima mortuos, de qualibus dicitur, Dimitte mortuos, ut sepeliant mortuos suos (Matth. VIII, 22): vivos autem qui credunt in eum, non trustra audientes, Surge qui dormis, et exsurge a mortuis, et illuminabit te Christus (Eph. V, 14); de qualibus etiam ipse Dominus dicit, Venit hora, et nunc est, quando mortui audient vocem Filii Dei; et qui audierint, vivent (Joan. V, 25). Proinde etiam quod sequitur et dicit Petrus, Propter hoc enim et mortuis evangelizatum est, ut judicentur quidem secundum homines in carne, vivant autem secundum Deum spiritu, non cogit apud inferos intelligi. Propter hoc enim in hac vita et mortuis evangelizatum est, id est infidelibus et iniquis; ut cum crediderint, judicentur quidem secundum homines in carne, hoc est in diversis tribulationibus, et ipsa morte carnis; unde idem apostolus alio loco dicit, Tempus esse ut judicium incipiat a domo Domini (I Petr. IV, 17): Vivant autem secundum Deum spiritu, quia et in ipso fuerant mortificati, cum morte infidelitatis et impietatis detinerentur.

But if souls are not propagated from that one, and the flesh alone from Adam draws original sin, so the Son of God created for himself a soul, as he creates for the rest, which however he mixed not with the flesh of sin, but with the likeness of the flesh of sin (Rom. 8:3). For he took from the Virgin the true substance indeed of flesh; yet not the flesh of sin, because not from carnal concupiscence, either sown or conceived; mortal surely, and changeable through ages, as most like to the flesh of sin without sin.

20. And by this, whichever opinion concerning the soul may be true, of which I dare to affirm none rashly as yet, except only to repudiate that by which it is believed that souls are thrust each into individual bodies as if into prisons for the merits of I know not what former acts of theirs; certainly the soul of Christ was not only immortal according to the nature of the rest, but also put to death by no sin or punished by no condemnation, by which two causes the death of the soul can be understood; and therefore not according to it could Christ be said *quickened by the spirit.* For in that thing indeed he was quickened, in which he had been put to death: therefore it was said of the flesh. For it lived again by the soul returning, because it was dead, the soul withdrawing. *Put to death* therefore he was said *in the flesh,* because according to the flesh alone he died: but quickened by the spirit, because by that spirit operating, in which he came and preached to whom he wished, even the flesh itself rose again quickened, in which now he comes to men.

Hence also that which was afterwards said concerning the incredulous, *Who shall render an account to him who is ready to judge the living and the dead,* it is not consequent that we should here understand those dead who have gone out of the body. For it can be that he called the infidels dead; that is, dead in the soul, of such as it is said, *Let the dead bury their dead* (Matt. 8:22): but the living those who believe in him, not hearing in vain, *Rise you who sleep, and arise from the dead, and Christ will enlighten you* (Eph. 5:14); of such as also the Lord himself says, *The hour comes, and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God; and they who shall hear, shall live* (John 5:25). Hence also what follows and Peter says, *For on this account also it was preached to the dead, that they might indeed be judged according to men in the flesh, but live according to God in the spirit,* does not compel it to be understood in the lower world. For on this account in this life also it was preached to the dead, that is to the infidels and unjust; so that when they shall have believed, they may be judged indeed according to men in the flesh, that is in diverse tribulations, and the very death of the flesh; whence the same apostle says in another place, *That it is time that judgment begin from the house of the Lord* (1 Pet. 4:17): *But live according to God in the spirit,* because also in it they had been put to death, when they were detained by the death of infidelity and impiety.

22. Haec expositio verborum Petri cui displicet, vel cui etiamsi non displicet, non tamen sufficit, quaerat ea secundum inferos intelligere. Qui si valuerit illa quibus me moveri supra commemoravi, ita solvere ut eorum auferat dubitationem, impartiat et mihi: quod si factum fuerit, potuerunt illa verba utroque modo intelligi; sed ista sententia de nulla falsitate convincitur. Ad illas autem quaestiones quas ante misisti, excepta Dei visione per corpus, unde majus opus moliendum est, ut potui, respondi, et per Asellum diaconum misi, quod te accepisse jam puto. In recenti autem commonitorio tuo, cui nunc respondi, duo quaesieras, quorum utrumque tractatum est, unum latius, alterum brevius, de Petri scilicet apostoli verbis, et de anima Domini. Exemplum sane litterarum tuarum, quae continent interrogationem utrum Dei substantia corporaliter velut in loco videri possit, et apud nos nescio quomodo aberraverunt, nec inveniri cum diu quaererentur potuerunt, iterum admoneo mittere ne graveris.

EPISTOLA CLXV . Hieronymus Marcellino et Anapsychiae, exponens diversas sententias de origine animae, hortans ut reliqua petant ab Augustino, et indicans quibus ipse sit occupatus studiis.

Dominis vere sanctis atque omni officiorum charitate venerandis filiis MARCELLINO et ANAPSYCHIAE, HIERONYMUS, in Christo salutem.

CAPUT PRIMUM.

1. Tandem ex Africa vestrae litteras Unanimitatis accepi; et non me poenitet impudentiae, qua tacentibus vobis epistolas meas frequenter ingessi, ut rescriptum mererer, et vos esse sospites, non aliis nuntiantibus, sed vestro potissimum sermone cognoscerem. Super animae statu memini vestrae quaestiunculae, imo maximae ecclesiasticae quaestionis: Utrum lapsa de coelo sit, ut Pythagoras philosophus, omnesque Platonici, et Origenes putant; an a propria Dei substantia, ut Stoici, Manichaeus, et Hispana Priscilliani haeresis suspicantur; an in thesauro habeantur Dei, olim conditae, ut quidam Ecclesiastici stulta persuasione confidunt; an quotidie a Deo fiant, et mittantur in corpora, secundum illud quod in Evangelio scriptum est, «Pater meus usque modo operatur, et ego operor (Joan. V, 17);» an certe ex traduce, ut Tertullianus, Apollinaris, et maxima pars Occidentalium autumant; ut quomodo corpus ex corpore, sic anima nascatur ex anima, et sinuli cum brutis ammantibus conditione subsistat.

22. He to whom this exposition of the words of Peter is displeasing, or to whom although it is not displeasing, yet it does not suffice, let him seek to understand them according to the lower world. If he shall be able so to solve those things by which I mentioned above that I am moved, as to take away the doubt of them, let him impart it also to me: which if it shall have been done, those words could be understood in both ways; but that opinion is convicted of no falsehood. But to those questions which you sent before, except the vision of God through the body, whence a greater work is to be undertaken, I have responded as I could, and sent through Asellus the deacon, which I think you have already received. But in your recent memorandum, to which I have now responded, you had asked two things, both of which have been treated, one more widely, the other more briefly, namely concerning the words of Peter the apostle, and concerning the soul of the Lord. Truly the copy of your letters, which contain the interrogation whether the substance of God can be seen corporally as if in a place, have somehow gone astray among us, nor could they be found when they were long sought; I admonish you again not to be reluctant to send them.

LETTER CLXV. Jerome to Marcellinus and Anapsychia, explaining diverse opinions on the origin of the soul, exhorting that they seek the rest from Augustine, and indicating with what studies he himself is occupied.

To the lords truly holy and to be venerated with all charity of duties, his children MARCELLINUS and ANAPSYCHIA, JEROME, health in Christ.

CHAPTER FIRST.

1. At last I have received from Africa the letters of your Unanimity; and I do not repent of the impudence with which, while you were silent, I frequently pressed my epistles, that I might merit a reply, and might know that you are safe, not by others announcing it, but by your own speech especially. Concerning the state of the soul, I remember your little question, or rather the greatest ecclesiastical question: Whether it has fallen from heaven, as Pythagoras the philosopher and all the Platonists and Origen think; or from God's own substance, as the Stoics, Mani, and the Spanish heresy of Priscillian suspect; or whether they are kept in the treasury of God, founded of old, as certain Ecclesiastics confide with foolish persuasion; or whether they are made daily by God and sent into bodies, according to that which is written in the Gospel, 'My Father works until now, and I work (John 5:17)'; or surely from a source (ex traduce), as Tertullian, Apollinaris, and the greatest part of the Westerners assert; so that just as body is born from body, so soul is born from soul, and subsists in a similar condition with the brute animals.

Super quo quid mihi videretur, in opusculis contra Ruffinum scripsisse me novi, adversus eum libellum quem sanctae memoriae Anastasio, episcopo Romanae Ecclesiae, dedit; in quo lubrica et subdola, imo stulta confessione, dum auditorum simplicitati illudere nititur, suae fidei, imo perfidiae illusit: quos libros reor sanctum parentem vestrum habere Oceanum; olim enim editi sunt, multis Ruffini libris adversus calumnias respondentes. Certe habes ibi virum sanctum et eruditum Augustinum episcopum, qui viva, ut aiunt, voce docere te poterit, et suam, imo per se nostram explicare sententiam.

CAP. II.

2. Ezechielis volumen olim aggredi volui, et sponsionem creberrimam studiosis lectoribus reddere; sed in ipso dictandi exordio ita animus meus occidentalium provinciarum, et maxime urbis Romae vastatione confusus est, ut juxta vulgare proverbium, proprium quoque ignorarem vocabulum: diuque tacui, sciens tempus esse lacrymarum. Hoc autem anno cum tres explicassem libros, subitus impetus barbarorum, de quibus tuus dicit Virgilius, «Lateque vagantes Barcaei» (Virg. Aeneid. IV), et sancta Scriptura de Ismael, «Contra faciem omnium fratrum suorum habitabit» (Gen. XVI, 12), sic Aegypti limitem, Palaestinae, Phoenices, Syriae percurrit, ad instar torrentis cuncta secum trahens, ut vix manus eorum misericordia Christi potuerimus evadere. Quod si, juxta inclytum oratorem, «silent inter arma leges» (Cic. pro Milone); quanto magis studia Scripturarum, quae et librorum multitudine, et silentio, ac librariorum sedulitate, quodque proprium est, securitate et otio dictantium indigent! Duos itaque libros misi sanctae filiae meae Fabiolae, quorum exempla si volueris, ab ipsa poteris mutuari. Pro angustia quippe temporis alios describere non potui: quos cum legeris et vestibula videris, facilis conjectura erit, qualis ipsa sit futura domus. Sed credo in Dei misericordia qui nos adjuvit in difficillimo principio supradicti operis, quod ipse adjuvet et in penultimis Prophetae partis, in quibus Gog et Magog bella narrantur (Ezech. XXXVIII, et XXXIX); et in extremis, in quibus sacratissimi et inexplicabilis templi aedificatio, varietas, mensuraque describitur (Id. XL-XLIII).

CAPUT III.

Concerning which, what seemed right to me, I know that I have written in the booklets against Rufinus, against that book which he gave to Anastasius of holy memory, bishop of the Roman Church; in which by a slippery and subtle, or rather foolish confession, while he strives to mock the simplicity of the auditors, he mocked his own faith, or rather perfidy: which books I think your holy parent Oceanus has; for they were published long ago, responding to many books of Rufinus against calumnies. Certainly you have there the holy and erudite man, Bishop Augustine, who will be able to teach you with a living voice, as they say, and to explain his own, or rather through himself our opinion.

CHAP. II.

2. I wished long ago to approach the volume of Ezekiel, and to return the most frequent promise to studious readers; but in the very beginning of dictating, my mind was so confused by the devastation of the western provinces, and especially of the city of Rome, that according to the common proverb, I was ignorant also of my own name: and for a long time I was silent, knowing it was a time of tears. But in this year, when I had explained three books, a sudden incursion of barbarians, of whom your Virgil says, 'And the widely wandering Barcaei' (Virg. Aeneid IV), and holy Scripture of Ishmael, 'He shall dwell against the face of all his brethren' (Gen. 16:12), so overran the limit of Egypt, Palestine, Phoenicia, and Syria, like a torrent dragging all things with it, that we could scarcely escape their hands by the mercy of Christ. But if, according to the renowned orator, 'laws are silent among arms' (Cic. pro Milone); how much more the studies of the Scriptures, which require both a multitude of books, and silence, and the diligence of copyists, and what is proper, the security and leisure of those dictating! I have therefore sent two books to my holy daughter Fabiola, whose copies you will be able to borrow from her if you wish. For on account of the narrows of time, I could not transcribe others: which when you have read and seen the vestibules, the conjecture will be easy, of what kind the future house itself will be. But I believe in the mercy of God who helped us in the most difficult beginning of the aforementioned work, that he himself may help also in the penultimate parts of the Prophet, in which the wars of Gog and Magog are narrated (Ezek. 38, and 39); and in the last parts, in which the building, variety, and measure of the most sacred and inexplicable temple is described (Id. 40-43).

CHAP. III.

3. Sanctus frater noster Oceanus, cui vos cupitis commendari, tantus et talis est, et sic eruditus in lege Domini, ut absque nostro rogatu instruere vos possit, et nostram super cunctis quaestionibus Scripturarum pro modulo communis ingenii explicare sententiam. Incolumes vos et prolixa aetate florentes Christus Deus noster tueatur omnipotens, domini vere sancti.

DE DUABUS EPISTOLIS PROXIME SEQUENTIBUS. (LIB. II RETRACT. CAPUT XLV.)

Scripsi etiam duos libros ad Hieronymum presbyterum sedentem in Bethlehem: unum de Origine Animae hominis; alterum de Sententia Jacobi apostoli, ubi ait, «Quicumque totam legem servaverit, offendat autem in uno, factus est omnium reus» (Jacobi II, 10); de utroque consulens eum. Sed in illo priore quaestionem quam proposui, ipse non solvi; in posteriore autem quid mihi de illa solvenda videretur ipse non tacui: sed utrum hoc approbaret etiam ille, consului. Rescripsit autem, laudans eamdem consultationem meam, sibi tamen ad respondendum otium non esse respondit. Ego vero quousque esset in corpore, hos libros edere nolui, ne forte responderet aliquando, et cum ipsa responsione ejus potius ederentur. Illo autem defuncto ad hoc edidi priorem, ut qui legit admoneatur aut non quaerere omnino quomodo detur anima nascentibus, aut certe de re obscurissima eam solutionem quaestionis hujus admittere, quae contraria non sit apertissimis rebus quas de originali peccato fides catholica novit in parvulis, nisi regenerentur in Christo sine dubitatione damnandis; posteriorem vero ad hoc ut quaestionis de qua ibi agitur, etiam quae nobis visa est solutio ipsa noscatur. Hoc opus sic incipit: «Deum nostrum qui nos vocavit.»

DE ORIGINE ANIMAE HOMINIS LIBER, SEU EPISTOLA CLXVI.

Augustinus Hieronymo, recensens varias de animae origine sententias, cupit doceri quae potissimum tenenda sit; et quomodo adversus Pelagianorum dogma defendi possit ea quam ille in superiore epistola suam esse fere insinuavit, Singulas animas novas nascentibus fieri.

CAPUT PRIMUM.

3. Our holy brother Oceanus, to whom you desire to be commended, is so great and of such a kind, and so erudite in the law of the Lord, that without our request he can instruct you, and according to the measure of common genius explain our opinion on all questions of the Scriptures. May Christ our God Almighty protect you safe and flourishing in a prolonged age, lords truly holy.

CONCERNING THE TWO EPISTLES IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING. (BOOK II RETRACTATIONS, CHAPTER XLV.)

I wrote also two books to Jerome the presbyter dwelling in Bethlehem: one concerning the Origin of the Soul of man; the other concerning the Sentence of the apostle James, where he says, 'Whoever shall keep the whole law, yet offend in one point, is become guilty of all' (James 2:10); consulting him concerning both. But in that former one I did not myself solve the question which I proposed; but in the latter I did not myself keep silent what seemed right to me concerning the solving of it: but I consulted whether he also approved this. But he wrote back, praising that same consultation of mine, yet responded that he had no leisure for responding. Truly while he was in the body, I did not wish to publish these books, lest perhaps he should respond at some time, and they should rather be published with his response itself. But he being deceased, I published the former for this purpose, that he who reads may be admonished either not to seek at all how the soul is given to those being born, or surely to admit that solution of this question concerning a most obscure matter, which may not be contrary to the most open things which the Catholic faith knows concerning original sin in infants, who without doubt are to be damned unless they be regenerated in Christ; but the latter for this purpose, that even that solution of the question which is treated there, which seemed right to us, may be known. This work begins thus: 'Our God who called us.'

BOOK ON THE ORIGIN OF THE SOUL OF MAN, OR EPISTLE CLXVI.

Augustine to Jerome, reviewing various opinions on the origin of the soul, desires to be taught which is especially to be held; and how that can be defended against the dogma of the Pelagians which he almost insinuated to be his own in the former epistle, that individual new souls are made for those being born.

CHAPTER I.

1. Deum nostrum qui nos vocavit in suum regnum et gloriam (I Thess. II, 12), et rogavi et rogo ut hoc quod ad te scribo, sancte frater Hieronyme, consulens te de his quae nescio, fructuosum esse nobis velit. Quanquam enim te multo quam ego sum aetate majorem, tamen etiam ipse jam senex consulo: sed ad discendum quod opus est, nulla mihi aetas sera videri potest; quia etsi senes magis decet docere quam discere, magis tamen discere quam quid doceant ignorare. Nihil equidem molestius fero in omnibus angustiis meis quas patior in difficillimis quaestionibus, quam in tam longinquo tuae Charitatis absentiam, ut vix possim meas dare, vix recipere litteras tuas, per intervalla, non dierum, non mensium, sed aliquot annorum; cum, si fieri posset, quotidie praesentem te habere vellem, cum quo loquerer quidquid vellem. Nec ideo tamen non debui facere quod potui, si non potui totum quod volui.

2. Ecce venit ad me religiosus juvenis, catholica pace frater, aetate filius, honore compresbyter noster Orosius, vigil ingenio, promptus eloquio, flagrans studio, utile vas in domo Domini esse desiderans, ad refellendas falsas perniciosasque doctrinas, quae animas Hispanorum multo infelicius, quam corpora barbaricus gladius, trucidarunt. Nam inde ad nos usque ab oceani littore properavit, fama excitus quod a me posset de his quae scire vellet, quidquid vellet audire. Neque nullum cepit adventus sui fructum. Primo, ne de me multum famae crederet: deinde docui hominem quod potui; quod autem non potui, unde discere posset, admonui, atque ut ad te iret hortatus sum. Qua in re consilium vel praeceptum meum cum libenter et obedienter acciperet, rogavi eum ut abs te veniens, per nos ad propria remearet. Quam ejus pollicitationem tenens, occasionem mihi credidi a Domino esse concessam, qua tibi scriberem de his quae per te scire cupio. Quaerebam enim quem ad te mitterem, nec mihi facile occurrebat idonens, et fide agendi, et alacritate obediendi, et exercitatione peregrinandi. Ubi ergo istum juvenem expertus sum, eum ipsum esse qualem a Domino petebam, dubitare non potui.

CAPUT II.

3. Accipe igitur quae mihi, peto, aperire ac disserere non graveris. Quaestio de anima multos movet, in quibus et me esse confiteor. Nam quid de anima firmissime teneam, non tacebo: deinde subjungam quid mihi adhuc expediri velim. Anima hominis immortalis est, secundum quemdam modum suum. Non enim omni modo sicut Deus, de quo dictum est quia solus habet immortalitatem (I Tim VI, 16).

1. I have prayed and I pray to our God who has called us into His kingdom and glory (1 Thess. 2:12), that He may be pleased to make this which I write to you, holy brother Jerome, consulting you concerning those things which I do not know, fruitful to us. For although you are much older in age than I am, yet I myself, now an old man, consult you: but for learning what is necessary, no age can seem to me too late; because although it more becomes old men to teach than to learn, it nevertheless more becomes them to learn than to be ignorant of what they should teach. Indeed, I bear nothing more troublesomely in all my straits which I suffer in most difficult questions, than the absence of your Charity in so distant a place, so that I can scarcely send my letters, and scarcely receive yours, at intervals, not of days, nor of months, but of several years; whereas, if it were possible, I would wish to have you present daily, with whom I might speak whatever I wished. Yet I ought not therefore to have failed to do what I could, if I could not do all that I wished.

2. Behold, there has come to me a religious youth, a brother in Catholic peace, a son in age, our fellow-priest (compresbyter) in honor, Orosius, vigilant in genius, ready in speech, burning in zeal, desiring to be a useful vessel in the house of the Lord, for refuting false and pernicious doctrines, which have slaughtered the souls of the Spaniards much more unhappily than the barbarian sword has slaughtered their bodies. For he has hastened from there even to us from the shore of the ocean, excited by the fame that he could hear from me whatever he wished concerning those things which he wished to know. Nor did he reap no fruit of his coming. First, that he might not believe too much in the fame concerning me: then I taught the man what I could; but what I could not, I admonished him from where he might learn, and I exhorted him that he should go to you. In which matter, when he received my counsel or command willingly and obediently, I asked him that, coming from you, he might return to his own parts through us. Holding this promise of his, I believed an occasion to be granted to me by the Lord, by which I might write to you concerning those things which I desire to know through you. For I was seeking whom I might send to you, nor did an appropriate one easily occur to me, both for faithfulness in acting, and for alacrity in obeying, and for experience in traveling. When therefore I experienced this youth to be such a one as I was seeking from the Lord, I could not doubt it.

CHAPTER II.

3. Receive therefore those things which I ask you not to be reluctant to open and discuss. The question concerning the soul moves many, among whom I also confess myself to be. For what I most firmly hold concerning the soul, I will not keep silent: then I will subjoin what I wish to be still explained to me. The soul of man is immortal, according to a certain manner of its own. For it is not in every way like God, of whom it is said that He alone has immortality (1 Tim. 6:16).

Nam de animae mortibus sancta Scriptura multa commemorat; unde illud est, Sine mortuos sepelire mortuos suos (Matth. VIII, 22): sed quod ita moritur alienata a vita Dei, ut tamen in natura sua vivere non omnino desistat; ita mortalis ex aliqua causa invenitur, ut etiam immortalis non sine ratione dicatur. Non est pars Dei anima. Si enim hoc esset, omni modo incommutabilis atque incorruptibilis esset. Quod si esset, nec deficeret in deterius, nec proficeret in melius; nec aliquid in semetipsa vel inciperet habere quod non habebat, vel desineret habere quod habebat, quantum ad ejus ipsius affectiones pertinet: quam vero aliter se habeat, non opus est extrinsecus testimonio; quisquis seipsum advertit, agnoscit. Frustra autem dicitur ab eis qui animam Dei partem esse volunt, hanc ejus labem ac turpitudinem quam videmus in nequissimus hominibus, hanc denique infirmitatem et aegritudinem quam sentimus in omnibus hominibus, non ex ipsa illi esse, sed ex corpore: quid interest unde aegrotet, quae si esset incommutabilis, undelibet aegrotare non posset? Nam quod vere incommutabile et incorruptibile est, nullius rei accessu commutari vel corrumpi potest: alioquin non Achillea tantum, sicut fabulae ferunt, sed omnis caro esset invulnerabilis, si nullus ei casus accideret. Non est itaque natura incommutabilis, quae aliquo modo, aliqua causa, aliqua parte mutabilis est: Deum autem nefas est, nisi vere summeque incommutabilem credere. Non est igitur anima pars Dei.

4. Incorpoream quoque esse animam, etsi difficile tardioribus persuaderi potest, mihi tamen fateor esse persuasum. Sed ne verbi controversiam vel superfluo faciam, vel merito patiar, quoniam cum de re constat, non est opus certare de nomine: si corpus est omnis substantia, vel essentia, vel si quid aptius nuncupatur id quod aliquo modo est in seipso, corpus est anima. Item si eam sclam incorpoream placet appellare naturam quae summe incommutabilis et ubique tota est, corpus est anima; quoniam tale aliquid ipsa non est. Porro si corpus non est, nisi quod per loci spatium aliqua longitudine, latitudine, altitudine ita sistitur vel movetur, ut majore sui parte majorem locum occupet, et breviore breviorem, minusque sit in parte quam in toto, non est corpus anima. Per totum quippe corpus quod animat, non locali diffusione, sed quadam vitali intentione porrigitur: nam per omnes ejus particulas tota simul adest, nec minor in minoribus, et in majoribus major; sed alicubi intentius, alicubi remissius, et in omnibus tota, et in singulis tota est.

For the holy Scripture commemorates many deaths of the soul; whence is that saying, 'Let the dead bury their dead' (Matt. 8:22): but because it thus dies, alienated from the life of God, so that it nevertheless does not altogether cease to live in its own nature; thus it is found mortal for some cause, so that it is also said to be immortal not without reason. The soul is not a part of God. For if it were this, it would be in every way unchangeable and incorruptible. Which if it were, it would neither fail for the worse, nor progress for the better; nor would it begin to have in itself anything which it did not have, or cease to have what it had, as far as pertains to its own affections: but how otherwise it is, there is no need of testimony from without; whoever observes himself, acknowledges it. But it is said in vain by those who wish the soul to be a part of God, that this its blemish and baseness which we see in the most wicked men, this finally its infirmity and sickness which we feel in all men, is not in it from itself, but from the body: what does it matter whence it is sick, since if it were unchangeable, it could not be sick from anywhere? For what is truly unchangeable and incorruptible can be changed or corrupted by the approach of no thing: otherwise not only Achilles, as the fables report, but all flesh would be invulnerable, if no accident could happen to it. It is not therefore a nature unchangeable, which in some way, for some cause, in some part is changeable: but it is a sin to believe God to be anything but truly and supremely unchangeable. Therefore the soul is not a part of God.

4. That the soul is also incorporeal, although it can be difficult to persuade the slower-minded, I nevertheless confess to be persuaded. But lest I should either make a controversy of words unnecessarily, or deservedly suffer one, since when the matter is clear, there is no need to contend about the name: if every substance or essence, or if that which in some way is in itself is more aptly named a body, the soul is a body. Likewise, if it pleases one to call only that nature incorporeal which is supremely unchangeable and is whole everywhere, the soul is a body; since it is not such a thing itself. Furthermore, if it is not a body except that which is situated or moved through space with some length, breadth, and height, so that by its larger part it occupies a larger place, and by its shorter a shorter, and is less in a part than in the whole, the soul is not a body. For through the whole body which it animates, it is extended not by local diffusion, but by a certain vital intention: for through all its particles it is present whole at once, nor is it smaller in smaller parts, and larger in larger; but in some places more intently, in others more remissly, and whole in all, and whole in each one.

Neque enim aliter, quod in corpore etiam non toto sentit, tamen tota sentit: nam cum exiguo puncto in carne viva aliquid tangitur, quamvis locus ille non solum totius corporis non sit, sed vix in corpore videatur, animam tamen totam non latet; neque id quod sentitur, per corporis cuncta discurrit, sed ibi tantum sentitur ubi fit. Unde ergo ad totam mox pervenit quod non in toto fit, nisi quia et ibi tota est ubi fit, nec ut tota ibi sit, caetera deserit? Vivunt enim et illa ea praesente, ubi nihil tale factum est. Quod si fieret, et utrumque simul fieret, simul utrumque totam pariter non lateret. Proinde et in omnibus simul, et in singulis particulis corporis sui, tota simul esse non posset, si per illas ita diffunderetur, ut videmus corpora diffusa per spatia locorum, minoribus suis partibus minora occupare, et amplioribus ampliora. Quapropter si anima corpus esse dicenda est, non est certe corpus quale terrenum est, nec quale humidum, aut aerium, aut aetherium. Omnia quippe talia majora sunt in majoribus locis, et minora in minoribus, et nihil eorum in aliqua sui parte totum adest; sed ut sunt partes locorum, ita occupantur partibus corporum. Unde intelligitur anima, sive corpus, sive incorporea dicenda sit, propriam quamdam habere naturam, omnibus his mundanae molis elementis excellentiore substantia creatam, quae veraciter non possit in aliqua phantasia corporalium imaginum, quas per carnis sensus percipimus, cogitari, sed mente intelligi, vitaque sentiri. Neque haec proinde loquor, ut te quae tibi nota sunt doceam: sed ut aperiam quid firmissime de anima teneam, ne me quisquam, cum ad ea venero quae requiro, nihil de anima vel scientia vel fide tenere arbitretur.

5. Certus etiam sum animam nulla Dei culpa, nulla Dei necessitate vel sua, sed propria voluntate in peccatum esse collapsam: nec liberari posse de corpore mortis hujus vel suae voluntatis virtute, tanquam sibi ad hoc sufficiente, vel ipsius corporis morte, sed gratia Dei per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum (Rom. VII, 24, 25); nec omnino esse animam ullam in genere humano, cui non sit necessarius ad liberationem mediator Dei et hominum homo Christus Jesus. Quaecumque autem sine gratia Mediatoris et Sacramento ejus, in qualibet corporis aetate, de corpore exierit, et in poenam futuram, et in ultimo judicio recepturam corpus ad poenam. Si autem post generationem humanam, quae facta est ex Adam, regeneretur in Christo ad ejus pertinens societatem, et requiem post mortem corporis habituram, et corpus ad gloriam recepturam. Haec sunt quae de anima firmissime teneo.

Nor otherwise, what it feels in the body, even if not in the whole, it nevertheless feels as a whole: for when something is touched in the living flesh with a tiny point, although that place is not only not of the whole body, but scarcely seen in the body, it nevertheless does not escape the whole soul; nor does that which is felt run through all parts of the body, but is felt only there where it happens. Whence therefore does that which does not happen in the whole soon reach the whole, unless because it is whole also there where it happens, and it does not desert the other parts so that it may be whole there? For those also live by its presence, where nothing such has happened. Which if it should happen, and both should happen at once, both would equally not escape the whole at the same time. Therefore, both in all parts at once, and in individual particles of its own body, it could not be whole at once, if it were so diffused through them, as we see bodies diffused through spaces of places, occupying smaller spaces with their smaller parts, and larger with larger. Wherefore, if the soul is to be called a body, it is certainly not such a body as a terrestrial one is, nor such as a liquid, or aerial, or ethereal one. For all such things are larger in larger places, and smaller in smaller, and none of them is present whole in any part of itself; but as they are parts of places, so they are occupied by parts of bodies. Whence it is understood that the soul, whether it is to be called a body or incorporeal, has a certain proper nature, created with a substance more excellent than all these elements of the worldly mass, which cannot truly be thought of in any phantasy (phantasia) of corporal images, which we perceive through the senses of the flesh, but is to be understood by the mind and felt by life. Nor do I speak these things for the purpose of teaching you those things which are known to you: but so that I may open what I most firmly hold concerning the soul, lest anyone, when I come to those things which I require, should think that I hold nothing concerning the soul either by knowledge or by faith.

5. I am also certain that the soul collapsed into sin by no fault of God, by no necessity of God or its own, but by its own will: nor can it be liberated from the body of this death either by the virtue of its own will, as if this were sufficient for it for this purpose, or by the death of the body itself, but by the grace of God through Jesus Christ our Lord (Rom. 7:24, 25); nor is there altogether any soul in the human race, for whom the Mediator of God and men, the man Christ Jesus, is not necessary for liberation. But whatever soul shall depart from the body at any age of the body without the grace of the Mediator and His Sacrament, it will both receive punishment in the future, and in the last judgment will receive back the body for punishment. But if, after the human generation which was made from Adam, it be regenerated in Christ, pertaining to His society, it will both have rest after the death of the body, and receive back the body for glory. These are the things which I most firmly hold concerning the soul.

CAPUT III.

6. Nunc accipe, quaeso, quid requiram, et noli me spernere; sic non te spernat qui pro nobis dignatus est sperni. Quaero ubi contraxerit anima reatum quo trahitur in condemnationem, etiam infantis morte praeventi, si ei per Sacramentum quo etiam parvuli baptizantur, Christi gratia non subvenerit. Non enim es ex illis qui modo nova quaedam garrire coeperunt, dicentes nullum reatum esse ex Adam tractum, qui per Baptismum in infante solvatur. Quod te sapere si scirem, imo nisi te id non sapere scirem, nequaquam hoc abs te quaererem aut quaerendum putarem. Sed quia tenemus de hac re sententiam tuam concinentem catholicae fundatissimae fidei, qua et Joviniani vaniloquia redarguens, adhibuisti testimonium ex libro Job. Nemo mundus in conspectu tuo, nec infans cujus est diei unius vita super terram (Job XV, 4, sec. LXX), deinde adjunxisti, Tenemurque rei in similitudine praevaricationis Adae (Hieron. lib. 2 adversus Jovin.); et liber tuus in Jonam prophetam satis hoc insigniter dilucideque declarat, ubi jejunare parvulos propter ipsum originale peccatum, merito coactos esse dixisti (Id. in Jonam): non inconvenienter abs te quaero, hunc reatum anima ubi contraxerit, unde oporteat eam etiam in illa aetate per Sacramentum christianae gratiae liberari.

7. Ego quidem ante aliquot annos, cum libros quosdam scriberem de Libero Arbitrio, qui in multorum manus exierunt, et nunc habentur a plurimis, quatuor opiniones de animae incarnatione, Utrum ex illa una quae primo homini data est, caeterae propagentur: an singulis quibusque novae etiam modo fiant: an alicubi jam existentes, vel mittantur divinitus, vel sponte labantur in corpora; ita putavi esse tractandas, ut quaelibet earum vera esset, non impediret intentionem meam, qua tunc adversus eos quantis poteram viribus agebam, qui naturam mali suo principio praeditam, adversus Deum conantur inducere, id est contra Manichaeos (De Libero Arbitrio, lib. 3 c. 21): nam de Priscillianistis adhuc nihil audieram, qui non multum ab istis dissimiles blasphemias fabulantur. Ideo quintam opinionem non addidi, quam in tua epistola inter caeteras commemorasti, ne aliquam praeterires, ubi de hac quaestione interroganti rescripsisti religiosae memoriae viro, nobisque in Christi charitate gratissimo Marcellino, quod anima sit pars Dei: primo, quia non de incarnatione ejus, sed de natura quaeritur, cum hoc quaeritur; deinde, quia hoc sentiunt illi contra quos agebam, et id maxime agebam ut Creatoris inculpabilem inviolabilemque naturam a creaturae vitiis et labe secernerem,

CHAPTER III.

6. Now receive, I pray, what I require, and do not despise me; so may He not despise you who deigned to be despised for us. I ask where the soul contracted the guilt by which it is drawn into condemnation, even in the case of the death of an infant prevented [from baptism], if the grace of Christ has not subvened through the Sacrament by which even infants are baptized. For you are not of those who have just now begun to prate some new things, saying that there is no guilt drawn from Adam, which may be dissolved through Baptism in an infant. If I knew you to think this, or rather unless I knew you not to think this, I would by no means ask this from you or think it was to be asked. But because we hold your opinion to be concordant with the most well-founded Catholic faith, by which also, refuting the vain talk of Jovinian, you applied the testimony from the book of Job. 'No one is clean in your sight, not even an infant whose life is of one day upon the earth' (Job 14:4, sec. LXX), then you added, 'And we are held guilty in the likeness of the prevarication of Adam' (Jerome, Book 2 against Jovinian); and your book on the prophet Jonah declares this quite signally and clearly, where you said that infants were deservedly compelled to fast because of original sin itself (Id. on Jonah): I ask you not inconveniently where the soul contracted this guilt, whence it is necessary for it even at that age to be liberated through the Sacrament of Christian grace.

7. Indeed, some years ago, when I was writing some books concerning Free Will, which went out into the hands of many and are now held by very many, I thought that four opinions concerning the incarnation of the soul — whether from that one which was given to the first man the rest are propagated; or whether for each individual new ones are also made now; or whether existing somewhere already, they are either sent divinely, or collapse spontaneously into bodies — were to be so treated that whichever of them were true, it would not impede my intention, by which I was then acting with as much strength as I could against those who attempt to introduce a nature of evil endowed with its own principle against God, that is, against the Manichaeans (On Free Will, book 3 c. 21): for I had heard nothing yet of the Priscillianists, who fable blasphemies not much dissimilar to those. Therefore I did not add the fifth opinion, which you commemorated among the rest in your epistle, lest you should pass over any, where you wrote back to the man of religious memory, and most dear to us in the charity of Christ, Marcellinus, who asked about this question, that the soul is a part of God: first, because it is not asked concerning its incarnation, but concerning its nature, when this is asked; then, because those feel this against whom I was acting, and I was especially acting to separate the inculpable and inviolable nature of the Creator from the vices and blemish of the creature,

cum illi a substantia mali, cui proprium principium principesque tribuunt, ipsam boni Dei substantiam ex parte qua capta est, corruptam et oppressam, et ad peccandi necessitatem perductam esse contendant. Hoc itaque excepto haereticae opinionis errore, ex quatuor reliquis opinionibus quaenam sit eligenda scire desidero. Quaecumque enim eligenda est, absit ut impugnet hanc fidem de qua certi sumus, omni animae etiam parvuli infantis necessariam esse liberationem ex obligatione peccati, eamque nullam esse nisi per Jesus Christum, et hunc crucifixum.

CAPUT IV.

8. Proinde ne longum faciamus, hoc certe sentis quod singulas animas singulis nascentibus etiam modo Deus faciat. Cui sententiae ac objiciatur quod omnes creaturas sexto die consummaverit Deus et septimo die requieverit, adhibes testimonium ex Evangelio, Pater meus usque nunc operatur (Joan. V, 17). Sic enim ad Marcellinum scripsisti: in qua epistola etiam mei commemorationem benevolentissime facere dignatus es, quod hic me haberet in Africa, qui ei ipsam facilius possem explicare sententiam (Sap., epist. 165). Quod si potuissem, non ille hoc abs te tam longe posito inquireret; si tamen id tibi ex Africa scripsit. Nam quando scripserit nescio; lantum scio quod de hoc bene cognoverit cunctationem meam: unde me inconsulto facere voluit. Quanquam etiam si consuleret, magis hortarer, et gratias agerem quod nobis omnibus conferri possset, nisi tu breviter rescribere, quam respondere maluisses: credo ne superfluo laborares, ubi ego essem, quem putabas id optime scire quod ille quaesiverat. Ecce volo ut illa sententia etiam mea sit, sed nondum esse confirmo.

9. Misisti ad me discipulos ut ea doceam quae nondum ipse didici. Doce ergo quod doceam: nam ut doceam multi a me flagitant, eisque me sicut alia multa, et hoc ignorare confiteor: et fortasse quamvis in os meum verecundentur, tamen apud se dicunt, Tu es magister in Israel, et haec ignoras (Joan. III, 10)! quod quidem Dominus ei dixit, qui erat unus illorum quos delectabat vocari Rabbi: unde etiam ad verum magistrum nocte venerat, quia fortassis erubescebat discere, qui docere consueverat. Me autem potius magistrum audire, quam velut magistrum delectat audiri.

since they contend that from the substance of evil, to which they attribute its own principle and princes, the very substance of the good God, in the part by which it was captured, was corrupted and oppressed, and led to the necessity of sinning. This error of heretical opinion having been excepted therefore, I desire to know which of the remaining four opinions is to be chosen. For whichever is to be chosen, far be it that it should impugn this faith of which we are certain, that for every soul, even of a tiny infant, liberation from the obligation of sin is necessary, and that it is none unless through Jesus Christ, and Him crucified.

CHAPTER IV.

8. Therefore, lest we make it long, you certainly feel this, that God makes individual souls for individual ones being born even now. To which opinion, when it is objected that God finished all creatures on the sixth day and rested on the seventh day, you apply the testimony from the Gospel, 'My Father worketh hitherto' (John 5:17). For you wrote thus to Marcellinus: in which epistle you also deigned to make mention of me most benevolently, that he had me here in Africa, who could more easily explain that same opinion to him (Sap., epist. 165). Which if I could have done, he would not have inquired this from you placed so far away; if indeed he wrote this to you from Africa. For when he wrote it, I do not know; I only know that he well knew my hesitation concerning this: whence he wished to do it without consulting me. Although even if he did consult me, I would rather exhort him, and give thanks that it could be conferred upon us all, unless you had preferred to write back briefly rather than to respond: I believe lest you should labor superfluously, where I was, whom you thought to know best what he had asked. Behold, I wish that that opinion were also mine, but I do not yet confirm that it is.

You have sent disciples to me so that I may teach them those things which I myself have not yet learned. Teach therefore what I may teach: for many demand from me that I teach them, and to them, as many other things, I confess that I also am ignorant of this: and perhaps although they are ashamed before my face, yet among themselves they say, 'Art thou a teacher in Israel, and knowest not these things?' (John 3:10)! which indeed the Lord said to him who was one of those who delighted to be called Rabbi: whence also he had come to the true teacher by night, because perhaps he was ashamed to learn, who had been accustomed to teach. But it delights me rather to hear a teacher than to be heard as a teacher.

Recolo enim quid dixerit eis quos prae caeteris elegit: Vos autem, inquit, nolite vocari ab hominibus Rabbi; unus est enim magister vester, Christus (Matth. XXIII, 8). Nec alius docuit Moysen etiam per Jetro (Exod. XVIII, 14-23), nec alius Cornelium etiam per priorem Petrum (Act. X, 25-48), nec alius Petrum etiam per posteriorem Paulum (Galat. II, 11-21): a quocumque enim verum dicitur, illo donante dicitur, qui est ipsa Veritas. Quid si ideo adhuc ista nescimus, et ea neque orando, neque legendo, neque cogitando et ratiocinando invenire potuimus, ut probemur non solum indoctos quanta charitate doceamus, verum a doctis etiam quanta humilitate discamus?

10. Doce ergo, quaeso, quod doceam, doce quod teneam, et dic mihi, si animae singillatim singulis hodieque nascentibus fiunt, ubi in parvulis peccent, ut indigeant in Sacramento Christi remissione peccati, peccantes in Adam ex quo caro est propagata peccati: aut si non peccant, qua justitia Creatoris ita peccato obligantur alieno, cum exinde propagatis membris mortalibus inseruntur, ut eas, nisi per Ecclesiam subventum fuerit, damnatio consequatur; cum in earum potestate non sit, ut eis possit gratia Baptismi subveniri. Tot igitur animarum millia, quae in mortibus parvulorum sine indulgentia christiani Sacramenti de corporibus exeunt, qua aequitate damnantur, si novae creatae, nullo suo praecedente peccato, sed voluntate Creatoris singulae singulis nascentibus adhaeserunt, quibus eas animandis ille creavit et dedit; qui utique noverat quod unaquaeque carum nulla sua culpa sine baptismo Christi de corpore fuerat exitura? Quoniam igitur neque de Deo possumus dicere quod vel cogat animas fieri peccatrices, vel puniat innocentes; neque negare fas nobis est, eas quae sine Christi Sacramento de corporibus exierint, etiam parvulorum, non nisi in damnationem trahi: obsecre te, quomodo haec opinio defenditur, qua creduntur animae non ex illa una primi hominis fieri omnes, sed sicut illa una uni, ita singulis singulae?

CAPUT V.

11. Ea vero quae dicuntur alia contra hanc opinionem, facile puto me posse refellere; sicuti est illud, quo eam sibi quidam videntur urgere, quomodo consummaverit Deus omnia opera sua sexto die, et septimo requieverit (Gen. II, 2), si novas adhuc animas creat? Quibus si dixerimus quod ex Evangelio in supradicta epistola posuisti, Pater meus usque nunc operatur; respondent, operatur dictum est, institutas administrando, non novas instituendo naturas, ne Scripturae Geneseos contradicatur, ubi apertissime legitur consummasse Deum omnia opera sua.

For I recall what He said to those whom He chose before the rest: 'But you,' He said, 'be not called by men Rabbi; for one is your master, Christ' (Matt. 23:8). Nor did another teach Moses even through Jethro (Exod. 18:14-23), nor another Cornelius even through the former Peter (Acts 10:25-48), nor another Peter even through the latter Paul (Gal. 2:11-21): for by whomsoever the truth is spoken, it is spoken by His gift, who is the Truth itself. What if we therefore do not yet know these things, and have been able to find them neither by praying, nor by reading, nor by thinking and reasoning, so that we may be proved with what great charity we teach the unlearned, but also with what great humility we learn from the learned?

10. Teach therefore, I pray, what I may teach, teach what I may hold, and tell me, if souls are made individually for individual ones being born even today, where do they sin in infants, so that they should need the remission of sin in the Sacrament of Christ, sinning in Adam from whom the flesh of sin is propagated: or if they do not sin, by what justice of the Creator are they so bound by another's sin, when they are inserted into mortal members propagated from there, so that condemnation follows them, unless they be subvened through the Church; since it is not in their power that the grace of Baptism can subvene them. So many thousands of souls, therefore, which depart from bodies in the deaths of infants without the indulgence of the Christian Sacrament, by what equity are they condemned, if newly created, with no preceding sin of their own, they adhered individually to individual ones being born by the will of the Creator, for whom He created and gave them to animate? Who surely knew that each one of them was to depart from the body without the baptism of Christ by no fault of its own? Since therefore we can neither say of God that He either compels souls to become sinners, or punishes the innocent; nor is it lawful for us to deny that those which shall depart from bodies without the Sacrament of Christ, even of infants, are drawn into no thing but condemnation: I beseech you, how is this opinion defended, by which souls are believed not to be made all from that one of the first man, but individual ones for individuals, just as that one for one?

CHAPTER V.

11. Those things, indeed, which are said by others against this opinion, I think I can easily refute; such as that by which some seem to press it upon themselves, how God completed all His works on the sixth day, and rested on the seventh (Gen. 2:2), if He still creates new souls? To whom if we should say what you have placed from the Gospel in the aforementioned epistle, "My Father worketh until now"; they respond, "worketh" was said by administering established things, not by establishing new natures, lest the Scripture of Genesis be contradicted, where it is most clearly read that God completed all His works.

Nam et quod eum scriptum est requievisse, utique a creandis novis creaturis intelligendum est, non a gubernandis; quia tunc ea quae non erant fecit, a quibus faciendis requievit: quia consummaverat omnia quae antequam essent, vidit esse facienda, ut deinceps non ea quae non erant, sed ex his quae jam erant, crearet et faceret quidquid faceret. Ita utrumque verum esse monstratur, et quod dictum est, requievit ab operibus suis; et quod dictum est, usque nunc operatur: quoniam Genesi non potest Evangelium esse contrarium.

12. Verum his qui haec ideo dicunt ne credatur modo Deus, sicut illam unam novas animas quae non erant, facere; sed ex illa una quae jam erat, eas creare, vel ex fonte aliquo sive thesauro quodam quem tunc fecit, eas mittere, facile respondetur etiam illis sex diebus multa Deum creasse ex his naturis quas jam creaverat, sicut ex aquis alites et pisces; ex terra autem arbores, fenum, animalia: sed quod ea quae non erant, tunc fecerit, manifestum est. Nulla enim erat avis, nullus piscis, nulla arbor, nullum animal: et bene intelligitur ab his creatis requievisse, quae non erant, et creata sunt, id est cessasse, ne ultra quae non erant, crearentur. Sed nunc quod dicitur animas non in nescio quo fonte jam existentes mittere, nec de seipso tanquam suas particulas irrorare, nec de illa una originaliter trahere, nec pro delictis ante carnem commissis carneis vinculis compedire, sed novas creare singulas singulis suam cuique nascenti, non aliquid facere dicitur, quod ante non fecerat. Jam enim sexto die fecerat hominem ad imaginem suam; quod utique secundum animam rationalem fecisse intelligitur. Hoc et nunc facit, non instituendo quod non erat, sed multiplicando quod erat. Unde et illud verum est, quod a rebus, quae non erant, instituendis requievit: et hoc verum est, quod non solum gubernando quae fecit, verum etiam aliquid non quod nondum, sed quod jam creaverat, numerosius creando usque nunc operatur. Vel sic ergo, vel alio modo quolibet eximus ab eo quod nobis objicitur de requie Dei ab operibus suis, ne propterea non credamus nunc usque fieri animas novas, non ex illa una, sed sicut illam unam.

13. Nam quod dicitur. Quare facit animas eis quos novit cito morituros? possumus respondere, parentum hinc peccata vel convinci, vel flagellari. Possumus etiam recte illius moderationi ista relinquere, quem scimus omnibus temporaliter transeuntibus rebus, ubi sunt etiam animalium ortus et obitus, cursum ornatissimum atque ordinatissimum dare; sed nos ista sentire non posse, quae si sentiremus, delectatione ineffabili mulceremur. Non enim frustra per prophetam, qui haec divinitus inspirata didicerat, dictum est de Deo: Qui profert numerose saeculum.

For also that which is written of Him having rested, is certainly to be understood as resting from creating new creatures, not from governing them; because then He made those things which were not, from the making of which He rested: because He had completed all things which, before they were, He saw were to be made, so that henceforth He should create and make whatever He might make, not of those things which were not, but from those things which already were. Thus both are shown to be true, both that which was said, "He rested from His works"; and that which was said, "He worketh until now": since the Gospel cannot be contrary to Genesis.

12. But to those who say these things for this reason, lest it be believed that God now makes new souls which were not, just as He made that one; but that He creates them from that one which already was, or sends them from some source or some treasury which He then made, it is easily responded that even in those six days God created many things from those natures which He had already created, such as birds and fishes from the waters; but trees, grass, and animals from the earth: but it is manifest that He then made those things which were not. For there was no bird, no fish, no tree, no animal: and it is well understood that He rested from these created things, which were not and were created, that is, that He ceased, lest beyond those things which were not, more should be created. But now what is said, that He does not send souls already existing in some source or other, nor sprinkle them from Himself as His own particles, nor draw them originally from that one, nor shackle them with fleshly chains for faults committed before the flesh, but creates new individual ones for individual ones being born, each for its own, He is not said to do something which He had not done before. For already on the sixth day He had made man in His own image; which indeed is understood to have been done according to the rational soul. This He also does now, not by establishing what was not, but by multiplying what was. Whence also that is true, that He rested from establishing things which were not: and this is true, that not only by governing what He made, but also by creating more numerously something, not which He had not yet, but which He had already created, He worketh until now. Either thus, therefore, or in any other way, we escape from that which is objected to us concerning the rest of God from His works, lest on that account we should not believe that new souls are made even until now, not from that one, but like that one.

13. For as to what is said, "Why does He make souls for those whom He knows will soon die?" we can respond that the sins of the parents are hereby either convicted or scourged. We can also rightly leave these things to the moderation of Him whom we know gives a most ornate and most orderly course to all things passing temporally, where there are also the births and deaths of animals; but that we cannot perceive these things, which if we did perceive, we would be soothed with ineffable delight. For not in vain was it said of God by the prophet, who had learned these things divinely inspired: "Who bringeth forth the age numerously."

Unde musica, id est scientia sensusve bene modulandi, ad admonitionem magnae rei, etiam mortalibus rationales habentibus animas Dei largitate concessa est. Unde si homo faciendi carminis artifex novit quas quibus moras vocibus tribuat, ut illud quod canitur decedentibus ac succedentibus sonis pulcherrime currat ac transeat; quanto magis Deus, cujus sapientia, per quam fecit omnia, longe omnibus artibus praeferenda est, nulla in naturis nascentibus et occidentibus temporum spatia, quae tanquam syllabae ac verba ad particulas hujus saeculi pertinent, in hoc labentium rerum tanquam mirabili cantico, vel brevius, vel productius, quam modulatio praecognita et praefinita deposcit, praeterire permittit! Hoc cum etiam de arboris folio dixerim, et de nostrorum numero capillorum; quanto magis de hominis ortu et occasu, cujus temporalis vita brevius productiusve non tenditur, quam Deus dispositor temporum novit universitatis moderamini consonare!

14. Id etiam quod aiunt, omne quod in tempore coepit esse, immortale esse non posse; quia omnia orta occidunt, et aucta senescunt, ut eo modo credi cogant, animum humanum ideo esse immortalem, quod ante omnia tempora sit creatus, non movet fidem nostram: ut enim alia taceam, coepit esse in tempore immortalitas carnis Christi, quae tamen jam non moritur, et mors ei ultra non dominabitur (Rom. VI, 9).

15. Illud vero quod in libro adversus Ruffinum posuisti, quosdam huic sententiae calumniari, quod Deum dare animas adulterinis conceptibus videatur indignum, unde conantur astruere meritis gestae ante carnem vitae, animas quasi ad ergastula hujusmodi juste posse perduci (Adv. Ruffinum, lib. 3); non me movet multa cogitantem quibus haec possit calumnia refutari. Et quod ipse respondisti, non esse vitium sementis in tritico quod furto dicitur esse sublatum, sed in eo qui frumenta furatus est; nec idcirco terram non debuisse gremio suo semina confovere, quia sator immunda ea projecerit manu; elegantissima similitudo est. Quam et antequam legerem, nullas mihi objectio ista de adulterinis fetibus in hac quaestione faciebat angustias, generaliter intuenti multa bona Deum facere, etiam de nostris malis nostrisque peccatis. Animalis autem cujuscumque creatio, si habeat pium prudentemque consideratorem, ineffabilem laudem Creatori excitat; quanto magis creatio non cujuslibet animalis, sed hominis! Si autem causa creandi quaeritur, nulla citius et melius respondetur, nisi quia omnis creatura Dei bona est. Et quid dignius quam ut bona faciat bonus Deus, quae nemo potest facere nisi Deus?

Whence music, that is, the science or sense of modulating well, was granted by the bounty of God even to mortals having rational souls, for the admonition of a great thing. Whence if man, the artisan of making a song, knows what pauses he should attribute to which voices, so that that which is sung should run and pass most beautifully with departing and succeeding sounds; how much more God, whose wisdom, through which He made all things, is to be preferred far above all arts, permits no spaces of times in natures being born and dying—which pertain to the particles of this age like syllables and words—to pass in this kind of wonderful song of gliding things, either more briefly or more lengthily than the pre-known and pre-defined modulation requires! Since I have said this even of the leaf of a tree, and of the number of our hairs; how much more of the birth and death of man, whose temporal life is not extended more briefly or more lengthily than God, the disposer of times, knows to harmonize with the governance of the universe!

Also that which they say, that everything which began to be in time cannot be immortal; because all things begun perish, and increased things grow old—so that in that way they might compel it to be believed that the human soul is immortal for the reason that it was created before all times—does not move our faith: for to say nothing of other things, the immortality of the flesh of Christ began to be in time, which nevertheless now dies no more, and death shall have no more dominion over it (Rom. 6:9).

But that which you placed in the book against Ruffinus, that some calumniate this opinion because it seems unworthy for God to give souls to adulterous conceptions, whence they strive to assert that by the merits of a life spent before the flesh, souls can justly be brought as if to workhouses of this kind (Adv. Ruffinum, lib. 3); it does not move me, thinking many things by which this calumny can be refuted. And what you yourself responded, that there is no vice of the seed in the wheat which is said to have been taken by theft, but in him who stole the grain; nor on that account ought the earth not to have cherished the seeds in its bosom, because the sower cast them with an unclean hand; it is a most elegant similitude. Which even before I read it, that objection concerning adulterous offspring caused me no straits in this question, generally beholding that God does many good things even from our evils and our sins. Moreover, the creation of any animal whatever, if it have a pious and prudent considerer, excites ineffable praise for the Creator; how much more the creation not of just any animal, but of man! But if the cause of creating is sought, none is responded more quickly and better than because every creature of God is good. And what is more worthy than that the good God should make good things, which no one can make except God?

CAPUT VI.

16. Haec et alia quae possum, sicut possum, dico adversus eos qui hanc opinionem qua creduntur animae sicut illa una singulis fieri, labefactare conantur. Sed cum ad poenas ventum est parvulorum, magnis, mihi crede, coarctor angustiis, nec quid respondeam prorsus invenio: non solum eas poenas dico, quas habet post hanc vitam illa damnatio, quo necesse est trahantur, si de corpore exierint sine christianae gratiae Sacramento; sed eas ipsas quae in hac vita dolentibus nobis versantur ante oculous, quas enumerare si velim, prius tempus quam exempla deficient. Languescunt aegritudinibus, torquentur doloribus, fame et siti cruciantur, debilitantur membris, privantur sensibus, vexantur ab immundis spiritibus. Demonstrandum est utique, quomodo ista sine ulla sua mala causa juste patiantur. Non enim dici fas est, aut ista ignorante Deo fieri, aut eum non posse resistere facientibus, aut injuste ista vel facere vel permittere. Numquidnam sicut animalia irrationabilia recte dicimus in usus dari naturis excellentioribus, etsi vitiosis, sicut apertissime in Evangelio videmus porcos ad usum desideratum concessos esse daemonibus (Matth. VIII, 32); hoc et de homine recte possumus dicere? Animal est enim, sed rationale, etsi mortale. Anima est rationalis in illis membris, quae tantis afflictionibus poenas luit; Deus bonus est, Deus justus est, Deus omnipotens est: hoc dubitare omnino dementis est. Tantorum ergo malorum quae fiunt in parvulis, causa justa dicatur. Nempe cum majores ista patiuntur, solemus dicere aut sicut in Job merita examinari, aut sicut in Herode peccata puniri: et de quibusdam exemplis quae Deus manifesta esse voluit, alia quae obscura sunt homini conjectare conceditur; sed hoc in majoribus. De parvulis autem quid respondeamus edissere, si poenis tantis nulla in eis sunt punienda peccata: nam utique nulla est in illis aetatibus examinanda justitia.

17. De ingeniorum vero diversitate, imo absurditate, quid dicam? quae quidem in parvulis latet, sed ab ipsis exordiis naturalibus ducta, apparet in grandibus, quorum nonnulli tam tardi et obliviosi sunt, ut ne prima quidem discere litterarum elementa potuerint: quidam vero tantae sunt fatuitatis, ut non multum a pecoribus differant; quos moriones vulgo vocant. Respondetur fortasse, Corpora hoc faciunt.

CHAPTER VI.

16. These and other things which I can, as I can, I say against those who strive to undermine this opinion by which souls are believed to be made for individuals just as that one. But when it comes to the punishments of infants, believe me, I am straitened by great difficulties, nor do I find at all what I should respond: I do not only mean those punishments which that condemnation has after this life, whither it is necessary they be drawn if they depart from the body without the Sacrament of Christian grace; but those very things which are turned before our eyes in this life with us grieving, which if I should wish to enumerate, time would fail before examples. They languish with sicknesses, they are racked with pains, they are tortured with hunger and thirst, they are debilitated in their members, they are deprived of their senses, they are vexed by unclean spirits. It must certainly be demonstrated how they suffer these things justly without any evil cause of their own. For it is not lawful to be said, either that these things are done while God is ignorant, or that He cannot resist those doing them, or that He either does or permits these things unjustly. Is it forsooth as we rightly say that irrational animals are given for the uses of higher natures, even if faulty ones, as we most clearly see in the Gospel that swine were granted to demons for their desired use (Matt. 8:32); can we rightly say this also of man? For he is an animal, but a rational one, even if mortal. There is a rational soul in those members, which pays the penalty with such great afflictions; God is good, God is just, God is almighty: to doubt this is entirely the part of a madman. Of such great evils therefore which are done in infants, let a just cause be said. Surely when older people suffer these things, we are accustomed to say either that merits are examined as in Job, or that sins are punished as in Herod: and from certain examples which God wished to be manifest, it is permitted to conjecture other things which are obscure to man; but this in older people. But as to infants, declare what we should respond, if there are no sins to be punished in them with such great punishments: for certainly there is no justice to be examined in those ages.

17. But of the diversity of talents, or rather the absurdity, what shall I say? which indeed is hidden in infants, but being drawn from the very natural beginnings, appears in adults, some of whom are so slow and forgetful that they have not been able to learn even the first elements of letters: some indeed are of such great fatuity that they differ not much from cattle; whom the common people call morons (moriones). It is responded perhaps, "Bodies do this."

Sed numquid secundum hanc sententiam quam defendi volumus, anima sibi corpus elegit, et in eligendo cum falleretur, erravit? aut cum in corpus cogeretur intrare necessitate nascendi, alia corpora praeoccupantibus animarum turbis, ipsa aliud non invenit, et sicut in spectaculo aliquo locum, ita carnem non quam voluit, sed quam valuit, occupavit? Numquid haec et talia vel dicere possumus, vel sentire debemus? Doce igitur quid sentire, quid dicere debeamus, ut constet nobis ratio novarum animarum singillatimque factarum singulis corporibus.

CAPUT VII.

18. Ego quidem non de ingeniis, sed saltem de poenis parvulorum, quas in hac vita patiuntur, dixi aliquid in libris illis de Libero Arbitrio. Quod quale sit, et cur mihi in ista quam habemus in manibus quaestione non sufficiat, intimabo, et eum ipsum de tertio libro locum excerptum his litteris inseram. Nam ita se habet: De cruciatibus autem corporis quibus affliguntur parvuli, quorum per aetatem nulla peccata sunt, si animae quibus animantur, non priusquam ipsi homines esse coeperunt, major querela et quasi misericors deponi solet, cum dicitur, Quid mali fecerunt, ut ista paterentur? quasi possit esse meritum innocentiae, antequam quisque nocere aliquid possit! Cum autem boni aliquid operatur Deus in emendatione majorum, cum parvulorum suorum qui eis chari sunt, doloribus ac mortibus flagellantur, cur ista non fiant, quando cum transierint, pro non factis erunt, in quibus facta sunt: propter quos autem facta sunt, aut meliores erunt, si temporalibus incommodis emendati, rectius elegerint vivere; aut excusationem in futuri judicii supplicio non habebunt, si vitae hujus angoribus, ad aeternam vitam desiderium convertere noluerint? Quis autem novit quid parvulis, de quorum cruciatibus duritia majorum contunditur, aut exercetur fides, aut misericordia probatur: quis ergo novit quid ipsis parvulis in secreto judiciorum suorum bonae compensationis reservet Deus? Quoniam quanquam nihil recte fecerint, tamen nec peccantes aliquid ista perpessi sunt. Non enim frustra etiam infantes illos, qui cum Dominus noster Jesus Christus necandus ab Herode quaereretur, occisi sunt, in honorem martyrum receptos commendat Ecclesia (De Libero Arbitrio, lib. 3, c. 23, n. 67).

19. Haec tunc dixi, cum hanc ipsam de qua nunc agitur vellem communire sententiam. Sicut enim paulo ante commemoravi, quaecumque illarum de animae incarnatione quatuor opinionum vera esset, inculpatam substantiam Creatoris, et a nostrorum peccatorum societate remotissimam nitebar ostendere.

But did the soul, according to this opinion which we wish to be defended, choose a body for itself, and while it was deceived in choosing, did it err? Or when it was compelled to enter a body by the necessity of being born, while crowds of souls were preoccupying other bodies, did it not find another, and as a place in some spectacle, so did it occupy the flesh not which it wished, but which it could? Can we either say or feel these and such things? Teach therefore what we ought to feel, what we ought to say, so that the reason of new souls and those made individually for individual bodies may be established for us.

CHAPTER VII.

18. I indeed said something concerning not the talents, but at least the punishments of infants, which they suffer in this life, in those books on Free Will. What sort of thing it is, and why it does not suffice me in this question which we have in hand, I will intimate, and I will insert that very place excerpted from the third book in these letters. For it is thus: "But concerning the tortures of the body with which infants are afflicted, whose sins are none through their age, if the souls by which they are animated did not exist before they themselves began to be men, a greater and as it were merciful complaint is accustomed to be laid down, when it is said: What evil have they done, that they should suffer these things? as if there could be a merit of innocence before anyone could harm anything! But since God works something good in the amendment of older people, when they are scourged by the pains and deaths of their infants who are dear to them, why should these things not be done, since when they have passed, they will be as if not done for those in whom they were done: but on account of whom they were done, they will either be better, if amended by temporal inconveniences they shall have chosen to live more rightly; or they will not have an excuse in the punishment of the future judgment, if they shall have been unwilling to turn their desire to eternal life by the anguishes of this life? But who knows what God reserves of good compensation in the secret of His judgments for those infants themselves, by whose tortures the hardness of older people is bruised, or faith is exercised, or mercy is proved? Since although they have done nothing rightly, yet neither sinning in anything have they endured these things. For not in vain does the Church commend those infants also, who were slain when our Lord Jesus Christ was sought by Herod to be killed, as having been received into the honor of martyrs (De Libero Arbitrio, lib. 3, c. 23, n. 67).

These things I said then, when I wished to fortify this very opinion of which we are now treating. For as I commemorated a little before, whichever of those four opinions concerning the incarnation of the soul were true, I was striving to show the substance of the Creator as unblamable, and most remote from the society of our sins.

Et ideo quaecumque illarum veritate posset convinci et repudiari, ad curam intentionis meae, quam tunc habebam, non pertinebat; quandoquidem cunctis diligentiore disputatione discussis, quaecumque illarum recte vinceret caeteras, me securissimo fieret, quando etiam secundum omnes id quod agebam, invictum persistere demonstrabam. Nunc vero unam volo, si possum, ratione recta eligere ex omnibus; et propterea hujus ipsius de qua nunc agimus defensionem, in his quae commemoravi de illo libro, verbis meis attentius intuens, validam firmamque non video.

20. Nam velut firmamentum ejus illud est, quod ibi dixi: Quis autem novit quid parvulis, de quorum cruciatibus duritia majorum contunditur, aut exercetur fides, aut misericordia probatur: quis ergo novit quid ipsis parvulis in secreto judiciorum suorum bonae compensationis reservet Deus? Sed hoc non immerito dici video de his qui vel pro Christi nomine ac vera religione tale aliquid etiam nescientes patiuntur, vel Sacramento Christi jam imbuti sunt; quia sine societate unius Mediatoris liberari a damnatione non possunt, ut possit eis, etiam pro illis malis quae hic in diversis afflictionibus pertulerunt, compensatio ista praestari. Nunc autem cum ista quaestio non possit absolvi, nisi etiam de his parvulis respondeatur, qui post gravissimos cruciatus sine Sacramento christianae societatis exspirant; quae circa eos compensatio cogitanda est, quibus insuper et damnatio praeparata est? Nam et de baptismo parvulorum in eodem libro, non quidem sufficienter, sed quantum illi operi satis esse videbatur, utcumque respondi, quod etiam nescientibus, et fidem suam nondum habentibus prodest: non tamen de damnatione eorum parvulorum, qui sine illo ex hac vita emigrant, tunc aliquid dicendum putavi, quia non quod nunc agitur, agebatur.

21. Sed ut omittamus et contemnamus ea quae brevi tempore patiuntur, nec transacta revocantur, numquid similiter contemnere possumus quod per unum hominem mors, et per unum hominem resurrectio mortuorum. Sicut enim in Adam omnes moriuntur, sic et in Christo omnes vivificabuntur (I Cor. XV, 21 et 22)? Per hanc enim apostolicam, divinam, claramque sententiam, satis evidenter elucet, neminem ire in mortem nisi per Adam; neminem ire in vitam aeternam, nisi per Christum. Hoc est quippe omnes, et omnes, quia sicut omnes homines per primam, hoc est per carnalem generationem pertinent ad Adam; sic omnes homines ad secundam, id est spiritualem generationem veniunt, quicumque ad Christum perveniunt. Ideo ergo dictum est, et hic omnes, et ibi omnes: quia sicut omnes qui moriuntur, nonnisi in Adam moriuntur: ita omnes qui vivificabuntur, nonnisi in Christo vivificabuntur. Ac per hoc, quisquis nobis dixerit quemquam in resurrectione mortuorum vivificari posse nisi in Christo; tanquam pestis communis fidei detestandus est.

And therefore whichever of them could be convicted of truth and repudiated, did not pertain to the care of my intention which I had then; since all of them having been discussed with a more diligent disputation, whichever of them should rightly conquer the others, it would happen to me most secure, when even according to all I was demonstrating that which I was doing to persist unconquered. But now I wish, if I can, to choose one from all by right reason; and therefore looking more attentively at the defense of this very one of which we are now treating, in those words of mine which I commemorated from that book, I do not see it as valid and firm.

For it is as if its firmament is that which I said there: "But who knows what God reserves of good compensation in the secret of His judgments for those infants themselves, by whose tortures the hardness of older people is bruised, or faith is exercised, or mercy is proved?" But I see that this is said not undeservedly of those who either for the name of Christ and true religion suffer such a thing even while not knowing, or have already been imbued with the Sacrament of Christ; because without the society of the one Mediator they cannot be liberated from condemnation, so that this compensation can be provided to them, even for those evils which they have endured here in diverse afflictions. But now since this question cannot be resolved, unless it be responded also concerning those infants who after the gravest tortures expire without the Sacrament of Christian society; what compensation is to be thought of concerning them, for whom in addition even condemnation is prepared? For also concerning the baptism of infants in the same book, not indeed sufficiently, but as much as seemed enough for that work, I responded in whatever way, that it profits even those not knowing and not yet having their own faith: nevertheless I did not think that something was to be said then concerning the condemnation of those infants who emigrate from this life without it, because that which is now being treated was not then being treated.

21. But that we may omit and despise those things which they suffer for a brief time, and being passed are not recalled, can we similarly despise that "by one man death, and by one man the resurrection of the dead. For as in Adam all die, so also in Christ all shall be made alive" (1 Cor. 15:21 and 22)? For through this apostolic, divine, and clear sentence, it shines forth evidently enough, that no one goes into death except through Adam; no one goes into eternal life, except through Christ. For this is "all," and "all," because as all men through the first, that is through carnal generation, pertain to Adam; so all men come to the second, that is spiritual generation, whosoever come to Christ. Therefore it was said both here "all," and there "all": because as all who die, die in no one but Adam: so all who shall be made alive, shall be made alive in no one but Christ. And through this, whosoever shall say to us that anyone can be made alive in the resurrection of the dead except in Christ; he is to be detested as a plague of the common faith.

Item quisquis dixerit quod in Christo vivificabuntur etiam parvuli qui sine Sacramenti ejus participatione de vita exeunt, hic profecto et contra apostolicam praedicationem venit, et totam condemnat Ecclesiam, ubi propterea cum baptizandis parvulis festinatur et curritur, quia sine dubio creditur aliter eos in Christo vivificari omnino non posse. Qui autem non vivificatur in Christo, restat ut in ea condemnatione maneat de qua dicit Apostolus: Per unius delictum in omnes homines ad condemnationem (Rom. V, 18). Cui delicto obnoxios parvulos nasci, et omnis credit Ecclesia, et ipse jam contra Jovinianum disputans, et exponens Jonam prophetam, sicut paulo ante commemoravi, fide veracissima definisti; credo et in aliis locis opusculorum tuorum quae vel non legi, vel in praesentia non recordor. Hujus igitur damnationis in parvulis causam requiro; quia neque animarum, si novae fiunt singulis singulae, video esse ullum in illa aetate peccatum, nec a Deo damnari aliquam credo, quam videt nullum habere peccatum.

CAPUT VIII.

22. An forte dicendum est, in parvulo carnem solam causam esse peccati; novam vero illi animam fieri, qua secundum Dei praecepta vivente, in adjutorio gratiae Christi, et ipsi carni edomitae ac subjugatae possit incorruptionis meritum comparari: sed quia in parvulo anima nondum id agere potest, nisi Christi acceperit Sacramentum, per hanc gratiam carni ejus acquiritur quod illius moribus nondum potuit; si autem sine illo Sacramento anima parvuli exierit, ipsa quidem in aeterna vita erit, unde eam nullum peccatum potuit separare, caro vero ejus non resurget in Christo, non percepto ante mortem illius Sacramento?

23. Hanc opinionem nunquam audivi, nunquam legi. Sed plane audivi et credidi, propter quod et locutus sum, Quia venit hora, quando omnes qui in monumentis sunt, audient vocem ejus; et procedent qui bene fecerunt, in resurrectionem vitae (Joan. V, 28, 29): ipsa est de qua dicitur, et per unum hominem resurrectio mortuorum; ipsa est qua in Christo omnes vivificabuntur: qui autem male egerunt, in resurrectionem judicii. Quid hic ergo de illis infantibus intelligendum est, qui priusquam possent agere vel bene vel male, sine Baptismo corpore exuti sunt? nihil hic de talibus dictum est.

Likewise whosoever shall say that even infants who depart from life without participation in His Sacrament shall be made alive in Christ, he truly both comes against the apostolic preaching, and condemns the whole Church, where therefore there is hastening and running with infants to be baptized, because it is believed without doubt that they can by no means be made alive in Christ otherwise. But he who is not made alive in Christ, it remains that he remains in that condemnation of which the Apostle says: "By the offense of one unto all men unto condemnation" (Rom. 5:18). That infants are born obnoxious to this offense, both the whole Church believes, and you yourself now disputing against Jovinian, and expounding the prophet Jonah, as I commemorated a little before, defined with most true faith; I believe also in other places of your works which I have either not read, or do not remember at present. I require therefore the cause of this condemnation in infants; because neither of souls, if they are made new individual ones for individual ones, do I see any sin in that age, nor do I believe any to be condemned by God, which He sees has no sin.

CHAPTER VIII.

22. Or perhaps it is to be said, that in an infant the flesh alone is the cause of sin; but that a new soul is made for it, by which, living according to the precepts of God in the help of the grace of Christ, the merit of incorruption can be acquired even for the very flesh tamed and subjugated: but because in an infant the soul cannot yet do that, unless it has received the Sacrament of Christ, through this grace there is acquired for its flesh what could not yet be acquired by its own conduct; but if the soul of the infant shall have departed without that Sacrament, it indeed will be in eternal life, from which no sin could separate it, but its flesh will not rise in Christ, not having perceived the Sacrament before its death?

23. This opinion I have never heard, I have never read. But I have plainly heard and believed, on which account I have also spoken, "Because the hour cometh, when all who are in the monuments shall hear His voice; and they who have done well shall come forth, into the resurrection of life" (John 5:28, 29): it is that same of which it is said, "and by one man the resurrection of the dead"; it is that by which "in Christ all shall be made alive": but they who have done evil, into the resurrection of judgment. What then is to be understood here concerning those infants, who before they could act either well or poorly, were divested of the body without Baptism? nothing was said here of such.

Sed si caro eorum ideo non resurget, quia nec boni aliquid fecerunt, nec mali; nec illorum resurrectura est, qui percepta Baptismi gratia, in illa aetate defuncti sunt, in qua nihil bene vel male agere potuerunt. Si autem illi inter sanctos resurgent, id est inter eos qui bene egerunt; inter quos et illi resurrecturi sunt, nisi inter eos qui male egerunt, ne aliquas humanas animas credamus corpora sua non recepturas, sive in resurrectionem vitae, sive in resurrectionem judicii? Quae sententia priusquam refellatur, ipsa novitate jam displicet: deinde quis ferat, si credant se illi qui ad Baptismum cum suis parvulis currunt, propter carnes eorum, non propter animas currere? Beatus quidem Cyprianus non aliquod decretum condens novum, sed Ecclesiae fidem firmissimam servans, ad corrigendum eos qui putabant ante octavum diem nativitatis non esse parvulum baptizandum, non carnem, sed animam dixit non esse perdendam; et mox natum rite baptizari posse, cum suis quibusdam coepiscopis tensuit (Cypr. epist. 59, ad Fidum).

24. Sed contra Cypriani aliquam opinionem, ubi quod videndum fuit, fortasse non vidit, sentiat quisque quod libet; tantum contra apostolicam manifestissimam fidem nemo sentiat, quae ex unius delicto omnes in condemnationem duci praedicat: ex qua condemnatione non liberat, nisi gratia Dei per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum, in quo uno omnes vivificantur quicumque vivificantur. Contra Ecclesiae fundatissimum morem nemo sentiat, ubi ad Baptismum, si propter sola parvulorum corpora curreretur, baptizandi offerrentur et mortui.

25. Quae cum ita sint, quaerenda causa est atque reddenda, quare damnentur animae quae novae creantur singulis quibusque nascentibus, si praeter Christi Sacramentum parvuli moriantur: damnari enim eas, si sic de corpore exierint, et sancta Scriptura, et sancta est testis Ecclesia. Unde illa de animarum novarum creatione sententia, si hanc fidem fundatissimam non oppugnat, sit et mea; si oppugnat, non sit et tua.

26. Nolo mihi dicatur, pro hac sententia debere accipi quod scriptum est, Qui finxit spiritum hominis in ipso (Zach. XII, 1) et, Qui finxit singillatim corda eorum (Psal. XXXII, 15). Aliquid fortissimum atque invictissimum requirendum est, quod nos non cogat Deum credere ullarum animarum sine culpa aliqua damnatorem. Nam vel tantumdem valet, vel plus est forsitan creare, quam fingere; et tamen scriptum est, Cor mundum crea in me, Deus (Psal. L, 12): nec ideo putari potest, animam hoc loco optare se fieri, priusquam aliquid esset.

But if their flesh shall not rise for that reason, because they did neither anything good, nor anything evil; neither shall that of those rise, who having perceived the grace of Baptism, died in that age in which they could act nothing well or poorly. But if those shall rise among the saints, that is among those who have done well; among whom shall these also rise, except among those who have done poorly, lest we believe some human souls will not receive their bodies, either into the resurrection of life, or into the resurrection of judgment? Which opinion, before it is refuted, by its very novelty already displeases: then who would bear it, if those who run to Baptism with their infants believe that they run on account of their flesh, not on account of their souls? Blessed Cyprian indeed, not founding any new decree, but keeping the most firm faith of the Church, for the correction of those who thought that an infant was not to be baptized before the eighth day of its birth, said that the soul "is not to be lost," not the flesh; and he, with certain of his fellow-bishops, held that a newborn can rightly be baptized (Cypr. epist. 59, ad Fidum).

24. But against any opinion of Cyprian, where perhaps he did not see what was to be seen, let each feel what he pleases; only let no one feel against the most manifest apostolic faith, which preaches that from the offense of one all are led into condemnation: from which condemnation none liberates, except the grace of God through Jesus Christ our Lord, in whom alone all are made alive whosoever are made alive. Against the most founded custom of the Church let no one feel, where if it were run to Baptism for the sake of the bodies of infants alone, the dead would also be offered to be baptized.

25. Since these things are so, a cause is to be sought and rendered, why souls which are created new for each one being born are condemned, if infants die apart from the Sacrament of Christ: for that they are condemned, if they so depart from the body, both the holy Scripture and the holy Church is a witness. Whence that opinion concerning the creation of new souls, if it does not oppose this most founded faith, let it also be mine; if it opposes, let it not be yours.

26. I do not wish it to be said to me, that for this opinion that which is written ought to be accepted, "Who formed the spirit of man in him" (Zech. 12:1) and, "Who formed their hearts individually" (Ps. 33:15). Something most strong and most unconquerable must be sought, which does not compel us to believe God the condemner of any souls without some fault. For it is at least of as much value, or it is perhaps more to create than to form; and yet it is written, "Create in me a clean heart, O God" (Ps. 51:10): nor on that account can the soul be thought in this place to desire itself to be made, before it was something.

Sicut ergo jam existens creatur innovatione justitiae, sic jam existens fingitur conformatione doctrinae. Nec illud quod in Ecclesiaste scriptum est, Tunc convertetur in terram pulvis sicut fuit, et spiritus revertetur ad Dominum qui dedit illum (Eccle. XII, 7); istam confirmat sententiam, quam volumus esse nostram: plus enim hoc suffragatur eis qui ex una putant omnes esse animas. Nam sicut convertitur, inquiunt, pulvis in terram, sicut fuit; et tamen caro, de qua hoc dictum est, ad hominem non revertitur, ex quo propagata est, sed ad terram, unde primus homo factus est: sic et spiritus ex illius unius spiritu propagatus, non tamen ad eum revertitur, sed ad Dominum a quo illi datus est. Verum quia hoc testimonium ita pro istis sonat, ut non omni modo huic opinioni quam defendi volo, videatur esse contrarium, admonendam tantum credidi prudentiam tuam, ne talibus testimoniis ex his angustiis me coneris eruere. Nam licet nemo faciat optando, ut verum sit quod verum non est: tamen si fieri posset, optarem ut haec sententia vera esset; sicut opto ut, si vera est, abs te liquidissime atque invictissime defendatur.

CAPUT IX.

27. Haec autem difficultas etiam illos sequitur, qui jam existentes alibi animas, et ab initio divinorum operum praeparatas, a Deo mitti opinantur in corpora. Nam et ab his hoc idem quaeritur: si animae inculpatae obedienter veniunt, quo mittuntur; cur in parvulis, si non baptizati vitam istam finierint, puniuntur? Eadem prorsus in utraque sententia difficultas est. Illi sibi videntur de hac facilius exire quaestione, qui animas asseverant pro meritis vitae prioris singulas singulis corporibus implicari. Hoc enim putant esse in Adam mori, in carne scilicet quae propagata est ex Adam, supplicia pendere: a quo reatu, inquiunt, gratia Christi liberat pusillos cum magnis. Hoc quidem recte, veraciter, optimeque, quod gratia Christi liberat a reatu peccatorum pusillos cum magnis. Sed in alia superiore vita peccare animas, et inde praecipitari in carceres carneos, non credo, non acquiesco, non consentio. Primum, quoniam per nescio quos fieri circumitus id aiunt isti, ut post nescio quanta volumina saeculorum iterum ad istam sarcinam corruptibilis carnis et supplicia pendenda redeundum sit: qua opinione quid horribilius cogitari possit, ignoro. Deinde, quis tandem justus defunctus est, de quo non (si isti vera dicunt) solliciti esse debeamus, ne in sinu Abrahae peccans, in flammas illius divitis dejiciatur (Luc. XVI, 22, 23)? cur enim non et post hoc corpus peccare possit, si et ante potuit?

Just as therefore that which already exists is created by the innovation of justice, so that which already exists is formed by the conformation of doctrine. Nor does that which is written in Ecclesiastes, "Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was, and the spirit shall return to God who gave it" (Eccl. 12:7), confirm that opinion which we wish to be ours: for this favors more those who think all souls are from one. For as the dust returns to the earth, they say, as it was; and yet the flesh, concerning which this was said, does not return to the man from whom it was propagated, but to the earth, whence the first man was made: so also the spirit propagated from that one spirit of his, nevertheless does not return to him, but to the Lord by whom it was given to him. But because this testimony sounds so for those ones, that it does not seem to be contrary in every way to this opinion which I wish to be defended, I believed your prudence was only to be admonished, lest you should strive to rescue me from these straits by such testimonies. For although no one makes by desiring that what is not true should be true: yet if it could be done, I would desire that this opinion were true; just as I desire that, if it is true, it may be defended by you most clearly and most unconquerably.

CHAPTER IX.

27. But this difficulty also follows those who think that souls, already existing elsewhere and prepared from the beginning of divine works, are sent by God into bodies. For from these also the same thing is asked: if unblamable souls come obediently whither they are sent; why are they punished in infants, if they finish this life unbaptized? There is exactly the same difficulty in both opinions. Those ones seem to themselves to go out from this question more easily, who assert that individual souls are entangled in individual bodies for the merits of a prior life. For they think this is to die in Adam, to wit, to pay penalties in the flesh which was propagated from Adam: from which guilt, they say, the grace of Christ liberates the small with the great. This indeed is rightly, truly, and most excellently said, that the grace of Christ liberates the small with the great from the guilt of sins. But that souls sin in another higher life, and from there are precipitated into fleshly prisons, I do not believe, I do not acquiesce, I do not consent. First, because they say this is done through I know not what circuits, so that after I know not how many volumes of ages, one must again return to this burden of corruptible flesh and pay penalties: than which opinion I know not what more horrible thing could be thought. Then, who at length is a just man deceased, concerning whom we ought not to be solicitous (if those ones say true things), lest sinning in the bosom of Abraham, he be cast down into the flames of that rich man (Luke 16:22, 23)? for why should he not be able to sin even after this body, if he could even before?

Postremo, longe aliud est in Adam peccasse, unde dicit Apostolus, in quo omnes peccaverunt; et aliud est extra Adam nescio ubi peccasse, et ideo in Adam, id est in carnem quae ex Adam propagata est tanquam in carcerem trudi. Illam vero opinionem, quod ex una fiant omnes animae, nec discutere volo, nisi necesse sit; atque utinam ista, de qua nunc agimus, si vera est, sic abs te defendatur, ut hoc necesse jam non sit.

28. Quamvis autem desiderem, rogem, votis ardentibus exoptem et exspectem ut perte mihi Dominus hujus rei auferat ignorantiam: tamen si, quod absit, minime meruero, patientiam mihi petam a Domino Deo nostro; in quem sic credimus, ut si aliqua nobis non aperiat etiam pulsantibus, nullo modo adversus eum murmurare debeamus. Memini prius ipsis Apostolis dictum, Multa habeo vobis dicere; sed non potestis illa portare modo (Joan. XVI, 12). In his, quantum ad me attinet, etiam hoc deputem: neque qui hoc sciam me indigner indignum, ne hoc ipso etiam convincar indignior. Multa enim alia similiter nescio, quae commemorare vel enumerare non possum: et hoc tolerabiliter ignorarem, nisi metuerem ne aliqua istarum opinionum contra illud quod firmissima retinemus fide, incautis obreperet mentibus. Sed antequam sciam quaenam earum potius eligenda sit, hoc me non temere sentire profiteor, eam quae vera est non adversari robustissimae ac fundatissimae fidei, qua Christi Ecclesia nec parvulos homines recentissime natos a damnatione credit, nisi per gratiam nominis Christi, quam in suis Sacramentis commendavit, posse liberari.

DE SENTENTIA JACOBI LIBER, SEU EPISTOLA CLXVII. Augustinus Hieronymo, de loco qui est Jacobi II, 10, «Qui offenderit in uno, factus est omnium reus:» multa admiscens de Stoicis, qui docebant omnia peccata esse paria; et quisquis haberet unam virtutem, habere omnes; qui careret una, nullam habere.

CAPUT PRIMUM.

1. Quod ad te scripsi, honorande mihi in Christo frater Hieronyme, quaerens de anima humana, si nascentibus singulis novae singulae nunc usque fiunt, ubi peccati vinculum contrabant, quod per Sacramentum gratiae Christi etiam in infantibus recenter natis solvendum esse non dubitamus, cum in non parvum volumen procederet, nolui ulla alia onerare quaestione: sed quod urget acrius, multo minus est negligendum.

Lastly, it is far another thing to have sinned in Adam, whence the Apostle says, "in whom all have sinned"; and another thing to have sinned I know not where outside of Adam, and therefore to be thrust into Adam, that is into the flesh which is propagated from Adam as if into a prison. But that opinion, that all souls are made from one, I do not wish even to discuss, unless it be necessary; and would that this one, of which we are now treating, if it is true, might be so defended by you, that this may no longer be necessary.

Although I desire, I pray, I exopt with burning vows and I expect that through you the Lord may take away from me the ignorance of this thing: nevertheless if, which God forbid, I should by no means deserve it, I will ask patience for myself from the Lord our God; in whom we so believe, that if He does not open some things to us even when knocking, we ought by no means to murmur against Him. I remember it was said first to the Apostles themselves, "I have many things to say to you; but you cannot bear them now" (John 16:12). Among these, as far as pertains to me, I may also depute this: nor should I, knowing this, be indignant that I am unworthy, lest by this very thing I be proved even more unworthy. For I am similarly ignorant of many other things, which I cannot commemorate or enumerate: and I would ignore this tolerably, unless I feared lest some of those opinions might creep into incautious minds against that which we retain with most firm faith. But before I know which of them is rather to be chosen, I profess that I do not feel this rashly, that that one which is true does not oppose the most robust and most founded faith, by which the Church of Christ believes that not even tiny men most recently born can be liberated from condemnation, except through the grace of the name of Christ, which He commended in His Sacraments.

BOOK ON THE OPINION OF JAMES, OR EPISTLE CLXVII. Augustine to Jerome, concerning the place which is in James 2:10, "Whosoever shall offend in one, is made guilty of all": mixing many things concerning the Stoics, who taught that all sins are equal; and whosoever should have one virtue, has all; he who should lack one, has none.

CHAPTER ONE.

1. That which I wrote to you, my brother Jerome to be honored in Christ, inquiring concerning the human soul, if for each one being born a new individual one is made even until now, where they contract the bond of sin, which we do not doubt is to be dissolved even in recently born infants through the Sacrament of the grace of Christ, since it was proceeding into a not small volume, I was unwilling to burden it with any other question: but that which urges more sharply, is much less to be neglected.

Proinde quaeso, et per Deum obsecro ut exponas mihi, quod multis existimo profuturum, aut si jam vel abs te vel ab alio aliquo expositum habes, dirigas nobis, quomodo accipiendum sit quod in Epistola Jacobi apostoli scriptum est, Quicumque enim totam legem servaverit, offendat autem in uno, factus est omnium reus. Quae res talis ac tanta est, ut quod hinc tibi non jam olim scripsi, multum me poeniteat.

2. De agenda namque praesenti vita, quomodo ad vitam perveniamus aeternam, non de praeterita perscrutanda, quam penitus demersit oblivio, sicut est illud quod de anima quaerendum putavi, haec vertitur quaestio. Eleganter autem dictum esse narratur quod huic rei satis apte convenit. Cum quidam ruisset in puteum, ubi aqua tanta erat, ut eum magis exciperet ne moreretur, quam suffocaret ne loqueretur; accessit alius, et eo viso admirans ait : Quomodo huc cecidisti? At ille: Obsecro, inquit, cogita quomodo hinc me liberes; non quomodo huc ceciderim, quaeras. Ita quoniam fatemur, et fide catholica tenemus, de reatu peccati tanquam de puteo, etiam parvuli infantis animam Christi gratia liberandam; satis est ei quod modum quomodo salva fiat novimus, etiamsi nunquam quomodo in malum illud devenerit, noverimus. Sed ideo putavi esse quaerendum, ne forte ex illis opinionibus incarnationis animae aliquam teneamus incautius, quae liberandam prorsus animam parvuli contradicat, negans eam esse in isto malo. Hoc igitur firmissime retento, quod anima parvuli de reatu peccati liberanda est, nec alio modo liberanda, nisi gratia Dei per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum: si possumus etiam ipsius mali causam et originem nosse, vaniloquis, non disputatoribus, sed litigatoribus paratius instructiusque resistimus; si autem non possumus, non quia latet miseriae principium, ideo pigrescere misericordiae debet officium. Adversus eos autem qui sibi videntur scire quod nesciunt, hoc tutiores sumus, quod hanc ignorantiam nostram non ignoramus. Aliud est enim quod nescire malum est; aliud quod sciri vel non potest, vel non opus est, vel ad vitam quam quaerimus indifferens est: hoc vero quod de Litteris apostoli Jacobi nunc requiro, in hac ipsa qua vivimus, et ut semper vivamus Deo placere studemus, actione versatur.

Therefore I pray, and through God I beseech that you explain to me, which I think will profit many, or if you already have it explained either by yourself or by some other, that you direct it to us, how it is to be accepted what is written in the Epistle of the apostle James, "For whosoever shall keep the whole law, but shall offend in one, is made guilty of all." Which matter is such and so great, that I repent much that I did not already write to you concerning this long ago.

2. For this question is turned concerning the acting of the present life, how we may come to eternal life, not concerning the past which is to be searched out, which oblivion has deeply submerged, as is that which I thought was to be searched concerning the soul. Moreover, it is narrated that what was elegantly said conveniently enough fits this matter. When someone had fallen into a well, where there was so much water that it rather received him lest he should die, than suffocated him lest he should speak; another approached, and seeing him, admiring said: "How did you fall here?" But he said: "I pray, think how you may free me from here; do not seek how I fell here." So since we confess, and hold by the catholic faith, that even the soul of a small infant is to be liberated by the grace of Christ from the guilt of sin as from a well; it is enough for it that we know the mode how it may be saved, even if we never know how it came into that evil. But therefore I thought it was to be searched, lest perhaps from those opinions of the incarnation of the soul we should hold some one more incautiously, which should contradict that the soul of an infant is to be liberated at all, denying it to be in this evil. This therefore being most firmly retained, that the soul of an infant is to be liberated from the guilt of sin, nor to be liberated in any other way, except by the grace of God through Jesus Christ our Lord: if we can also know the cause and origin of that very evil, we resist the vain talkers, not disputers but litigants, more preparedly and more instructedly; but if we cannot, the office of mercy ought not therefore to grow sluggish because the beginning of misery is hidden. But against those who seem to themselves to know what they know not, we are more safe in this, that we are not ignorant of this our ignorance. For it is one thing which it is an evil not to know; another which either cannot be known, or is not needed, or is indifferent to the life which we seek: but this indeed which I now require from the Letters of the apostle James, is turned in action, in this very life which we live and in which we study to please God so that we may live forever.

3. Quomodo igitur intelligendum est, obsecro te, Quicumque totam Legem servaverit, offendat autem in uno, factus est omnium reus? Itane qui furtum fecerit, imo vero qui dixerit diviti, Sede hic, pauperi autem, Tu sta illic, et homicidii, et adulterii, et sacrilegii reus est? Quod si non est, quomodo qui in uno offendat factus est omnium reus? an illud quod dixit de divite et paupere ad ista non pertinet, quorum si quis in uno offenderit, fiet omnium reus? Sed recolendum est unde venerit illa sententia, et quae illam superiora pepererint, quibusque connexa dependeat. Fratres mei, nolite, inquit, in personarum acceptione habere fidem Domini nostri Jesu Christi gloriae. Etenim si introierit in conventum vestrum vir annulum aureum habens in veste candida, introierit autem et pauper in sordido habitu, et intendatis in eum qui indutus est veste praeclara, et dicatis ei, Tu sede hic bene; pauperi autem dicatis, Tu sta illic, aut, Sede sub scabello pedum meorum: nonne judicatis apud vosmetipsos, et facti estis judices cogitationum iniquarum? Audite, fratres mei dilectissimi; nonne Deus elegit pauperes in hoc mundo, divites in fide, et haeredes regni quod repromisit Deus diligentibus se? Vos autem exhonorastis pauperem: propter illum scilicet cui dictum est, Sta illic; cum habenti annulum aureum dictum esset, Tu sede hic bene. Ac deinde sequitur, eamdem ipsam sententiam latius versans et explicans: Nonne, inquit, divites per potentiam opprimunt vos, et trahunt ad judicia? nonne ipsi blasphemant bonum nomen, quod invocatum est super vos? Si quidem legem perficitis regalem, secundum Scripturam, Diliges proximum tuum sicut teipsum, bene facitis: si autem personas accipitis, peccatum operamini, redarguti a lege quasi transgressores. Vide quemadmodum transgressores legis appellat, qui dicunt diviti, Sede hic, et pauperi, Sta illic. Vide, ne putarent contemptibile esse peccatum in hac una re legem transgredi, secutus adjunxit, Quicumque autem totam legem servaverit, offendat autem in uno, factus est omnium reus. Qui enim dixit, Non moechaberis, dixit et, Non occides. Quod si non occides, moecharis autem, factus es transgressor legis: propter id quod dixerat, redarguti a lege, quasi transgressores. Quae cum ita sint, consequens videtur (nisi alio modo intelligendum ostendatur) ut qui dixerit diviti, Sede hic, et pauperi, Sta illic, huic non honorem, quem illi deferens, et idololatra, et blasphemus, et adulter, et homicida, et ne, quod longum est, cuncta commemorem, reus omnium criminum judicandus sit: offendens quippe in uno, factus est omnium reus.

3. How therefore is it to be understood, I beseech you, "Whosoever shall keep the whole Law, but shall offend in one, is made guilty of all"? Is it so that he who shall have committed theft, or rather who shall have said to the rich man, "Sit here," but to the poor man, "Stand thou there," is guilty both of homicide, and of adultery, and of sacrilege? Which if it is not, how is he who offends in one made guilty of all? Or does that which he said concerning the rich and the poor man not pertain to those things, in any one of which if someone should offend, he will become guilty of all? But it is to be recalled whence that sentence came, and what superior things brought it forth, and to which connected it depends. "My brothers," he says, "do not have the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ of glory in the acceptance of persons. For if there should enter into your assembly a man having a gold ring in a white garment, and there should enter also a poor man in a dirty habit, and you should intend unto him who is clothed in a brilliant garment, and should say to him, 'Sit thou here well'; but should say to the poor man, 'Stand thou there,' or, 'Sit under the footstool of my feet': do you not judge among yourselves, and are made judges of iniquitous thoughts? Hear, my most beloved brothers; has not God chosen the poor in this world, rich in faith, and heirs of the kingdom which God has promised to those loving Him? But you have dishonored the poor": on account of him namely to whom it was said, "Stand thou there"; when to him having the gold ring it had been said, "Sit thou here well." And then it follows, turning and explaining that same sentence more broadly: "Do not," he says, "the rich oppress you by power, and draw you to judgments? do they not themselves blaspheme the good name, which has been invoked over you? If indeed you perform the royal law, according to the Scripture, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself,' you do well: but if you accept persons, you work sin, being redargued by the law as transgressors." See in what manner he calls transgressors of the law those who say to the rich man, "Sit here," and to the poor man, "Stand there." See, lest they should think it to be a contemptible sin to transgress the law in this one thing, he added following, "But whosoever shall keep the whole law, but shall offend in one, is made guilty of all. For He who said, 'Thou shalt not commit adultery,' said also, 'Thou shalt not kill.' But if thou shalt not kill, but shalt commit adultery, thou art made a transgressor of the law": on account of that which he had said, "redargued by the law, as transgressors." Since these things are so, it seems consequent (unless it be shown to be understood in another way) that he who shall have said to the rich man, "Sit here," and to the poor man, "Stand there," deferring this honor to him not for his sake, should be judged guilty of all crimes, both an idolater, and a blasphemer, and an adulterer, and a homicide, and not to commemorate all, which is long: for offending in one, he is made guilty of all.

CAPUT II.

4. At enim qui unam virtutem habet, omnes habet; et qui unam non habet, nullam habet? Hoc si verum est, confirmatur ista sententia. Sed ego eam exponi volo, non confirmari; quae per seipsam apud nos omnibus philosophorum auctoritatibus firmior est. Et illud quidem de virtutibus et vitiis, si veraciter dicitur, non est consequens ut propter hoc omnia peccata sint paria. Nam illud de inseparabilitate virtutum, etsi forsitan fallor, tamen si verum memini, quod vix memini, omnibus philosophis placuit, qui easdem virtutes agendae vitae necessarias esse dixerunt. Hoc autem de parilitate peccatorum, soli Stoici ausi sunt disputare, contra omnem sensum generis humani: quam eorum vanitatem in Joviniano illo qui in hac sententia Stoicus erat, in aucupandis autem et defensandis voluptatibus Epicureus, de Scripturis sanctis dilucidissime convicisti (Hieron. lib. 2 cont. Jovin.). In qua tua suavissima et praeclarissima disputatione satis evidenter apparuit, non placuisse auctoribus nostris, vel ipsi potius, quae per eos locuta est, veritati, omnia paria esse peccata. Quomodo autem fieri possit ut etiamsi hoc de virtutibus verum est, non tamen ideo cogamur fateri aequalitatem omnium peccatorum, quantum possum, adjuvante Domino aperire conabor: quod si effecero, approbabis; ubi vero causae defuero, tu supplebis.

5. Certe hinc persuadent, qui unam virtutem habuerit habere omnes, et omnes deesse cui una defuerit, quod prudentia, nec ignava, nec injusta, nec intemperans potest esse: nam si aliquid horum fuerit, prudentia non erit. Porro si prudentia tunc erit, si et fortis, et justa, et temperans sit, profecto ubi fuerit, secum habet caeteras. Sic et fortitudo imprudens esse non potest, vel intemperans, vel injusta: sic temperantia necesse est ut prudens, fortis, et justa sit: sic justitia non est, nisi sit prudens, fortis, et temperans. Ita ubi vera est aliqua earum, et aliae similiter sunt; ubi autem aliae desunt, vera illa non est, etiamsi aliquo modo similis esse videatur.

6. Sunt enim, ut scis, quaedam vitia virtutibus aperta discretione contraria, ut imprudentia prudentiae. Sunt autem quaedam tantum quia vitia sunt, ideo contraria, quadam tamen specie fallaci similia, ut eidem prudentiae, non imprudentia, sed astutia. Nunc enim eam dico astutiam, quae usitatius in malitiosis intelligi et vocari solet; non sicut nostra loqui Scriptura consuevit, quae saepe astutiam in bono ponit: unde, Estote astuti ut serpentes (Matth. X, 16); et illud, Ut et innocentibus det astutiam (Prov. I, 4).

CHAPTER II.

4. But then, does he who has one virtue have all, and he who does not have one have none? If this is true, that sentence is confirmed. But I want it to be explained, not confirmed; which by itself is firmer among us than all the authorities of the philosophers. And indeed concerning that of virtues and vices, if it is said truly, it is not consequent that because of this all sins are equal. For that concerning the inseparability of virtues, even if perhaps I am deceived, yet if I remember truly, which I scarcely remember, it pleased all the philosophers who said that these same virtues are necessary for the acting of life. But this concerning the equality of sins, the Stoics alone dared to dispute, against every sense of the human race: which vanity of theirs you most clearly convicted from the holy Scriptures in that Jovinian who was a Stoic in this sentence, but an Epicurean in catching and defending pleasures (Hieron. lib. 2 cont. Jovin.). In which most sweet and most excellent disputation of yours it appeared evidently enough that it did not please our authors, or rather Truth itself which spoke through them, that all sins are equal. Moreover, how it may be done that even if this concerning virtues is true, yet we are not therefore forced to confess the equality of all sins, as much as I can, with the Lord helping, I shall try to open: which if I shall have effected, you will approve; but where I shall have failed the cause, you will supply.

5. Certainly hence they persuade, that he who shall have had one virtue has all, and all are lacking to him to whom one shall have been lacking, because prudence can be neither slothful, nor unjust, nor intemperate: for if it shall have been any of these, it will not be prudence. Furthermore, if prudence shall then be, if it be also brave, and just, and temperate, surely where it shall have been, it has the others with it. So also fortitude cannot be imprudent, or intemperate, or unjust: so it is necessary that temperance be prudent, brave, and just: so justice is not, unless it be prudent, brave, and temperate. Thus where any of them is true, the others are similarly there; but where the others are lacking, that one is not true, even if in some way it should seem to be similar.

6. For there are, as you know, certain vices contrary to virtues by an open discretion, as imprudence to prudence. But there are certain ones only because they are vices, therefore contrary, yet similar by a certain deceptive appearance, as to the same prudence, not imprudence, but astuteness. For now I call that astuteness which is more usually accustomed to be understood and called in the malicious; not as our Scripture is accustomed to speak, which often places astuteness in good: whence, "Be astute as serpents" (Matth. X, 16); and that, "That it may give astuteness also to the innocent" (Prov. I, 4).

Quanquam et apud illos Romanae linguae disertissimus dixerit, Neque illi tamen ad cavendum dolus, aut astutia deerant (Sallust., de Bello Catilin.), astutiam ponens in bono: sed apud illos rarissimum, apud nostros frequentissimum est. Itemque in partibus temperantiae, apertissime contraria est effusio parcimoniae: ea vero quae tenacitas dici vulgo solet, vitium quidem est, tamen parcimoniae simile, non natura, sed fallacissima specie. Item dissimilitudine manifesta contraria est injustitia justitiae: solet autem quasi imitari justitiam vindicandi se libido, sed vitium est. Ignavia fortitudini perspicue contraria est: duritia vero distat natura, fallit similitudine. Constantia, pars quaedam virtutis est; ab hac, inconstantia longe abhorret, et indubie contrasistit: pertinacia vero constantia dici affectat, et non est; quia illa est virtus, hoc vitium.

7. Ut ergo non iterum eadem commemorare necesse sit, exempli gratia ponamus aliquid unde possint caetera intelligi. Catilina, ut de illo scripserunt qui nosse potuerunt, frigus, sitim, famem ferre poterat, eratque patiens inediae, algoris, vigiliae, supra quam cuiquam credibile est, ac per hoc et sibi et suis magna praeditus fortitudine videbatur (Sallust., de Bello Catilin.). Sed haec fortitudo prudens non erat; mala enim pro bonis eligebat: temperans non erat; corruptelis enim turpissimis foedabatur: justa non erat; nam contra patriam conjuraverat. Et ideo nec fortitudo erat; sed duritia sibi, ut stultos falleret, nomen fortitudinis imponebat: nam si fortitudo esset, non vitium, sed virtus esset; si autem virtus esset, a caeteris virtutibus tanquam inseparabilibus comitibus nunquam relinqueretur.

8. Quapropter dum quaeritur etiam de vitiis utrum ipsa similiter omnia sint, ubi unum erit; aut nulla sint, ubi unum non erit; laboriosum est id ostendere, propterea quia uni virtuti duo vitia opponi solent, et quod aperte contrarium est, et quod specie similitudinis adumbratur. Unde illa Catilinae, quia fortitudo non erat, quae esset, cum secum virtutes alias non habebat, facilius videbatur: quod vero ignavia fuerit, ubi exercitatio quaslibet gravissimas molestias perpetiendi atque tolerandi, supra quam cuiquam credibile est, fuit, aegre persuaderi potest. Sed forte acutius intuentibus, ignavia apparet ipsa duritia; quia laborem bonorum studiorum quibus vera acquiritur fortitudo, neglexerat. Verumtamen quia sunt audaces qui timidi non sunt, et rursus timidi quibus abest audacia, cum sit utrumque vitium; quoniam qui vera virtute fortis est, nec temere audet, nec inconsulte timet; cogimur fateri vitia plura esse virtutibus.

Although even among those most eloquent of the Roman tongue he said, "Neither however were deceit or astuteness lacking to him for taking care" (Sallust., de Bello Catilin.), placing astuteness in good: but among them it is most rare, among ours it is most frequent. And likewise in the parts of temperance, the effusion of parsimony is most openly contrary: but that which is commonly called tenacity is indeed a vice, yet similar to parsimony, not in nature, but in a most deceptive appearance. Likewise by a manifest dissimilarity injustice is contrary to justice: but the lust of avenging oneself is accustomed as if to imitate justice, but it is a vice. Sloth is clearly contrary to fortitude: but hardness differs in nature, deceives in similarity. Constancy is a certain part of virtue; from this, inconstancy is far abhorrent, and undoubtedly stands contrary: but pertinacity affects to be called constancy, and is not; because that is a virtue, this a vice.

7. Therefore, so that it may not be necessary to commemorate the same things again, let us place something as an example whence the rest can be understood. Catiline, as those who were able to know wrote of him, was able to bear cold, thirst, hunger, and was patient of lack of food, of chill, of wakefulness, beyond what is credible to anyone, and through this he seemed both to himself and to his own to be endowed with great fortitude (Sallust., de Bello Catilin.). But this fortitude was not prudent; for he chose evil things instead of good: it was not temperate; for it was defiled by most base corruptions: it was not just; for he had conspired against the fatherland. And therefore it was not fortitude; but hardness imposed on itself the name of fortitude, so that it might deceive the foolish: for if it were fortitude, it would be not a vice, but a virtue; but if it were a virtue, it would never be left by the other virtues as by inseparable companions.

8. Wherefore while it is asked also concerning vices whether they all are similarly there, where one shall be; or are none, where one shall not be; it is laborious to show that, because two vices are accustomed to be opposed to one virtue, both that which is openly contrary, and that which is shadowed by a certain appearance of similarity. Whence that of Catiline, because it was not fortitude, what it was, since it did not have the other virtues with it, seemed easier: but that it was sloth, where there was an exercise of enduring and tolerating whatever most grave troubles, beyond what is credible to anyone, can scarcely be persuaded. But perhaps to those looking more acutely, sloth appears in that very hardness; because he had neglected the labor of good studies by which true fortitude is acquired. Nevertheless, because there are those who are bold who are not timid, and again timid ones to whom boldness is absent, since both are a vice; since he who is brave by true virtue neither dares rashly, nor fears unadvisedly; we are forced to confess that vices are more numerous than virtues.

9. Unde aliquando vitium vitio tollitur; ut amore laudis, amor pecuniae: aliquando unum cedit, ut plura succedant; velut qui ebriosus fuerit, si modicum biberit, et tenacitatem et ambitionem didicerit. Possunt itaque vitia etiam cedere vitiis succedentibus, non virtutibus; et ideo plura sunt. Virtus vero quo una ingressa fuerit, quoniam secum caeteras ducit, profecto vitia cedent omnia quaecumque inerant: non enim omnia inerant, sed aliquando totidem, aliquando plura paucioribus, vel pauciora pluribus succedebant.

CAPUT III.

10. Haec utrum ita se habeant, diligentius inquirendum est. Non enim et ista divina sententia est, qua dicitur, Qui unam virtutem habuerit, omnes habet; eique nulla inest, cui una defuerit: sed hominibus hoc visum est, multum quidem ingeniosis, studiosis, sed tamen hominibus. Ego vero nescio quemadmodum dicam, non dico virum, a quo denominata dicitur virtus, sed etiam mulierem quae viro suo servat tori fidem, si hoc faciat propter praeceptum et promissum Dei, eique primitus sit fidelis, non habere pudicitiam, aut pudicitiam nullam vel parvam esse virtutem; sic et maritum qui hoc idem servat uxori: et tamen sunt plurimi tales, quorum sine aliquo peccato esse neminem dixerim, et utique illud qualecumque peccatum ex aliquo vitio venit. Unde pudicitia conjugalis in viris feminisque religiosis cum procul dubio virtus sit, non enim aut nihil, aut vitium est, non tamen secum habet omnes virtutes. Nam si omnes ibi essent, nullum esset vitium; si nullum vitium, nullum omnino peccatum: quis autem sine aliquo peccato? quis ergo sine aliquo vitio, id est fomite quodam, vel quasi radice peccati, cum clamet qui supra pectus Domini recumbebat, Si dixerimus quia peccatum non habemus, nos ipsos decipimus, et veritas in nobis non est (I Joan. 1, 8)? Neque hoc apud te diutius agendum est; sed propter alios qui forte hoc legerint, dico. Nam tu quidem in eodem ipso opere splendido contra Jovinianum (Lib. II) etiam hoc de Scripturis sanctis diligenter probasti: ubi etiam ex hac ipsa Epistola, cujus verba sunt quorum nunc intellectum requirimus, posuisti quod scriptum est, In multis enim offendimus omnes (Jacobi III, 2). Non enim ait, Offenditis, sed offendimus, cum Christi loqueretur apostolus: et cum hoc loco dicat, Quicumque autem totam legem servaverit, offendat autem in uno, factus est omnium reus; ibi non in uno, sed in multis; nec quosdam, sed omnes dicit offendere.

9. Whence sometimes a vice is removed by a vice; as by the love of praise, the love of money: sometimes one yields, so that more may succeed; as he who shall have been a drunkard, if he shall have drunk moderately, and shall have learned both tenacity and ambition. Vices can therefore also yield to succeeding vices, not to virtues; and therefore they are more numerous. But virtue where one shall have entered, since it leads the others with it, surely all vices whatsoever were in there will yield: for not all were in there, but sometimes as many, sometimes more succeeded fewer, or fewer succeeded more.

CHAPTER III.

10. Whether these things are so, must be more diligently inquired. For that sentence is not also divine, by which it is said, "He who shall have one virtue, has all; and none is in him, to whom one shall have been lacking": but this seemed so to men, very ingenious indeed, and studious, but yet to men. But I do not know in what manner I may say, I do not say a man, from whom virtue (virtus) is said to be named, but even a woman who keeps the faith of the bed to her husband, if she should do this because of the precept and promise of God, and be primarily faithful to Him, does not have chastity, or that chastity is no virtue or a small one; so also a husband who keeps this same to his wife: and yet there are very many such, of whom I would say that no one is without some sin, and surely that sin of whatever kind comes from some vice. Whence conjugal chastity in religious men and women, since it is without doubt a virtue, for it is not either nothing or a vice, yet it does not have all virtues with it. For if all were there, there would be no vice; if no vice, no sin at all: but who is without some sin? who therefore without some vice, that is, a certain tinder, or as it were the root of sin, when he cries out who reclined upon the breast of the Lord, "If we shall have said that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us" (I John 1, 8)? Nor is this to be further argued with you; but for the sake of others who perhaps shall read this, I speak. For you indeed in that same splendid work against Jovinian (Lib. II) also proved this diligently from the holy Scriptures: where also from this very Epistle, whose words are those whose understanding we now require, you placed what is written, "For in many things we all offend" (James III, 2). For he does not say, "You offend," but "we offend," when the apostle of Christ was speaking: and when in this place he says, "But whosoever shall have kept the whole law, but should offend in one, is made guilty of all"; there not in one, but "in many"; nor some, but "all" he says offend.

11. Absit autem ut quisquam fidelis existimet tot millia servorum Christi, qui veraciter dicunt se habere peccatum, ne seipsos decipiant, et veritas in eis non sit, nullam habere virtutem, cum virtus magna sit sapientia: dixit autem, ipsa sapientia, homini, Ecce pietas est sapientia (Job XXVIII, 28, sec. LXX). Absit ergo ut dicamus tot ac tantos fideles et pios homines Dei non habere pietatem, quam Graeci vel εὐσέβειαν, vel expressius et plenius θεοσέβειαν vocant: quid autem est pietas, nisi Dei cultus? et unde ille colitur, nisi charitate? Charitas igitur de corde puro et conscientia bona et fide non ficta, magna et vera virtus est, quia ipsa est et finis praecepti (I Tim. 1, 5). Merito dicta est fortis sicut mors (Cant. VIII, 6): sive quia nemo eam vincit, sicut mortem; sive quia in hac vita usque ad mortem est mensura charitatis, sicut Dominus ait; Majorem hac charitatem nemo habet, quam ut animam suam ponat quis pro amicis suis (Joan. XV, 13); sive potius, quia sicut mors animam avellit a sensibus carnis, sie charitas a concupiscentiis carnalibus. Huic subservit scientia, cum est utilis; nam sine illa inflat (I Cor. VIII, 1): quod vero illa aedificando impleverit, nihil ibi ista inane quod inflet, inveniet. Utilem porro scientiam definiendo monstravit, ubi cum dixisset, Ecce pietas est sapientia; continuo subjunxit, Abstinere vero a malis, scientia est. Cur ergo non dicimus, qui hanc virtutem habet, habere omnes; cum plenitudo legis sit charitas (Rom. XIII, 10)? An quanto magis est in homine, tanto magis est virtute praeditus: quanto autem minus, tanto minus inest ei virtus; quia ipsa est virtus: et quanto minus inest virtus, tanto magis est vitium? Ubi ergo illa plena et perfecta erit, nihil ex vitio remanebit.

12. Proinde mihi videntur Stoici falli, quia proficientem hominem in sapientia nolunt omnino habere sapientiam; sed tunc habere cum in ea omnino perfectus fuerit: non quia illum provectum negant; sed nisi ex profundo quodam emergendo, repente emicet in auras sapientiae liberas, nulla ex parte esse sapientem. Sicut enim nihil interest ad hominem praefocandum, utrum aquam stadiis multis super se habeat altam, aut uno palmo, aut digito: sic illos qui tendunt ad sapientiam, proficere quidem dicunt, tanquam ab imo gurgitis surgentes in aerem; sed nisi totam stultitiam velut opprimentem aquam, proficiendo velut emergendo evaserint, non habere virtutem, nec esse sapientes: ubi autem evaserint, mox habere totam, nec quidquam stultitiae remanere, unde omnino ullum peccatum possit existere.

11. But far be it that any faithful person should think so many thousands of servants of Christ, who truly say that they have sin, lest they should deceive themselves and the truth be not in them, have no virtue, since great virtue is wisdom: moreover, Wisdom itself said to man, "Behold, piety is wisdom" (Job XXVIII, 28, sec. LXX). Far be it therefore that we should say so many and such great faithful and pious men of God do not have piety, which the Greeks call either eusebeia, or more expressively and fully theosebeia: moreover, what is piety, except the worship of God? and whence is He worshipped, except by charity? Charity therefore from a pure heart and a good conscience and a faith unfeigned, is a great and true virtue, because it is itself also the end of the precept (I Tim. 1, 5). Meritoriously it was said "strong as death" (Cant. VIII, 6): either because no one conquers it, as death; or because in this life even unto death is the measure of charity, as the Lord says; "Greater charity than this no one has, than that someone should lay down his life for his friends" (John XV, 13); or rather, because as death tears away the soul from the senses of the flesh, so charity from carnal concupiscences. To this knowledge (scientia) is subservient, when it is useful; for without it, it puffs up (I Cor. VIII, 1): but what that one shall have filled by building up, this one will find nothing empty there which it may puff up. Furthermore, he showed by defining useful knowledge, where when he had said, "Behold, piety is wisdom"; immediately he subjoined, "But to abstain from evils, is knowledge." Why therefore do we not say, he who has this virtue, has all; since the fullness of the law is charity (Rom. XIII, 10)? Or as much as more it is in a man, so much more is he endowed with virtue: but as much as less, so much less is virtue in him; because it is itself virtue: and as much as less virtue is in him, so much more is vice? Where therefore that shall be full and perfect, nothing of vice will remain.

12. Therefore the Stoics seem to me to be deceived, because they do not want a man progressing in wisdom to have wisdom at all; but to have it then when he shall have been altogether perfect in it: not because they deny that advancement; but unless by emerging from a certain depth, he suddenly flash out into the free airs of wisdom, he is in no part wise. For just as it matters nothing for suffocating a man, whether he has water many stades high above him, or one palm, or a finger: so those who tend toward wisdom, they say indeed that they progress, as if rising from the bottom of a whirlpool into the air; but unless by progressing and as it were emerging they shall have escaped all folly as if the overwhelming water, they do not have virtue, nor are they wise: but when they shall have escaped, soon they have all, nor does any of folly remain, whence any sin at all could exist.

13. Haec similitudo, ubi stultitia velut aqua, et sapientia velut aer ponitur, ut animus a praefocatione stultitiae tanquam emergens, in sapientiam repente respiret, non mihi videtur satis accommodata nostrarum Scripturarum auctoritati: sed illa potius, ut vitium vel stultitia tenebris, luci autem virtus vel sapientia comparetur, quantum ista similia de corporalibus ad intelligibilia duci possunt. Non itaque sicut de aquis in aerem surgens, ubi earum summum transierit, repente quantum sufficit inspiratur; sed sicut de tenebris in lucem procedens, paulatim progrediendo illuminatur. Quod donec plenissime fiat, jam eum tamen dicimus tanquam de abditissima spelunca egredientem, vicinia lucis afflatum, tanto magis, quanto magis propinquat egressui: ut illud quod in eo lucet, sit utique ex lumine quo progreditur; illud autem quod adhuc obscurum est, sit ex tenebris unde egreditur. Itaque et non justificabitur in conspectu Dei omnis vivens (Psal. CXLII, 2); et tamen justus ex fide vivit (Habac. II, 4). Et induti sunt sancti justitia (Job. XXIX, 14), alius magis, alius minus: et nemo hic vivit sine peccato, et hoc alius magis, alius minus; optimus autem est, qui minimum.

CAPUT IV.

14. Sed quid ego, tanquam oblitus cui loquor, doctori similis factus sum, cum proposuerim quid abs te discere velim? Sed quia de peccatorum parilitate, unde in id quod agebam incidit quaestio, examinandam tibi sententiam meam promere statueram, jam eam tandem aliquando concludam. Quia etsi verum est, eum qui habet unam, omnes habere virtutes; eum qui unam non habet, nullam habere: nec sic peccata sunt paria. Quia ubi virtus nulla est, nihil quidem rectum est; nec tamen ideo non pravo pravius est, distortoque distortius. Si autem, quod puto esse verius, sacrisque Litteris congruentius, ita sunt animae intentiones, ut corporis membra, non quod videantur locis, sed quod sentiantur affectibus; et aliud illuminatur amplius, aliud minus, aliud omnino caret lumine et tenebroso inumbratur obstaculo: profecto, ita ut quisque illustratione piae charitatis affectus est, in alio actu magis, in alio minus, in aliquo nihil; sic potest dici habere aliam, et aliam non habere, aliam magis, aliam minus habere virtutem. Nam et, Major est in isto charitas, quam in illo, recte possumus dicere; et, Aliqua in isto, nulla in illo, quantum pertinet ad charitatem quae pietas est: et in ipso uno homine quod majorem habeat pudicitiam quam patientiam, et majorem hodie quam heri, si proficit; et adhuc non habeat continentiam, et habeat non parvam misericordiam.

13. This similarity, where folly is placed as it were water, and wisdom as it were air, so that the mind as if emerging from the suffocation of folly, should suddenly breathe into wisdom, does not seem to me sufficiently accommodated to the authority of our Scriptures: but that rather, so that vice or folly should be compared to darkness, but virtue or wisdom to light, as much as these similar things can be led from corporals to intelligibles. Therefore not as if rising from waters into the air, where when he shall have passed the top of them, he is suddenly inspired as much as suffices; but as if proceeding from darkness into light, by progressing little by little he is illuminated. Until this be done most fully, yet we now say he is as if going out from a most hidden cave, breathed upon by the neighborhood of light, so much the more, as much as more he approaches the exit: so that that which shines in him, should be surely from the light toward which he proceeds; but that which is still obscure, should be from the darkness whence he goes out. Therefore also "not every living thing shall be justified in the sight of God" (Psal. CXLII, 2); and yet "the just lives from faith" (Habac. II, 4). And the saints are "clothed with justice" (Job. XXIX, 14), one more, another less: and no one here lives without sin, and this one more, another less; but the best is he who has the least.

CHAPTER IV.

14. But why have I, as if forgetting to whom I speak, become like a teacher, when I proposed what I wish to learn from you? But because concerning the equality of sins, whence into that which I was acting a question fell, I had determined to bring forth my sentence to be examined by you, now I shall at length conclude it. For even if it is true, that he who has one, has all virtues; and he who does not have one, has none: yet not thus are sins equal. Because where virtue is none, nothing indeed is right; yet not therefore is that which is crooked not more crooked than another crooked thing, and more distorted than the distorted. But if, which I think to be more true, and more congruent to the sacred Letters, the intentions of the soul are so as the members of the body, not that they are seen in places, but that they are felt in affections; and one is illuminated more, another less, another altogether lacks light and is shadowed by a dark obstacle: surely, just as each one is affected by the illustration of pious charity, in one act more, in another less, in some nothing; so it can be said to have one, and not to have another, to have one virtue more, another less. For both, "Charity is greater in this one than in that one," we can rightly say; and, "Some in this one, none in that one," as much as pertains to charity which is piety: and in the one man himself that he has greater chastity than patience, and greater today than yesterday, if he progresses; and still does not have continence, and has not small mercy.

15. Et ut generaliter breviterque complectar quam de virtute habeam notionem, quod ad recte vivendum attinet, virtus est charitas, qua id quod diligendum est diligitur. Haec in aliis major, in aliis minor, in aliis nulla est, plenissima vero quae jam non possit augeri, quamdiu hic homo vivit, est in nemine; quamdiu autem augeri potest, profecto illud quod minus est quam debet, ex vitio est. Ex quo vitio non est justus in terra, qui faciat bonum, et non peccet (III Reg. VIII, 46): ex quo vitio non justificabitur in conspectu Dei omnis vivens. Propter quod vitium, si dixerimus quod peccatum non habemus, nosmetipsos seducimus, et veritas in nobis non est (I Joan. I, 8): propter quod etiam quantumlibet profecerimus, necessarium est nobis dicere, Dimitte nobis debita nostra (Matth. VI, 12); cum jam omnia in Baptismo dicta, facta, cogitata, dimissa sint. Videt itaque, qui recte videt, unde, et quando, et ubi speranda sit illa perfectio cui non sit quod adjici possit. Si autem praecepta non essent, non utique esset ubi se homo certius inspiceret, et videret unde averteretur, quo conaretur, quare gratularetur, quid precaretur. Magna est ergo utilitas praeceptorum, si libero arbitrio tantum detur, ut gratia Dei amplius honoretur.

CAPUT V.

16. Quae si ita se habent, unde fiet omnium reus, si in uno offendat, qui totam legem servaverit? An forte, quia plenitudo legis charitas est qua Deus proximusque diligitur, in quibus praeceptis charitatis tota lex pendet et Prophetae (Matth. XXII, 40), merito fit reus omnium, qui contra illam facit, in qua pendent omnia? Nemo autem peccat, nisi adversus illam faciendo: quia, Non adulterabis, non homicidium facies, non furaberis, non concupisces, et si quod est aliud mandatum, in hoc sermone recapitulatur, in eo quod est, Diliges proximum tuum tanquam teipsum. Dilectio proximi malum non operatur. Plenitudo autem legis, charitas (Rom. XIII, 9, 10). Nemo autem diligit proximum, nisi diligens Deum, et hoc, quantum potest, proximo impendat, quem diligit tanquam semetipsum, ut et ille diligat Deum: quem si ipse non diligit, nec se, nec proximum diligit. Ac per hoc qui totam legem servaverit, si in uno offenderit, fit omnium reus; quia contra charitatem facit, unde tota lex pendet. Reus itaque fit omnium, faciendo contra eam in qua pendent omnia.

15. And to embrace generally and briefly what notion I have concerning virtue, as far as pertains to living rightly, virtue is charity, by which that which is to be loved is loved. This in some is greater, in others less, in others none, but most full which cannot now be increased, as long as this man lives, is in no one; but as long as it can be increased, surely that which is less than it ought to be, is from vice. From which vice there is not a just man on earth, who does good, and does not sin (III Kings VIII, 46): from which vice not every living thing shall be justified in the sight of God. On account of which vice, if we shall have said that we have no sin, we seduce ourselves, and the truth is not in us (I John I, 8): on account of which also however much we shall have progressed, it is necessary for us to say, "Forgive us our debts" (Matth. VI, 12); when already all things said, done, thought in Baptism, have been forgiven. He therefore sees, who sees rightly, whence, and when, and where that perfection is to be hoped for to which there may not be what could be added. But if precepts were not, there would surely not be where a man might more certainly inspect himself, and see whence he was turned away, whither he should strive, for what he should congratulate, what he should pray for. Great therefore is the utility of precepts, if so much be given to free will, that the grace of God may be more amply honored.

CHAPTER V.

16. If these things are so, whence shall he be made guilty of all, if he should offend in one, who shall have kept the whole law? Or perhaps, because the fullness of the law is charity by which God and neighbor are loved, on which precepts of charity the whole law and the Prophets hang (Matth. XXII, 40), he is meritoriously made guilty of all, who acts against that, in which all hang? But no one sins, except by acting against that: because, "Thou shalt not commit adultery, thou shalt not commit homicide, thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not covet," and if there is any other command, it is recapitulated in this word, in that which is, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." Love of neighbor works no evil. But the fullness of the law is charity (Rom. XIII, 9, 10). But no one loves his neighbor, except loving God, and this, as much as he can, let him bestow upon his neighbor, whom he loves as himself, so that he also may love God: whom if he himself does not love, he loves neither himself, nor his neighbor. And through this he who shall have kept the whole law, if he shall have offended in one, becomes guilty of all; because he acts against charity, whence the whole law hangs. He therefore becomes guilty of all, by acting against her in whom all hang.

17. Cur ergo non dicantur paria peccata? An forte quia magis facit contra charitatem, qui gravius peccat; minus, qui levius? et hoc ipso quod admittit, fit quidem omnium reus: sed gravius peccans, vel in pluribus peccans, magis reus; levius autem vel in paucioribus peccans, minus reus: tanto majore scilicet reatu, quanto amplius; tanto minore, quanto minus peccaverit: tamen etiamsi in uno offenderit, reus omnium est, quia contra eam facit in qua pendent omnia? Quae si vera sunt, eo modo et illud absolvitur quod ait homo etiam apostolicae gratiae, In multis enim offendimus omnes (Jacobi III, 2). Omnes enim offendimus, sed unus gravius, alius levius, quanto quisque gravius leviusve peccaverit: tanto in peccato committendo major, quanto in diligendo Deo et proximo minor; et rursus, tanto minor in peccati perpetratione, quanto major in Dei et proximi dilectione. Tanto itaque plenior iniquitatis, quanto inanior charitatis. Et tunc perfecti sumus in charitate, quando nihil restat ex infirmitate.

18. Nec sane, quantum arbitror, putandum est leve esse peccatum in personarum acceptione habere fidem Domini nostri Jesu Christi, si illam distantiam sedendi ac standi ad honores ecclesiasticos referamus: quis enim ferat eligi divitem ad sedem honoris Ecclesiae, contempto paupere instructiore atque sanctiore? Si autem de quotidianis consessibus loquitur, quis non hinc peccat? Si tamen peccat, nisi cum apud seipsum intus ita judicat, ut ei tanto melior quanto ditior illo esse videatur: hoc enim videtur significasse, cum dicit, Nonne judicatis apud vosmetipsos, et facti estis judices iniquarum cogitationum?

CAPUT VI.

19. Lex itaque libertatis, lex charitatis est de qua dicit: Si tamen legem perficitis regalem secundum Scripturas, Diliges proximum tuum sicut teipsum, bene facilis. Si autem personas accipitis, peccatum operamini, redarguti a lege tanquam transgressores. Et post illam sententiam ad intelligendum difficillimam, de qua satis dixi quod dicendum putavi, eamdem legem libertatis commemorans, Sic loquimini, inquit, et sic facite, sicut per legem libertatis incipientes judicari.

Why therefore should sins not be called equal? Or perhaps because he acts more against charity, who sins more gravely; less, who more lightly? and by this very thing which he admits, he becomes indeed guilty of all: but sinning more gravely, or sinning in more things, more guilty; but sinning more lightly or in fewer things, less guilty: namely by so much greater guilt, by how much more; by so much less, by how much less he shall have sinned: yet even if he shall have offended in one, he is guilty of all, because he acts against her in whom all hang? Which if they are true, in that way also that is absolved which a man even of apostolic grace says, "For in many things we all offend" (James III, 2). For we all offend, but one more gravely, another more lightly, as much as each one shall have sinned more gravely or more lightly: so much greater in committing sin, as much as less in loving God and neighbor; and again, so much less in the perpetration of sin, as much as greater in the love of God and neighbor. So much therefore more full of iniquity, as much as more empty of charity. And then we are perfect in charity, when nothing remains from infirmity.

18. Nor indeed, as much as I judge, is it to be thought a light sin to have the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ in acceptance of persons, if we should refer that distance of sitting and standing to ecclesiastical honors: for who would bear a rich man to be chosen to the seat of honor of the Church, a poor man more instructed and more holy being contemned? But if he speaks concerning daily sittings together, who does not sin hence? If however he sins, unless when among himself within he so judges, that he seems to him by so much better as much as richer than that one: for this he seems to have signified, when he says, "Do you not judge among yourselves, and are made judges of iniquitous thoughts?"

CHAPTER VI.

19. The law of liberty, therefore, is the law of charity concerning which he says: "If however you perform the royal law according to the Scriptures, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself, you do well. But if you accept persons, you work sin, being redargued by the law as transgressors." And after that sentence most difficult to understand, concerning which I have said enough of what I thought should be said, commemorating the same law of liberty, "So speak," he says, "and so do, as those beginning to be judged by the law of liberty."

Et quoniam quid paulo ante dixerit, novit, quoniam in multis offendimus omnes, suggerit dominicam tanquam quotidianam quotidianis, etsi levioribus, tamen vulneribus medicinam. Judicium enim, inquit, sine misericordia illi qui non facit misericordiam. Hinc enim et Dominus, Dimittite, inquit, et dimittetur vobis; date, et dabitur vobis (Luc. VI, 37, 38). Superexsultat autem misericordia judicio: non dictum est, Vincit misericordia judicium, non enim est adversa judicio; sed, superexsultat, quia plures per misericordiam colliguntur, sed qui misericordiam praestiterunt. Beati enim misericordes, quia ipsis miserebitur Deus (Matth. V, 7).

20. Et hoc utique justum est, ut dimittatur eis, quia dimiserunt; et detur eis, quia dederunt. Inest quippe Deo et misericordia judicanti, et judicium miseranti. Propter quod ei dicitur, Misericordiam et judicium cantabo tibi, Domine (Psal. C, 1): nam quisquis velut nimium justus judicium sine misericordia quasi securus exspectat, iram justissimam provocat, quam timens ille dixit, Ne intres in judicium cum servo tuo (Psal. CXLII, 2). Unde dicitur populo contumaci, Quid vultis mecum judicio contendere (Jer. II, 29)? Cum enim rex justus sederit in throno, quis gloriabitur castum se habere cor? aut quis gloriabitur mundum se esse a peccato? Quae igitur spes est, nisi superexsultet misericordia judicio? Sed erga illos qui misericordiam fecerunt, veraciter dicendo, Dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus; et sine murmuratione dando; hilarem enim datorem diligit Deus (II Cor. IX, 7). Denique sanctus Jacobus jam ex isto loco de misericordiae operibus loquitur, ut quos vehementer illa sententia terruerat, consoletur; cum admonet quomodo etiam quotidiana peccata, sine quibus hic non vivitur, quotidianis remediis expientur: ne homo, qui cum in uno offenderit fit omnium reus, in multis offendendo (quia in multis offendimus omnes) propter magnum aggerem reatus sui minutatim collectum, ad tribunal tanti judicis perveniat, et eam quam non fecit, misericordiam non inveniat; sed potius dimittendo atque dando mereatur sibi dimitti peccata, reddique promissa.

21. Multa dixi, quibus tibi taedium fortassis inferrem, qui haec, quae tamen approbas, non exspectas discere, quod ea docere consuevisti. Si quid autem est in eis, quantum ad rem ipsam pertinet; nam quali eloquio explicata sint, non nimis curo; si quid ergo in eis est, quod eruditionem offendat tuam, quaeso ut rescribendo admoneas, et me corrigere non graveris. Infelix est enim qui non tantos et tam sanctos tuorum studiorum labores et digne honorat, et de his Domino Deo nostro cujus munere talis es, gratias agit.

And since he knows what he said a little before, "that in many things we all offend," he suggests the Lord's medicine as it were a daily one for daily, although lighter, yet wounds. "For judgment," he says, "without mercy to him who does not do mercy." For hence also the Lord says, "Forgive, and it shall be forgiven to you; give, and it shall be given to you" (Luke VI, 37, 38). "But mercy triumphs over judgment": it was not said, Mercy conquers judgment, for it is not adverse to judgment; but, "triumphs over," because more are gathered through mercy, but those who have provided mercy. For "Blessed are the merciful, because God will have mercy on them" (Matth. V, 7).

20. And this is surely just, that it should be forgiven to them, because they have forgiven; and it should be given to them, because they have given. For in God there is both mercy in judging, and judgment in having mercy. On account of which it is said to Him, "Mercy and judgment I will sing to Thee, O Lord" (Psal. C, 1): for whosoever as if too just expects judgment without mercy as if secure, provokes most just wrath, which he fearing said, "Do not enter into judgment with Thy servant" (Psal. CXLII, 2). Whence it is said to the contumacious people, "Why do you wish to contend with me in judgment" (Jer. II, 29)? For when the just king shall have sat on the throne, who will glory that he has a chaste heart? or who will glory that he is clean from sin? What hope is there, therefore, unless mercy triumphs over judgment? But toward those who have done mercy, by truly saying, "Forgive us our debts, as we also forgive"; and by giving without murmuring; for God loves a cheerful giver (II Cor. IX, 7). Finally, Saint James already from that place speaks concerning works of mercy, so that he may console those whom that sentence had vehemently terrified; when he admonishes in what way even daily sins, without which one does not live here, may be expiated by daily remedies: lest a man, who when he shall have offended in one becomes guilty of all, by offending in many (because in many things we all offend) on account of the great heap of his guilt collected little by little, should come to the tribunal of so great a judge, and not find that mercy which he did not do; but rather by forgiving and giving should merit that sins be forgiven to him, and the promises be rendered.

21. I have said many things, by which perhaps I might bring weariness to you, who do not expect to learn these things, which however you approve, because you have been accustomed to teach them. But if there is anything in them, as far as pertains to the matter itself; for in what kind of eloquence they have been explained, I do not care too much; if there is therefore anything in them, which offends your erudition, I pray that you may admonish by writing back, and do not be reluctant to correct me. For unhappy is he who does not both worthily honor such and so holy labors of your studies, and give thanks for these to the Lord our God by whose gift you are such.

Unde cum libentius debeam a quolibet discere quod inutiliter ignoro, quam promptius quoslibet docere quod scio; quanto justius abs te hoc charitatis debitum flagito, cujus doctrina, in nomine et adjutorio Domini, tantum in latina lingua ecclesiasticae litterae adjutae sunt, quantum nunquam antea potuerunt! Maxime tamen istam sententiam, Quicumque totam legem servaverit, offendat autem in uno, factus est omnium reus, si quo alio modo exponi melius posse novit tua Dilectio, per Dominum obsecro ut id nobiscum communicare digneris.

EPISTOLA CLXVIII. Timasius et Jacobus Augustino, gratias agentes pro scripto ipsis libro de Natura et Gratia, adversus libellum Pelagii, naturam non sine gratiae invidia defendentis.

Domino vere beatissimo, et merito venerabili patri episcopo AUGUSTINO, TIMASIUS et JACOBUS, in Domino salutem.

Ita nos refecit et recreavit gratia Dei, ministrata per verbum tuum, ut prorsus germani dicamus, «Misit verbum suum, et sanavit eos» (Psal. CVI, 20), domine beatissime, et merito venerabilis pater. Sane ea diligentia ventilasse Sanctitatem tuam textum ejusdem libelli reperimus, ut ad singulos apices responsa reddita stupeamus, sive in his quae refutare, detestari, aut fugere deceat christianum; sive in illis in quibus non satis invenitur errasse, quamvis nescio qua calliditate, in ipsis quoque gratiam Dei credidit supprimendam. Sed unum est quod nos in tanto beneficio afficit, quia tarde hoc tam praeclarum gratiae Dei munus effulsit: siquidem contigit absentes fieri quosdam, quorum caecitati ista tam perspicuae veritatis illustratio deberetur; ad quos, etsi tardius, non diffidimus propitio Deo eamdem gratiam pervenire, qui vult omnes homines salvos fieri, et ad agnitionem veritatis venire (I Tim. II, 4). Nos vero, etsi olim spiritu claritatis, qui in te est, docti, subjectionem ejus abjecerimus erroris, in hoc etiam nunc gratias agimus, quod haec quae ante credidimus, nunc aliis aperire didicimus, viam facilitatis uberiore Sanctitatis tuae sermone pandente. Et alia manu: Incolumem Beatitudinem tuam, nostrique memorem, misericordia Dei nostri glorificet in aeternum.

EPISTOLA CLXIX. Augustinus Evodio, respondens ad duas quaestiones, de Trinitate, et de columba in qua Spiritus sanctus demonstratus est; docens difficiliorum hujuscemodi quaestionum intelligentiam minime necessariam esse ad salutem.

AUGUSTINUS episcopus, EVODIO episcopo.

CAP. PRIMUM.

Whence since I ought more willingly to learn from anyone what I ignore uselessly, than more promptly to teach anyone what I know; how much more justly do I demand from you this debt of charity, by whose doctrine, in the name and help of the Lord, ecclesiastical letters have been helped in the Latin tongue as much as they never could have been before! Most of all however that sentence, "Whosoever shall keep the whole law, but shall offend in one, is made guilty of all," if your Charity knows it to be able to be explained in any other better way, I beseech through the Lord that you deign to communicate it with us.

EPISTLE CLXVIII. Timasius and James to Augustine, giving thanks for the book written to them concerning Nature and Grace, against the book of Pelagius, defending nature not without envy of grace.

To the truly most blessed Lord, and meritoriously venerable father bishop AUGUSTINE, TIMASIUS and JAMES, in the Lord salvation.

So much the grace of God has refreshed and recreated us, administered through your word, that we may altogether say as brothers, "He sent His word, and healed them" (Psal. CVI, 20), most blessed Lord, and meritoriously venerable father. Indeed we have found that your Holiness has sifted the text of that same booklet with such diligence, that we are amazed at the responses rendered to individual points, whether in those things which it becomes a Christian to refute, detest, or flee; or in those in which he is not found to have erred enough, although by I know not what craftiness, in those also he believed the grace of God should be suppressed. But there is one thing which affects us in so great a benefit, because this so excellent gift of the grace of God has shone forth late: if indeed it happened that certain ones were absent, to whose blindness this so perspicuous illustration of truth was due; to whom, even if later, we do not distrust the same grace to come through God's propitiousness, who wants all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of truth (I Tim. II, 4). But we, even if formerly taught by the spirit of clarity which is in you, shall have cast off the subjection of that error, in this also now we give thanks, that these things which we believed before, now we have learned to open to others, the more abundant speech of your Holiness laying open the way of facility. And in another hand: May the mercy of our God glorify your Beatitude, unharmed and mindful of us, for eternity.

EPISTLE CLXIX. Augustine to Evodius, responding to two questions, concerning the Trinity, and concerning the dove in which the Holy Spirit was demonstrated; teaching that the understanding of more difficult questions of this kind is least necessary for salvation.

AUGUSTINE the bishop, to EVODIUS the bishop.

CHAPTER I.

1. Si ea quae me magis occupant, a quibus in aliud averti nolo, Sanctitas tua nosse tanti habet, mitte aliquem qui tibi describat. Jam enim plura perfecta sunt, quae hoc anno ante pascha propinquante quadragesima a nobis fuerant inchoata. Nam tribus illis libris de Civitate Dei, contra daemonicolas inimicos ejus, duos alios addidimus: quibus quinque libris satis disputatum arbitror adversus eos qui propter praesentis vitae felicitatem deos colendos putant, eamque felicitatem a nobis impediri opinantes, christiano nomini infesti sunt. Deinceps dicendum est, sicut primo libro polliciti sumus (De Civit. Dei, lib. I, c. 36), adversus eos qui propter vitam post mortem futuram necessarium existimant cultum deorum suorum, propter quam vitam nos christiani sumus. Dictavi etiam trium psalmorum expositiones, non parvis voluminibus, sexagesimi septimi, septuagesimi primi, septuagesimi septimi. Reliqui nondum dictati neque tractati, vehementer a nobis exspectantur atque flagitantur. Ab his me revocari et retardari, irruentibus de transverso quibuslibet quaestionibus, nolo: ita ut nec libros de Trinitate, quos diu in manibus verso nondumque complevi, modo attendere velim, quoniam nimis operosi sunt, et a paucis eos intelligi posse arbitror; unde magis urgent quae pluribus utilia fore speramus.

2. Non enim, ut scribis, Qui ignorat, ignorabitur (I Cor. XIV, 38), de hac re dixit Apostolus, tanquam ista poena ille plectendus sit, qui non valet intelligentia sic discernere ineffabilem Trinitatis unitatem, sicut discernitur in animo nostro memoria, intellectus, voluntas: aliunde hoc dicebat Apostolus. Lege, et videbis quod ea loquebatur, quae fidem vel mores multorum aedificarent, non quae vix ad paucorum, eamque exiguam, quantulacumque in hac vita de re tanta esse potest, intelligentiam pervenirent; id est, ut linguis prophetia praeponeretur, ut non perturbate illa gererentur, quasi prophetiae spiritus etiam invitos loqui cogeret, ut mulieres in ecclesia tacerent, ut omnia honeste et secundum ordinem fierent. Haec cum ageret, ait, Si quis videtur esse propheta, aut spiritualis, cognoscat quae scribo vobis, quia Domini est mandatum. Si quis autem ignorat, ignorabitur: his verbis coercens, et ad pacificum ordinem revocans inquietos, tanto ad seditionem faciliores, quanto sibi videbantur spiritu excellere, cum superbiendo cuncta turbarent. Si quis ergo videtur propheta esse, aut spiritualis, cognoscat, inquit, quae scribo vobis, quia Domini est mandatum.

1. If your Holiness considers it so much to know those things which occupy me more, from which I do not wish to be turned away into another thing, send someone who may describe them for you. For already more things have been perfected, which had been begun by us this year before Easter as Lent approached. For to those three books concerning the City of God, against its demon-worshipping enemies, we have added two others: in which five books I judge it has been sufficiently disputed against those who think the gods should be worshipped for the sake of the happiness of the present life, and opining that that happiness is hindered by us, are hostile to the Christian name. Henceforth it must be spoken, as we promised in the first book (De Civit. Dei, lib. I, c. 36), against those who judge the worship of their gods necessary for the sake of the life future after death, for the sake of which life we are Christians. I also dictated expositions of three psalms, in no small volumes, the sixty-seventh, seventy-first, seventy-seventh. The rest not yet dictated nor treated, are vehemently expected and demanded from us. I do not wish to be recalled and retarded from these, by any questions whatever rushing in from across: so that neither would I wish now to attend to the books concerning the Trinity, which I have long turned in my hands and have not yet completed, since they are too laborious, and I judge they can be understood by few; whence more urgent are those which we hope will be useful to more.

2. For not, as you write, "He who is ignorant, shall be ignored" (I Cor. XIV, 38), did the Apostle say concerning this thing, as if he were to be punished with that penalty who is not able by intelligence thus to discern the ineffable unity of the Trinity, as memory, intellect, will are discerned in our soul: from another place the Apostle was saying this. Read, and you will see that he was speaking those things which would build up the faith or morals of many, not which would scarcely come to the understanding of few, and that an exiguous one, as small as can be in this life concerning so great a matter; that is, that prophecy should be preferred to tongues, that those things should not be done confusedly, as if the spirit of prophecy forced even the unwilling to speak, that women should be silent in the church, that all things should be done honestly and according to order. While he was doing these things, he said, "If anyone seems to be a prophet, or spiritual, let him know what things I write to you, because it is the Lord's command. But if anyone is ignorant, he shall be ignored": by these words coercing, and recalling to peaceful order the restless ones, by so much more easy to sedition, as much as they seemed to themselves to excel in spirit, when by being proud they disturbed all things. "If anyone" therefore "seems to be a prophet, or spiritual, let him know," he says, "what things I write to you, because it is the Lord's command."

Si quis videtur esse, et utique non est: nam qui est, sine dubitatione cognoscit, nec admonitione et cohortatione opus habet, quia omnia judicat, et a nemine judicatur (Id. II, 15). Illi ergo seditiones et perturbationes in Ecclesia faciebant, qui videbantur esse in Ecclesia, quod non erant. Hos docet cognoscere Domini esse mandatum, quia non est seditionis Deus, sed pacis. Si quis autem ignorat, ignorabitur, id est, improbabitur. Non enim Deus, si ad scientiam referas, ignorat eos quibus dicturus est, Non novi vos (Luc. XIII, 27); sed eorum improbatio hoc verbo insinuata est.

3. Cum autem Dominus dicat, Beati mundo corde, quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt (Matth. V, 8), eaque visio nobis in fine summum praemium promittatur; non est metuendum, si nunc ad liquidum, quae de Dei natura credimus, conspicere non valemus, ne inde sit dictum, Qui ignorat, ignorabitur. Quia enim in sapientia Dei non cognovit mundus per sapientiam Deum, placuit Deo per stultitiam praedicationis salvos facere credentes. Haec stultitia praedicationis, ac stultum Dei, quod sapientius est hominibus (I Cor. I, 21, 25), multos contrahit ad salutem, ut non solum qui nondum certa valent intelligentia conspicere naturam Dei, quam fide tenent, verum etiam qui nondum in ipsa anima sua ita incorporea substantiam a corporis generalitate discernunt, quemadmodum certi sunt se vivere, nosse, velle, ideo non sint alieni a salute, quam stultitia illa praedicationis fidelibus confert.

4. Nam si propter eos solos Christus mortuus est, qui certa intelligentia possunt ista discernere, pene frustra in Ecclesia laboramus. Si autem, quod veritas habet, infirmi populi credentium ad medicum currunt, sanandi per Christum, et hunc crucifixum, ut ubi abundavit peccatum, superabundet gratia (Rom. V, 20); miris fit modis per altitudinem divitiarum sapientiae et scientiae Dei, et per inscrutabilia judicia ejus (Id. XI, 33), ut et nonnulli a corporibus incorporea discernentes, cum sibi ex hoc magni videntur, et irrident stultitiam praedicationis, qua salvi fiunt credentes, ab unica via longe exerrent, quae ad vitam aeternam sola perducit: et multi in cruce Christi gloriantes, et ab eadem via non recedentes, etiamsi ista quae subtilissime disseruntur, ignorant, quia non perit unus ex illis pro quibus mortuus est (Joan. XVII, 12), ad eamdem perveniant aeternitatem, veritatem, charitatem, id est ad stabilem, certam, plenamque felicitatem, ubi manentibus, videntibus, amantibus sunt cuncta perspicua.

CAPUT II.

If anyone seems to be, and surely is not: for he who is, knows without doubt, nor has need of admonition and exhortation, because he judges all things, and is judged by no one (Id. II, 15). Those therefore were making seditions and disturbances in the Church, who seemed to be in the Church what they were not. These he teaches to know that it is the Lord's command, because He is not a God of sedition, but of peace. "But if anyone is ignorant, he shall be ignored," that is, he shall be disapproved. For God, if you refer to knowledge, is not ignorant of those to whom He is about to say, "I know you not" (Luke XIII, 27); but their disapproval has been insinuated by this word.

3. But since the Lord says, "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God" (Matth. V, 8), and that vision is promised to us in the end as the highest reward; it is not to be feared, if now we are not able to behold clearly what things we believe concerning the nature of God, lest it be said from there, "He who is ignorant, shall be ignored." For because in the wisdom of God the world did not know God through wisdom, it pleased God through the foolishness of preaching to save those believing. This foolishness of preaching, and the foolish thing of God which is wiser than men (I Cor. I, 21, 25), draws many to salvation, so that not only those who are not yet able by certain intelligence to behold the nature of God, which they hold by faith, but also those who do not yet in their soul itself thus discern the incorporeal substance from the generality of the body, in what manner they are certain that they live, know, will, are therefore not alien from the salvation which that foolishness of preaching confers on the faithful.

4. For if on account of those alone Christ died, who can discern these things by certain intelligence, we labor almost in vain in the Church. But if, which truth has, the weak peoples of believers run to the physician, to be healed through Christ, and Him crucified, so that where sin abounded, grace might superabound (Rom. V, 20); it is done in wondrous ways through the depth of the riches of the wisdom and knowledge of God, and through His inscrutable judgments (Id. XI, 33), that both some discerning incorporeal things from bodies, when they seem great to themselves from this, and laugh at the foolishness of preaching by which believers are made safe, wander far from the only way, which alone leads through to eternal life: and many glorying in the cross of Christ, and not receding from the same way, even if they ignore these things which are most subtly discussed, because not one of them perishes for whom He died (John XVII, 12), they may come to the same eternity, truth, charity, that is to stable, certain, and full happiness, where all things are perspicuous to those remaining, seeing, loving.

CHAPTER II.

5. Proinde in unum Deum, Patrem et Filium et Spiritum sanctum firma pietate credamus; ita ut nec Filius credatur esse qui Pater est, nec Pater qui Filius est, nec Pater nec Filius qui utriusque Spiritus est. Nihil putetur in hac Trinitate temporibus locisve distare; sed haec tria aequalia esse et coaeterua, et omnino esse una natura: non a Patre aliam, et a Filio aliam, et a Spiritu sancto aliam conditam esse creaturam; sed omnia et singula quae creata sunt vel creantur, Trinitate creante subsistere, nec quemquam liberari a Patre sine Filio et Spiritu sancto, aut a Filio sine Patre et Spiritu sancto, aut a Spiritu sancto sine Patre et Filio; sed a Patre et Filio et Spiritu sancto, uno, vero, vereque immortali, id est omni modo incommutabili solo Deo. Multa autem etiam separatim in Scripturis de singulis dici, ut insinuetur, quamvis inseparabilis Trinitas, tamen Trinitas: ut quemadmodum simul dici non possunt cum sonis corporalibus commemorantur, quamvis simul sint inseparabiliter; ita et quibusdam Scripturarum locis, et per quasdam creaturas singillatim vicissimque monstrentur, sicut Pater in voce qua sonuit, Tu es Filius meus (Luc. III, 22); et Filius in homine quem suscepit ex Virgine (Id. II, 7); et Spiritus sanctus in columbae specie corporali (Matth. III, 16): haec separatim quidem, sed nullo modo separata tria illa demonstrant.

6. Ad hoc utcumque intelligendum assumimus memoriam, intelligentiam, voluntatem. Quamvis enim haec suis separatisque temporibus singillatim singula enuntiemus, nihil tamen horum sine aliis duobus agimus aut dicimus. Nec ideo putanda sunt haec tria Trinitati sic comparata, ut omni ex parte conveniant: cui enim similitudini in disputando convenientia tanta conceditur, ut ei rei cui adhibenda est, ex omni parte coaptetur? vel quando ex creatura ad Creatorem aliquid simile assumitur? Primo ergo in hoc invenitur ista similitudo dissimilis, quod tria haec, memoria intelligentia, voluntas, animae insunt; non eadem tria, est anima: illa vero Trinitas non inest, sed ipsa Deus est. Ideo ibi mirabilis simplicitas commendatur; quia non ibi aliud est esse, aliud intelligere, vel si quid aliud de Dei natura dicitur: anima vero quia est, etiam dum non intelligit, aliud est quod est, aliud quod intelligit. Deinde quis audeat dicere Patrem non intelligere per seipsum, sed per Filium, sicut memoria non intelligit per seipsam, sed per intellectum, vel potius anima ipsa, cui haec insunt, per intellectum tantummodo intelligit; sicut per memoriam tantummodo meminit, et per voluntatem tantummodo vult?

5. Therefore let us believe with firm piety in one God, Father and Son and Holy Spirit; so that neither should the Son be believed to be He who is the Father, nor the Father He who is the Son, nor Father nor Son He who is the Spirit of both. Let nothing in this Trinity be thought to differ in times or places; but that these three are equal and co-eternal, and altogether are one nature: not that one creature was founded by the Father, and another by the Son, and another by the Holy Spirit; but that all and individual things which have been created or are created, consist by the creating Trinity, nor is anyone liberated by the Father without the Son and Holy Spirit, or by the Son without the Father and Holy Spirit, or by the Holy Spirit without the Father and Son; but by the Father and Son and Holy Spirit, one, true, and truly immortal, that is, only God in every way incommutable. But that many things also are said separately in the Scriptures concerning individual ones, so that it may be insinuated that, although the Trinity is inseparable, yet it is a Trinity: so that in what manner they cannot be said together when they are commemorated with corporal sounds, although they are together inseparably; so also in certain places of the Scriptures, and through certain creatures they are shown individually and in turn, as the Father in the voice by which it sounded, "Thou art my Son" (Luke III, 22); and the Son in the man whom He took from the Virgin (Id. II, 7); and the Holy Spirit in the corporal species of a dove (Matth. III, 16): these indeed separately, but in no way do those demonstrate those three separate.

6. For understanding this in some way we assume memory, intelligence, will. For although we enounce these individually each in its own and separate times, yet we do or say nothing of these without the other two. Nor therefore are these three to be thought so compared to the Trinity, that they agree from every part: for to what similarity in disputing is so much agreement conceded, that it should be coadapted from every part to that thing to which it is to be applied? or when from a creature something similar is assumed to the Creator? First therefore in this is that similarity found dissimilar, because these three, memory, intelligence, will, are in the soul; not these same three are the soul: but that Trinity is not in, but is God Himself. Therefore there a wonderful simplicity is commended; because there it is not one thing to be, another to understand, or if anything else is said concerning the nature of God: but the soul because it is, even while it does not understand, that which it is is one thing, that which it understands another. Then who would dare to say that the Father does not understand through Himself, but through the Son, as memory does not understand through itself, but through the intellect, or rather the soul itself, in which these are, understands through the intellect only; as it remembers through memory only, and wills through the will only?

Ad hoc ergo adhibetur ista similitudo, ut quoquo modo intelligatur, quemadmodum horum trium in anima cum singula nomina enuntiantur, quibus eadem singula demonstrantur, tamen unumquodque nomen his tribus cooperantibus enuntiatur, cum et reminiscendo, et intelligendo, et volendo dicitur; ita nullam esse creaturam, qua vel solus Pater, vel solus Filius, vel solus Spiritus sanctus demonstretur, quam non simul Trinitas operetur, quae inseparabiliter operatur: ac per hoc nec vocem Patris, nec animam et carnem Filii, nec columbam Spiritus sancti esse factam, nisi eadem cooperante Trinitate.

7. Nec sane sonus ille vocis, qui continuo esse destitit, coaptatus est in unitatem personae Patris, nec illa columbae species corporalis coaptata est in unitatem personae Spiritus sancti. Nam ipsa quoque, sicut nubes illa lucida quae operuit in monte cum tribus Discipulis Salvatorem (Matth. XVII, 5), vel potius sicut ille ignis qui eumdem Spiritum sanctum demonstravit (Act. II, 3), officio significationis impleto, mox esse desivit. Sed solus homo, quia propter ipsam naturam liberandam illa omnia fiebant, in unitatem personae Verbi Dei, hoc est unici Filii Dei mirabili et singulari susceptione coaptatus est, permanente tamen Verbo in sua natura incommutabiliter, in qua nihil compositi cum quo subsistat ulla phantasia humani animi suspicandum est. Legitur quidem, Et Spiritus sapientiae multiplex (Sap. VII, 22); sed recte dicitur etiam simplex. Multiplex enim, quoniam multa sunt quae habet; simplex autem, quia non aliud quam quod habet est: sicut dictus est Filius habere vitam in semetipso (Joan. V, 26), et eadem vita ipse est. Homo autem Verbo accessit, non Verbum in hominem convertibiliter accessit; atque ita et Filius Dei simul cum homine suscepto dicitur: unde idem Filius Dei incommutabilis est atque coaeternus Patri, sed in Verbo solo; et sepultus est Filius Dei, sed in carne sola.

8. Proinde quae de Filio Dei verba dicuntur, videndum est secundum quid dicantur. Non enim homine assumpto personarum numerus auctus est, sed eadem Trinitas mansit. Nam sicut in homine quolibet, praeter unum illum qui singulariter susceptus est, anima et corpus una persona est; ita in Christo Verbum et homo una persona est.

Therefore to this is that similarity applied, so that it may be understood in whatever way, in what manner of these three in the soul when individual names are enounced, by which the same individuals are demonstrated, yet each name is enounced with these three cooperating, since it is said both by remembering, and by understanding, and by willing; so there is no creature, by which either the Father alone, or the Son alone, or the Holy Spirit alone may be demonstrated, which the Trinity does not work together, which works inseparably: and through this neither the voice of the Father, nor the soul and flesh of the Son, nor the dove of the Holy Spirit were made, except with the same Trinity cooperating.

7. Nor indeed was that sound of the voice, which immediately ceased to be, joined into the unity of the person of the Father, nor was that corporal appearance of the dove joined into the unity of the person of the Holy Spirit. For it also, just like that bright cloud which covered the Savior on the mountain with the three Disciples (Matth. XVII, 5), or rather like that fire which demonstrated the same Holy Spirit (Acts II, 3), having fulfilled the office of signification, soon ceased to be. But only the man, because all those things were done for the sake of liberating that very nature, was joined into the unity of the person of the Word of God, that is, of the only Son of God by a wonderful and singular assumption, the Word nevertheless remaining inchangeably in its own nature, in which nothing of a composite nature with which any phantasy (phantasia) of the human mind might subsist is to be suspected. It is indeed read, "And the Spirit of wisdom is manifold" (Wis. VII, 22); but it is rightly called also simple. For it is manifold, because there are many things which it has; but simple, because it is nothing other than what it has: just as the Son is said to have life in himself (John V, 26), and he himself is that same life. But the man was added to the Word, the Word did not pass convertibly into the man; and thus the Son of God is also spoken of together with the assumed man: whence the same Son of God is inchangeable and coeternal (coaeternus) with the Father, but in the Word alone; and the Son of God was buried, but in the flesh alone.

8. Accordingly, when words are spoken concerning the Son of God, it must be seen according to what they are said. For the number of persons was not increased by the man being assumed, but the same Trinity remained. For just as in any man, besides that one who was singularly assumed, the soul (anima) and body (corpus) are one person; so in Christ the Word and the man are one person.

Et sicut homo, verbi gratia, philosophus non utique nisi secundum animam dicitur, nec ideo tamen absurde, sed congruentissima et usitatissima locutione dicimus philosophum caesum, philosophum mortuum, philosophum sepultum, cum totum secundum carnem accidat, non secundum illud quod est philosophus: ita Christus Deus, Dei Filius, Dominus gloriae, et si quid hujusmodi secundum Verbum dicitur; et tamen recte dicitur Deus crucifixus, cum hoc eum secundum carnem passum esse, non secundum illud quo Dominus gloriae est, non habeatur incertum.

9. Sonitus autem ille vocis, et columbae species corporalis, et linguae divisae velut ignis qui insedit super unumquemque eorum, sicut illa in monte Sina quae terribili specie facta sunt (Exod. XIX, 18), et sicut columna illa nubis per diem, et flammae per noctem (Id. XIII, 21), significativa operatione acta atque transacta sunt. Illud in his maxime cavendum est, ne cuiquam Dei natura vel Patris, vel Filii, vel Spiritus sancti commutabilis et convertibilis esse credatur. Nec moveat quod aliquando res quae significat, nomen ejus rei quam significat, accipit. Spiritus sanctus dictus est corporali specie tanquam columba descendisse et mansisse super eum. Sic enim et petra Christus (I Cor. X, 4), quia significat Christum.

CAPUT III.

10. Miror autem tibi videri sonitum vocis illius qua dictum est, Tu es filius meus, non mediante anima, sed divino nutu sola corporali natura sic fieri potuisse; et non tibi videri eodem modo potuisse fieri animantis cujuslibet speciem corporalem motumque viventi similem, divino nutu, nullo animali interposito spiritu. Si enim obtemperat Deo creatura corporea sine vivificantis animae ministerio, ut edantur soni quales edi ex corpore animato solent, ut forma locutionis articulatae auribus inferatur; cur non obtemperet, ut sine animae vivificantis ministerio figura motusque volucris, eadem potentia Creatoris, ingeratur aspectibus? An sensus audiendi hoc mereri potest, videndi non potest, cum ex adjacenti materia corpus utrumque formetur, et quod insonat auribus et quod apparet aspectibus, et vocis articuli et lineamenta membrorum, et audibilis et visibilis motus, ut et verum sit corpus quod sentitur corporis sensu, et nihil sit amplius quam quod sentitur corporis sensu? Anima enim nullo sensu corporis vel in aliquo animante sentitur. Non igitur est opus quaerere quomodo apparuerit columbae species corporalis, sicut non quaerimus quomodo sonuerint voces articulati corporis.

And just as a man, for example, is certainly not called a philosopher except according to the soul, and yet we do not therefore speak absurdly, but by a most congruent and customary expression we say that the philosopher was beaten, the philosopher died, the philosopher was buried, though all these things happen according to the flesh, not according to that which makes him a philosopher: so Christ is God, the Son of God, the Lord of glory, and if anything of this kind is said according to the Word; and yet it is rightly said that God was crucified, since it is not held as uncertain that he suffered this according to the flesh, not according to that by which he is the Lord of glory.

9. But that sound of the voice, and the corporal appearance of the dove, and the divided tongues as if of fire which sat upon each of them, like those things on Mount Sinai which were made with a terrible appearance (Exod. XIX, 18), and like that pillar of cloud by day, and of flames by night (Exod. XIII, 21), were enacted and passed away by a significative operation. In these things, this is most especially to be guarded against: lest the nature of God, whether of the Father, or of the Son, or of the Holy Spirit, be believed by anyone to be changeable and convertible. Nor let it move anyone that sometimes the thing which signifies receives the name of that thing which it signifies. The Holy Spirit was said to have descended in a corporal appearance like a dove and to have remained upon him. For in this way the rock also was Christ (I Cor. X, 4), because it signifies Christ.

CHAPTER III.

10. But I wonder that it seems to you that the sound of that voice by which it was said, "Thou art my son," could have been made thus by a divine nod by the corporal nature alone, without the mediation of a soul; and that it does not seem to you that in the same way the corporal appearance and motion similar to a living thing of any animal could have been made by a divine nod, with no animal spirit interposed. For if a corporeal creature obeys God without the ministry of a vivifying soul, so that sounds such as are accustomed to be produced from an animated body are brought forth, so that the form of articulated speech is brought to the ears; why should it not obey, so that without the ministry of a vivifying soul the figure and motion of a bird, by the same power of the Creator, might be brought to the sights? Or can the sense of hearing deserve this, while the sense of seeing cannot, since from adjacent matter each body is formed, both that which sounds in the ears and that which appears to the sights, and the articulations of the voice and the lineaments of the members, and audible and visible motion, so that it is both a true body which is perceived by the sense of the body, and it is nothing more than what is perceived by the sense of the body? For the soul is perceived in no living thing by any sense of the body. Therefore it is not necessary to seek how the corporal appearance of the dove appeared, just as we do not seek how the voices of an articulated body sounded.

Si enim potuit anima non esse media, ubi vox, non quasi vox, dicitur facta; quanto magis potuit, ubi dicitur tanquam columba, hoc verbo significata sola specie corporali oculis reddita, non natura viventis animantis expressa? Hoc modo etiam illud dicitur, Factus est subito de coelo sonus, quasi ferretur flatus vehemens, et visae sunt illis linguae divisae velut ignis: ubi dicitur species quaedam quasi flatus, et velut ignis sensibilis usitatis similis notisque naturis, non ipsae usitatae notaeque naturae ad tempus factae significari videntur.

11. Si autem subtilior ratio, vel excellentior rei vestigatio demonstrat eam naturam quae nec temporaliter nec localiter movetur, non moveri nisi per illam quae temporaliter tantum, non localiter moveri potest; consequens erit ut omnia illa per ministerium creaturae viventis effecta sint, sicut per Angelos fiunt: unde diligentius disserere et longum est, et non necessarium. Huc accedit quia sunt visiones, quae apparent spiritui tanquam corporis sensibus, non solum dormientibus vel furentibus, sed aliquando sanae mentis vigilantibus; non per fallaciam illudentium daemonum, sed per aliquam revelationem spiritualem, quae fit per formas incorporeas corporibus similes; quae discerni omnino non possunt, nisi divino adjutorio plenius revelentur, et mentis intelligentia dijudicentur, vix aliquando cum fiunt, sed plerumque postea cum transierint. Quae cum ita sint, sive in naturis corporeis, sive sola specie corporali, natura autem spirituali, nostro spiritui tanquam sensibus corporis apparere videantur, quando haec sacra Scriptura commemorat, cujus istorum duorum generis sint, et utrum mediante viva creatura fiant, si corpore fiunt, judicare temere non debemus: dum tamen Creatoris, hoc est summae atque ineffabilis Trinitatis invisibilem incommutabilemque naturam, et a mortalium carnalium sensibus, et ab omni convertibilitate, sive in melius, sive in deterius, sive in quodlibet aliud atque aliud, remotam atque discretam, vel sine ulla dubitatione credamus, vel qualicumque etiam intelligentia capiamus.

CAPUT IV.

For if it was possible for the soul not to be a mediator where a voice, not as if a voice, is said to have been made; how much more was it possible where it is said "as a dove," by this word being signified only the corporal appearance rendered to the eyes, not the nature of a living animal expressed? In this way also that is said: "Suddenly there was made from heaven a sound, as if a vehement wind were being carried, and there were seen by them divided tongues as if of fire:" where a certain appearance as if of wind, and as if of sensible fire similar to usual and known natures, not those very usual and known natures made for the time, seem to be signified.

11. But if a subtler reason, or a more excellent investigation of the matter, demonstrates that that nature which is moved neither temporally nor locally is not moved except through that which can be moved temporally only, not locally; it will follow that all those things were effected through the ministry of a living creature, as they are done through Angels: whence to discuss more diligently is both long and not necessary. To this is added that there are visions which appear to the spirit as if to the senses of the body, not only to those sleeping or raving, but sometimes to those of sound mind who are awake; not by the fallacy of deluding demons, but by some spiritual revelation, which is made through incorporeal forms similar to bodies; which can by no means be discerned, unless they are more fully revealed by divine help, and adjudicated by the intelligence of the mind, hardly sometimes when they happen, but for the most part afterwards when they have passed. These things being so, whether in corporeal natures, or by corporal appearance alone, but by a spiritual nature, they seem to appear to our spirit as if to the senses of the body, when the sacred Scripture commemorates these things, we ought not to judge rashly of which of these two kinds they are, and whether they are made through a mediating living creature if they are made in a body: as long as we either believe without any doubt, or also grasp by whatever intelligence, that the invisible and inchangeable nature of the Creator, that is, of the supreme and ineffable Trinity, is remote and discrete both from the carnal senses of mortals and from all convertibility, whether into better, or into worse, or into any other thing.

CHAPTER IV.

12. Haec tibi de duabus quaestionibus, hoc est, de Trinitate, et columba, in qua Spiritus sanctus non sua natura, sed significativa specie demonstratus est; sicut et Filius Dei non sua nativitate, de qua Pater dixit, Ante luciferum genui te (Psal. CIX, 3), sed in homine suscepto ex utero Virginis, a Judaeis crucifixus est; videris quam otioso ego tamen occupatissimus scribere potui. Nec putavi omnia pertractanda quae posuisti in litteris tuis; verum ad illa duo quae ex me audire voluisti, me respondisse, etsi non sufficienter aviditati tuae, tamen charitati obedienter existimo.

13. Praeter autem illos duos libros, quos tribus me adjunxisse supra commemoravi, et trium psalmorum expositionem (Supra, cap. 1, n. 1), scripsi etiam librum ad sanctum presbyterum Hieronymum de Animae Origine, consulens eum quomodo defendi possit illa sententia quam religiosae memoriae Marcellino suam esse scripsit, singulas animas novas nascentibus fieri, ut non labefactetur fundatissima Ecclesiae fides, qua inconcusse credimus quod in Adam omnes moriuntur (I Cor. XV, 22), et nisi per Christi gratiam liberentur, quod per suum Sacramentum etiam in parvulis operatur, in condemnationem trahuntur. Scripsi et alium ad eumdem, quomodo illi videatur accipiendum quod scriptum est in Epistola Jacobi, Quicumque autem totam Legem servaverit, offendat autem in uno, factus est omnium reus (Jacobi II, 10). Sed in hoc dixi etiam quid mihi videatur: in illo autem, de animae origine tantum quid ei videatur, consultatoria quadam disputatione quaesivi. Occasionem quippe cujusdam sanctissimi et studiosissimi juvenis presbyteri Orosii, qui ad nos ab ultima Hispania, id est, ab oceani littore, solo sanctarum Scripturarum ardore inflammatus advenit, amittere nolui; cui, ut ad illum quoque pergeret, persuasi. Huic etiam ipsi Orosio ad quaedam interrogata quae illum de Priscillianistarum haeresi, et Origenis quibusdam opinionibus quas non recepit Ecclesia, permovebant, uno libro non grandi, quanta potui brevitate et perspicuitate respondi. Scripsi etiam grandem quemdam librum adversus Pelagii haeresim, cogentibus nonnullis fratribus, quibus contra gratiam Christi opinionem perniciosissimam ille persuaserat. Haec omnia si habere volueris, aliquem mitte qui tibi cuncta describat. Me autem permitte his vacare quaerendis atque dictandis, quae quoniam multis sunt necessaria, praeponenda esse arbitror ad valde paucos pertinentibus inquisitionibus tuis.

12. These things concerning the two questions, that is, concerning the Trinity and the dove, in which the Holy Spirit was demonstrated not by his own nature, but by a significative appearance; just as also the Son of God not by his own nativity, concerning which the Father said, "Before the day star have I begotten thee" (Psal. CIX, 3), but in the man assumed from the womb of the Virgin, was crucified by the Jews; you see how I, though most occupied, have been able to write at leisure. Nor did I think that all things which you placed in your letters were to be thoroughly discussed; but I think that I have responded to those two things which you wished to hear from me, if not sufficiently for your greed, yet obediently for your charity.

13. But besides those two books, which I commemorated above that I have added to the three, and the exposition of the three psalms (Above, chap. 1, n. 1), I also wrote a book to the holy priest (presbyter) Jerome concerning the Origin of the Soul, consulting him how that opinion can be defended which he wrote to Marcellinus of religious memory was his own, "that individual new souls are made for those being born," so that the most well-founded faith of the Church be not weakened, by which we believe unshakenly that in Adam all die (I Cor. XV, 22), and unless they are liberated through the grace of Christ, which He works through His Sacrament even in infants (parvuli), they are drawn into condemnation. I wrote another also to the same, how it seems to him that which is written in the Epistle of James is to be taken: "Whosoever shall keep the whole Law, but offend in one point, is made guilty of all" (James II, 10). But in this I also said what seems to me: in that other, however, concerning the origin of the soul only, I sought by a certain consultative disputation what seems to him. For I did not wish to lose the occasion of a certain most holy and most studious young priest (presbyter) Orosius, who came to us from furthest Spain, that is, from the shore of the ocean, inflamed only by the ardor of the holy Scriptures; whom I persuaded to proceed to him also. To this Orosius himself also, to certain interrogations which moved him concerning the heresy of the Priscillianists and certain opinions of Origen which the Church has not received, I responded in one book, not large, with as much brevity and perspicuity as I could. I also wrote a certain large book against the heresy of Pelagius, at the compulsion of some brothers, whom he had persuaded of a most pernicious opinion against the grace of Christ. All these things, if you wish to have them, send someone who may describe them all for you. But permit me to be vacant for seeking and dictating these things which, since they are necessary for many, I think are to be preferred to your inquiries pertaining to very few.

EPISTOLA CLXX . Alypius et Augustinus Maximo medico recens ab ariana haeresi ad fidem catholicam converso, hortantes ut studeat et alios eodem adducere, praesertim cum nonnullos in errorem adduxisset auctoritate sua; instruentes illum adversus eos qui de trium personarum eadem essentia impie disputant. Domino eximio, meritoque honorabili et religioso fratri MAXIMO, ALYPIUS et AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

1. Cum a sancto fratre et coepiscopo nostro Peregrino, de tua tuorumque non corporali, sed spirituali salute praecipue quaereremus, de tua quidem laetos, de tuorum vero tristes nos ejus responsa fecerunt, quod non sunt Ecclesiae catholicae salubri correctione sociati. Et quia id cito futurum sperabamus, adhuc non esse factum multum dolemus, domine eximie, meritoque honorabilis et religiose frater.

2. Proinde Charitatem tuam in Domini pace salutantes, et praecipimus, et rogamus ut eos quod didicisti, docere non differas; unum scilicet Deum esse solum, cui servitus illa debetur quae λατρεία Graeco vocabulo nuncupatur. Ipsum enim verbum est in lege, ubi scriptum est, Dominum Deum tuum adorabis et illi soli servies (Deut. VI, 13): quem si Deum Patrem tantummodo dixerimus, respondebitur, Ergo λατρεία Filio non debetur; quod nefas est dicere. Si autem debetur, quomodo ergo uni tantum debetur Deo, si et Patri et Filio debetur, nisi quia unus Deus, cui soli per λατρείαν servire jussi sumus, ita dicitur solus Deus, ut et Pater intelligatur et Filius, immo etiam et Spiritus sanctus? De illo quippe dicit Apostolus, Nescitis quia corpora vestra templum sunt in vobis Spiritus sancti quem habetis a Deo, et non estis vestri? Empti enim estis magno pretio. Glorificate Deum, et portate in corpore vestro (I Cor. VI, 19, 20): quem Deum, nisi Spiritum sanctum cujus corpora nostra dixerat esse templum? Debetur ergo λατρεία Spiritui sancto. Nam si templum ei facere, sicut Salomon fecit de lignis et lapidibus, juberemur; utique faciendo templum, λατρείαν exhibere convinceremur: quanto magis λατρείαν debemus cui non templum facimus, sed sumus!

LETTER CLXX. Alypius and Augustine to Maximus the physician, recently converted from the Arian heresy to the Catholic faith, exhorting that he should study to lead others also to the same, especially since he had led some into error by his authority; instructing him against those who impiously dispute concerning the same essence of the three persons. To the eminent lord, and deservedly honorable and religious brother MAXIMUS, ALYPIUS and AUGUSTINE, greeting in the Lord.

1. When we were inquiring from our holy brother and fellow-bishop Peregrinus especially concerning your spiritual health and that of your people, his responses made us indeed joyful concerning yours, but sad concerning those of your people, because they are not joined to the Catholic Church by a salutary correction. And because we were hoping that this would soon happen, we grieve much that it has not yet been done, eminent lord, and deservedly honorable and religious brother.

2. Accordingly, saluting your Charity in the peace of the Lord, we both command and ask that you do not delay to teach them what you have learned; namely, that there is one God alone, to whom that service is due which is called latreia (λατρεία) by the Greek word. For the same word is in the law, where it is written: "Thou shalt adore the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve" (Deut. VI, 13): whom if we say is the Father only, the response will be: therefore latreia is not due to the Son; which it is a nefas (unspeakable sin) to say. But if it is due, how then is it due to one God only, if it is due to both the Father and the Son, unless because the one God, whom only we are commanded to serve through latreia, is so called "alone God" that both the Father is understood and the Son, and indeed also the Holy Spirit (Spiritus sanctus)? Concerning Him indeed the Apostle says: "Know you not that your bodies are the temple of the Holy Spirit, whom you have from God, and you are not your own? For you are bought with a great price. Glorify God, and bear him in your body" (I Cor. VI, 19, 20): which "God," if not the Holy Spirit whose temple he had said our bodies were? Therefore latreia is due to the Holy Spirit. For if we were commanded to make a temple for Him, as Solomon did of wood and stones, certainly by making the temple we would be convinced of exhibiting latreia: how much more do we owe latreia to Him for whom we do not make a temple, but are one!

3. Ac per hoc si Patri et Filio et Spiritui sancto λατρεία debetur, et exhibetur a nobis, de qua dictum est, Dominum Deum tuum adorabis, et illi soli servies; procul dubio Dominus Deus noster, cui soli per λατρείαn servire debemus, non est Pater solus, nec Filius solus, nec solus Spiritus sanctus, sed ipsa Trinitas unus Deus solus, Pater, et Filius, et Spiritus sanctus: non ut Pater sit ipse qui Filius, vel Spiritus sanctus ipse sit aut Pater aut Filius, cum sit in illa Trinitate Pater Filii solius, et Filius Patris solius, Spiritus autem sanctus et Patris et Filii sit Spiritus; sed propter unam eamdemque naturam atque inseparabilem vitam, ipsa Trinitas, quantum ab homine potest, fide praecedente intelligitur unus Dominus Deus noster, de quo dictum est, Dominum Deum tuum adorabis, et illi soli servies, et quem praedicat Apostolus; ait enim, Quoniam ex ipso, et in ipso, et per ipsum sunt omnia: ipsi gloria in saecula saeculorum. Amen (Rom. XI, 36).

4. Non enim sic ex Deo Patre unigenitus Filius, quemadmodum ex illo est universa creatura, quam ex nihilo creavit. Hunc quippe de sua substantia genuit, non ex nihilo fecit: nec eum ex tempore genuit, per quem cuncta tempora condidit. Quoniam sicut flamma splendorem quem gignit, tempore non praecedit; ita Pater numquam sine Filio fuit. Ipse est quippe Sapientia Dei Patris, de qua scriptum est: Splendor est enim lucis aeternae (Sap. VII, 26). Luci ergo cujus candor est, id est, Deo Patri sine dubio coaeterna est: et ideo non sicut in principio fecit Deus coelum et terram, ita in principio fecit Verbum; sed in principio erat Verbum (Joan. I, 1). Spiritus quoque sanctus non sicut creatura ex nihilo est factus: sed sic a Patre Filioque procedit, ut nec a Filio nec a Patre sit factus.

5. Haec Trinitas unius est ejusdemque naturae atque substantiae: non minor in singulis, quam in omnibus, nec major in omnibus, quam in singulis; sed tanta in solo Patre, vel in solo Filio, quanta in Patre simul et Filio; et tanta in solo Spiritu sanctu, quanta simul in Patre et Filio et Spiritu sancto. Neque enim Pater, ut haberet Filium de seipso, minuit seipsum; sed ita genuit de se alterum se, ut totus maneret in se, et esset in Filio tantus quantus et solus.

3. And through this, if latreia is due to the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, and is exhibited by us, concerning which it was said: "Thou shalt adore the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve"; without doubt the Lord our God, whom only we ought to serve through latreia, is not the Father alone, nor the Son alone, nor the Holy Spirit alone, but the Trinity (Trinitas) itself is the one God alone, the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit: not so that the Father is the same one who is the Son, or the Holy Spirit is himself either the Father or the Son, since in that Trinity there is a Father of the Son alone, and a Son of the Father alone, but the Holy Spirit is the Spirit both of the Father and of the Son; but on account of one and the same nature and inseparable life, the Trinity itself, as much as can be by a man, faith preceding, is understood as our one Lord God, concerning whom it was said: "Thou shalt adore the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve," and whom the Apostle preaches; for he says: "Since from him, and in him, and through him are all things: to him be glory forever and ever. Amen" (Rom. XI, 36).

4. For the only-begotten Son is not from God the Father in the same way as the entire creature is from Him, which He created from nothing. For He begot Him from His own substance (substantia), He did not make Him from nothing: nor did He beget Him from time, through whom He established all times. Since just as a flame does not precede in time the splendor which it begets; so the Father was never without the Son. For He Himself is the Wisdom (Sapientia) of God the Father, concerning which it is written: "For she is the splendor of eternal light" (Wis. VII, 26). To the light, therefore, whose brightness she is, that is, to God the Father, she is without doubt coeternal (coaeterna): and therefore not as in the beginning God made heaven and earth, so in the beginning He made the Word; but "in the beginning was the Word" (John I, 1). The Holy Spirit also was not made as a creature from nothing: but so proceeds from the Father and the Son, that He was made neither by the Son nor by the Father.

5. This Trinity is of one and the same nature and substance: not less in individuals than in all, nor greater in all than in individuals; but as much in the Father alone, or in the Son alone, as in the Father and the Son together; and as much in the Holy Spirit alone, as together in the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. For the Father, so that He might have the Son from Himself, did not diminish Himself; but so begot another self from Himself, that He remained whole in Himself, and was as much in the Son as when alone.

Similiter et Spiritus sanctus integer de integro, non praecedit unde procedit, sed tantus cum illo quantus ex illo, nec minuit eum procedendo, nec auget haerendo. Et haec omnia nec confuse unum sunt, nec disjuncte tria sunt: sed cum sint unum, tria sunt, et cum sint tria, unum sunt. Proinde qui tam multis cordibus fidelium suorum donavit ut essent cor unum, quanto magis conservat in seipso ut sint haec tria et singula Deus, et simul omnia non tres dii, sed unus Deus! Hic est unus Dominus Deus noster, cui universa pietate servitur, cui soli λατρεία illa debetur.

6. Qui cum in rebus quae nascuntur in tempore, sua bonitate effecerit ut suae substantiae prolem quaelibet res gignat, sicut homo gignit hominem, non alterius naturae, sed ejus cujus ipse est; vide quam impie dicatur ipse non genuisse id quod ipse est. Haec enim propinquitatis sunt nomina, non naturae, et ideo ad aliquid, vel relativa dicuntur, quae aliquando eadem sunt, aliquando diversa. Eadem scilicet cum frater refertur ad fratrem, amicus ad amicum, vicinus ad vicinum, cognatus ad cognatum, et si qua similia, quae infinitum est velle omnia percurrere. In his enim quod est iste ad illum, hoc est ille ad istum. Diversa sunt autem, sicut pater ad filium, filius ad patrem, socer ad generum, gener ad socerum, dominus ad servum, servus ad dominum. Non est quidem hoc iste ad illum, quod ille ad istum; sed ambo tamen homines sunt: relatio diversa est, non natura. Quoniam si attendas quid sit alter ad alterum, non est hoc ad illum iste, quod ad istum ille: quia iste pater, ille filius; aut iste socer, ille gener; aut iste dominus, ille servus. Si autem attendas quid quisque sit ad seipsum, vel in seipso, hoc est ille quod iste; quia ille homo est sicut iste. Unde intelligit prudentia tua non ab eis rationabiliter dici, a quorum errore te Dominus liberavit, ideo Dei Patris et Dei Filii naturam esse diversam, quia iste Pater est, ille Filius; et Deum Patrem non genuisse id quod est ipse, quia non genuit Patrem Filii sui, quod est ad illum ipse: quis enim non videat ista vocabula non in seipsis demonstrare naturas, sed alterius ad alterum significare personas?

7. Tale est etiam illud quod simili loquuntur errore, ideo Filium alterius esse naturae, diversaeque substantiae, quia Pater Deus non est de altero Deo, Filius autem Deus est quidem, sed de Patre Deo: et hic enim non indicatur substantia, sed origo, id est, non quid sit, sed unde sit quisque vel non sit. Neque enim Abel et Adam ideo non unius naturae atque substantiae fuerunt, quia iste fuit homo de homine illo, ille de nullo. Si ergo utriusque natura quaeritur, homo Abel, homo Adam: si autem origo, primus homo ex quo Abel, nullus homo ex quo Adam.

Similarly also the Holy Spirit, whole from the whole, does not precede that from which He proceeds, but is as much with that as from that, nor does He diminish Him by proceeding, nor increase Him by adhering. And all these are neither confusedly one, nor disjunctly three: but while they are one, they are three, and while they are three, they are one. Accordingly, He who has granted to so many hearts of His faithful that they should be one heart, how much more does He preserve in Himself that these three are each God, and all together are not three gods, but one God! This is the one Lord our God, who is served with all piety, to whom alone that latreia is due.

6. Who since in things which are born in time, has effected by His goodness that any thing should beget offspring of its own substance, as a man begets a man, not of another nature but of that of which he himself is; see how impiously it is said that He Himself did not beget that which He Himself is. For these are names of kinship, not of nature, and therefore are spoken relative to something, or as relatives, which sometimes are the same, sometimes diverse. The same, of course, when a brother is referred to a brother, a friend to a friend, a neighbor to a neighbor, a kinsman to a kinsman, and if there are any similar things, of which it is infinite to wish to run through all. For in these, what this one is to that one, that the other is to this one. But they are diverse, just as father to son, son to father, father-in-law to son-in-law, son-in-law to father-in-law, master to servant, servant to master. This one is indeed not that to the other, which the other is to him; but yet both are men: the relation is diverse, not the nature. Since if you attend to what one is to the other, this one is not that to him which the other is to this one: because this one is father, that one son; or this one father-in-law, that one son-in-law; or this one master, that one servant. But if you attend to what each is to himself, or in himself, that one is what this one is; because he is a man just as this one. Whence your prudence understands that it is not rationally said by those from whose error the Lord has liberated you, that therefore the nature of God the Father and God the Son is diverse because this one is Father, that one Son; and that God the Father did not beget that which He Himself is, because He did not beget the Father of His Son, which He Himself is toward him: for who may not see that these words do not demonstrate natures in themselves, but signify persons of one to another?

7. Such also is that which they speak with a similar error, that therefore the Son is of another nature and a diverse substance, because God the Father is not from another God, but God the Son is indeed God, but from God the Father: and here indeed substance is not indicated, but origin, that is, not what each one is, but whence each is or is not. For Abel and Adam were not therefore not of one nature and substance, because this one was a man from that man, and that one from no one. If therefore the nature of both is sought, Abel is man, Adam is man: but if the origin, the first man from whom Abel, no man from whom Adam.

Ita in Deo Patre et Deo Filio, si utriusque natura quaeritur, uterque Deus, nec magis alter altero Deus: si autem origo, Pater est Deus de quo Filius Deus; de quo autem Pater, nullus est Deus.

8. Frustra itaque ad hoc respondere conantes dicunt: Sed homo cum passione generat, Deus autem sine passione genuit Filium. Hoc enim non solum ipsos nihil, sed nos adjuvat plurimum. Nam si temporalibus et passibilibus rebus Deus tribuit ut quod sunt hoc generent, quanto magis ipse aeternus et impassibilis, non aliud quam est ipse generavit, unus unicum; ideo nostra inenarrabili admiratione, quoniam sine passione, et tanta secum aequalitate, ut eum nec potestate praecederet, nec aetate! Sed ideo totum quod habet, quod potest, non tribuit sibi, sed Patri, quia non est a seipso, sed a Patre. Aequalis est enim Patri, sed hoc quoque accepit a Patre; nec sic accepit unde esset aequalis, quasi prius fuerit inaequalis; sed natus aequalis, sicut semper natus, ita semper aequalis. Non itaque inaequalem genuit, et aequalitatem jam nato addidit; sed gignendo eam dedit, quia aequalem non imparem genuit. Ideo in forma Dei aequalem esse Deo, non ei rapina fuerat (Philipp. II, 6), sed natura; quoniam id nascendo sumpsit, non superbiendo praesumpsit.

9. Propterea vero Patrem dicit esse majorem, quia seipsum exinanivit, formam servi accipiens, non amittens Dei: propter quam formam servi, non tantum Patre, verum etiam seipso et Spiritu sancto minor factus est; nec tantum hac excellentissima Trinitate, sed etiam minoratus est paulo minus ab Angelis (Hebr. II, 9); hominibus quoque minor fuit, quando parentibus subditus fuit (Luc. II, 51). Propter hanc utique formam servi, quam veniente plenitudine temporis exinanitus accepit, dixit: Pater major me est (Joan. XIV, 28). Propter illam formam vero, quam nec exinanitus amisit, dixit, Ego et Pater unum sumus (Id. X, 30); et homo scilicet factus, et permanens Deus: homo enim assumptus est a Deo, non in homine consumptus est Deus. Ideo valde rationabiliter et Patre minor est homo Christus, et Patri aequalis est idem ipse Deus Christus.

10. Cum igitur huic rectae atque catholicae fidei praesentibus nobis cum magna exsultatione populi Dei consociatum te esse gaudeamus, quare adhuc de tuorum segnitia tristes sumus? Obsecramus te per misericordiam Dei, ut ipso adjuvante auferas istum moerorem de cordibus nostris. Neque enim credendum est auctoritatem tuam ad perversitatem tuorum plurimum valere potuisse, et ad correctionem valere nihil.

So in God the Father and God the Son, if the nature of both is sought, each is God, nor is one more God than the other: but if the origin, the Father is God from whom the Son is God; but from whom the Father is, no one is God.

8. Therefore, in vain, those attempting to respond to this say: But man begets with passion, while God begot the Son without passion. For this not only does not help them at all, but helps us very much. For if in temporal and passible things God has granted that they should beget what they are, how much more He Himself, eternal and impassible, did not beget other than what He Himself is, one only-begotten; and therefore for our ineffable admiration, since it was without passion, and with such equality with Himself, that He neither preceded Him in power nor in age! But therefore all that He has, all that He can do, He does not attribute to Himself, but to the Father, because He is not from Himself, but from the Father. For He is equal to the Father, but this also He received from the Father; nor did He receive it in such a way as to be equal as if He had been unequal before; but having been born equal, just as He is always born, so He is always equal. He did not, therefore, beget an unequal one and add equality to the one already born; but by begetting He gave it, because He begot an equal, not an unequal one. Therefore, being equal to God in the form of God was not a robbery for Him (Philipp. II, 6), but nature; since He took it by being born, not presumed it by pride.

9. But for this reason He says the Father is greater, because He emptied Himself, taking the form of a servant, not losing the form of God: on account of which form of a servant He was made less not only than the Father, but also than Himself and the Holy Spirit; and not only than this most excellent Trinity, but He was also diminished a little less than the angels (Hebr. II, 9); He was also less than men, when He was subject to His parents (Luke II, 51). Certainly on account of this form of a servant, which He took having been emptied when the fullness of time came, He said: The Father is greater than I (John XIV, 28). But on account of that form, which even when emptied He did not lose, He said, I and the Father are one (Id. X, 30); being made man indeed, and remaining God: for man was assumed by God, God was not consumed in man. Therefore, very reasonably, Christ as man is less than the Father, and the same Christ as God is equal to the Father.

10. Since therefore we rejoice that you have been associated with this right and catholic faith in our presence with great exultation of the people of God, why are we still sad about the sloth of your people? We beseech you by the mercy of God, that with His help you may take away this sorrow from our hearts. For it is not to be believed that your authority could have been so much able for the perversity of your people, and be able for nothing for their correction.

An forte contemnunt te, quia in Ecclesiae catholicae participationem hac aetate venisti, cum te amplius debeant admirari, atque venerari, quia vetustissimum errorem senili quadam juventute vicisti? Absit ut resistant tibi vera dicenti, cui consenserant a veritate devianti; absit ut nolint tecum recta sentire, cum quo eos delectavit errare. Tu tantum ora pro eis, et insta eis. Immo vero adduc eos ad domum Dei tecum, qui in domo tua sunt tecum; vel te non pigeat in domum Dei cum illis venire, qui in domum tuam soliti fuerant convenire; praesertim cum Catholica mater aliquos a te petit, aliquos repetit: petit eos quos apud te invenit; repetit eos quos per te perdidit. Non excrucietur damnis, sed potius laetetur lucris: acquirat filios quos non habuit, non plangat quos habuit. Oramus ad Deum, ut facias quod hortamur; et speramus de misericordia ejus, quod litteris sancti fratris et coepiscopi nostri Peregrini, et rescriptis Dilectionis tuae, cito de hac re gaudio explebitur cor nostrum, et lingua nostra exsultatione (Psal. CXXV, 2).

Epistola CLXXI

Excusat formam superioris epistolae ad Maximum datae.

Domino beatissimo, et venerabiliter charissimo fratri et coepiscopo PEREGRINO, ALYPIUS et AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

Ad honorabilem fratrem nostrum Maximum litteras dedimus, credentes eum gratanter eas suscepturum: utrum tamen aliquid profecerimus, proxima occasione, quam reperire potueris, dignare rescribere. Sciat sane prolixas epistolas ad familiarissimos nostros, non solum laicos, verum etiam episcopos, sic quomodo ista scripta est, ad eos scribere nos solere, ut et cito scribantur, et charta teneatur commodius cum leguntur, ne forte istum morem nostrum nesciens, factam sibi arbitretur injuriam.

FRAGMENTUM EPISTOLAE HACTENUS INEDITAE AUGUSTINI AD MAXIMUM.

In Primasii super Apocalypsim Commentariis repertum, libro secundo ad haec verba: Hos septem quin etiam gradus . . . . idem doctor amplissimus Augustinus multis memorat: ad Maximum denique scribens dicit sic:

Or do they perhaps despise you, because you have come to the participation of the Catholic Church at this age, when they ought more to admire and venerate you, because you have conquered a very old error with a certain senile youthfulness? Far be it that they should resist you when you speak the truth, whom they had agreed with when you were deviating from the truth; far be it that they should not wish to feel rightly with you, with whom it delighted them to err. You only pray for them, and urge them. Indeed, lead them to the house of God with you, who are in your house with you; or let it not irk you to come to the house of God with them, who had been accustomed to meet in your house; especially when the Catholic mother seeks some from you, and reclaims others: she seeks those whom she finds with you; she reclaims those whom she lost through you. Let her not be tortured with losses, but rather rejoice with gains: let her acquire sons whom she did not have, not mourn those whom she had. We pray to God, that you may do what we exhort; and we hope from His mercy, that by the letters of our holy brother and fellow-bishop Peregrinus, and by the replies of your Love, our heart will quickly be filled with joy concerning this matter, and our tongue with exultation (Psalm CXXV, 2).

Letter CLXXI

It excuses the form of the previous letter given to Maximus.

To the most blessed lord, and venerably most dear brother and fellow-bishop PEREGRINUS, ALYPIUS and AUGUSTINE, greeting in the Lord.

We have given letters to our honorable brother Maximus, believing that he will receive them gratefully: however, whether we have profited anything, deign to write back at the next opportunity you can find. Let him know indeed that we are accustomed to write long letters to our closest friends, not only laymen but also bishops, in the same way as this one is written, so that they may both be written quickly and the paper may be held more conveniently when they are read, lest perhaps not knowing this custom of ours, he should think an injury has been done to him.

FRAGMENT OF A HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED LETTER OF AUGUSTINE TO MAXIMUS.

Found in Primasius' Commentaries on the Apocalypse, in the second book at these words: These seven steps moreover . . . . the same most ample doctor Augustine mentions in many places: finally writing to Maximus he says thus:

Praeceptis Dei, quae ut bene agamus accepimus vitam tuam moresque conformes, a religioso timore incipiens. Initium enim sapientiae timor Domini (Psal. CX, 10), ubi frangitur et debilitatur humana superbia. Deinde ut pietate mansuetus et mitis, etiam quae nondum intelligis, et quae imperitis videntur absurda sibique contraria in Scripturis sanctis, non oblucteris animosa contentione, nec superimponas sensum tuum sensibus divinorum Librorum; sed cedas potius, atque intellectum mitis differas, quam secretum immitis accuses. Tertio, cum tibi ad cognitionem tui aperiri coeperit infirmitas humana, et scieris ubi jaceas, quam penalia vincula mortalitatis de Adam propagatus tecum trahas, et quam longe peregrineris a Domino; atque pervideris aliam legem in membris tuis repugnantem legi mentis tuae, et captivum te ducentem in lege peccati, quae est in membris tuis; exclames, Miser ego homo, quis me liberabit de corpore mortis hujus (Rom. VII, 24)? ut te lugentem consoletur, liberationem ipsam pollicens gratia Dei per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Quarto, jam desidera te implere justitiam multo vehementius atque ferventius, quam a nequissimis hominibus voluptates carnis desiderari solent; nisi quod in spe adjutorii divini est in isto appetitu tranquillus ardor, et flamma securior. In isto autem quarto vitae gradu orationibus instanter incumbitur, ut esurientibus et sitientibus saturitas justitiae concedatur; ut non solum onerosum non sit, verum etiam delectet abstinere a voluptate omnis corruptionis, sive suae, sive alterius, vel obluctando. Quod ut facile divinitus tribuatur, quintus adjungitur, consilium exhibendae misericordiae, ut in eo quod potes adjuves inopem; quia in eo quod nondum potes, ab Omnipotente adjuvari cupis. Munus autem misericordiae geminum est; cum vindicta donatur, et cum humanitas exhibetur. Quae duo breviter Dominus ita complexus est: Dimittite, et dimittetur vobis; date, et dabitur vobis (Luc. VI, 37 et 38). Hoc autem opus etiam ad mundationem cordis valet, ut quantum in hac vita licet, incommutabilem Dei substantiam pura intelligentia cernere valeamus. Tenetur enim aliquid adversus nos, quod relaxandum est, ut acies nostra erumpat in lucem: unde ipse Dominus, Verum date, inquit, eleemosynam, et ecce omnia munda sunt vobis (Luc. XI, 41). Quapropter sexta consequitur cordis ipsa mundatio. Ut autem in lucem veram rectus et purus dirigatur aspectus, neque illa quae bene atque laudabiliter facimus, neque illa quae acute sagaciterque dispicimus, ad finem placendi hominibus, vel subveniendi necessitatibus corporis referenda sunt. Gratis enim se vult Deus coli; quia neque quidquam est propter quod ipse appetendus sit.

Conform your life and habits to the precepts of God which we have received so that we may act well, beginning from religious fear. For the beginning of wisdom is the fear of the Lord (Psalm CX, 10), where human pride is broken and weakened. Then that, being gentle and mild through piety, even as to those things which you do not yet understand, and which seem absurd and contrary to themselves to the unskilled in the Holy Scriptures, you should not struggle with spirited contention, nor superimpose your sense upon the senses of the divine Books; but rather yield, and being mild, defer the understanding, than being harsh, accuse the secret. Thirdly, when human weakness begins to be opened to you for the knowledge of yourself, and you know where you lie, what penal bonds of mortality propagated from Adam you drag with you, and how far you wander as a pilgrim from the Lord; and you see clearly another law in your members resisting the law of your mind, and leading you captive in the law of sin, which is in your members; you may exclaim, Wretched man that I am, who will deliver me from the body of this death (Rom. VII, 24)? that He may console you in your mourning, promising that liberation itself by the grace of God through Jesus Christ our Lord. Fourthly, already desire that you should fulfill righteousness much more vehemently and fervently than the pleasures of the flesh are wont to be desired by the most wicked men; except that in the hope of divine help there is in that appetite a tranquil ardor, and a more secure flame. But in this fourth degree of life, one applies oneself instantly to prayers, so that to those hungering and thirsting the satiety of righteousness may be granted; so that it may not only not be burdensome, but even delight to abstain from the pleasure of all corruption, whether one's own or another's, even by struggling. That this may be easily granted from God, a fifth is added, the counsel of exhibiting mercy, so that in that which you can you may help the needy; because in that which you cannot yet do, you desire to be helped by the Almighty. But the gift of mercy is twofold; when vengeance is forgiven, and when humanity is exhibited. Which two the Lord briefly embraced thus: Forgive, and you shall be forgiven; give, and it shall be given to you (Luke VI, 37 and 38). But this work also avails for the cleansing of the heart, so that as much as is allowed in this life, we may be able to discern the immutable substance of God with pure intelligence. For something is held against us, which must be relaxed, so that our gaze may break through into the light: whence the Lord Himself says, But give alms, and behold all things are clean to you (Luke XI, 41). Wherefore the sixth, the cleansing of the heart itself, follows. But so that a right and pure look may be directed toward the true light, neither those things which we do well and laudably, nor those things which we discern acutely and sagaciously, are to be referred to the end of pleasing men, or of relieving the necessities of the body. For God wishes to be worshipped freely; because neither is there anything for which He Himself is to be desired.

Cum ad istam intelligentiae puritatem bonae vitae gradibus venerimus, sive tardius, sive celerius, tunc dicere audeamus, valere nos aliquantum mente contingere summae atque ineffabilis Trinitatis unitatem: ubi summa pax erit; quia ultra quod exspectetur non est, cum reformati ad sui generis imaginem filii Dei ex hominibus facti, paterna incommutabilitate perfruuntur. Primo enim, Beati pauperes spiritu; ubi timor Dei est. Deinde, Beati mites; ubi pietas docilis. Tertio, Beati lugentes; ubi scientia propriae infirmitatis. Quarto, Beati qui esuriunt et sitiunt justitiam; ubi fortitudo conandi domitas habere libidines Quinto, Beati misericordes, quoniam ipsorum miserebitur; ubi consilium est adjuvandi, ut adjuvari merearis. Tunc ad sextum pervenitur gradum, in quo dicitur, Beati mundo corde, quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt (Matth. V, 3-8); ubi purus intellectus et habilis ad intelligendum quantulacumque ex parte Trinitatem cernere non potest, nisi et laudem humanam non appetamus, quamvis laudanda faciamus. Proinde septimo gradu pervenimus ad pacis illius tranquillitatem, quam dare non potest mundus. Nam etiam illis virtutibus quatuor, quas memorabili pridem industria philosophi quoque indagare potuerunt, id est, prudentiae, fortitudini, temperantiae atque justitiae, si ad perfectum religionis cultum tria haec jungentes addamus, id est, fidem, spem et charitatem, septenarium profecto numerum invenimus. Recte enim haec tria non omittuntur, sine quibus nec Deum colere, nec ei quemquam novimus posse placere.

Epistola CLXXII

Hieronymus Augustino, laudans quidem illius duos libellos de Origine animae, ac de Sententia Jacobi; sed excusans cur non responderit.

Domino vere sancto, et omni mihi affectione venerabili papae AUGUSTINO, HIERONYMUS, in Christo salutem.

1. Virum honorabilem fratrem meum, filium Dignationis tuae, Orosium presbyterum, et sui merito, et te jubente suscepi. Sed incidit tempus difficillimum, quando mihi tacere melius fuit quam loqui, ita ut nostra studia cessarent, et, juxta Appium, canina exerceretur facundia. Itaque duobus libellis tuis, quos meo nomini dedicasti, eruditissimis et omni eloquentiae splendore fulgentibus, ad tempus respondere non potui: non quo quidquam in illis reprehendendum putem; sed quia juxta beatum Apostolum, «Unusquisque in suo sensu abundet; alius quidem sic, alius autem sic» (Rom. XIV, 5).

When we shall have come to that purity of intelligence by the degrees of a good life, whether more slowly or more quickly, then let us dare to say that we are able in some measure to reach with the mind the unity of the highest and ineffable Trinity: where there will be highest peace; because there is nothing beyond what is expected, when, reformed to the image of their own kind, the sons of God made from men enjoy paternal immutability. For first, Blessed are the poor in spirit; where the fear of God is. Then, Blessed are the meek; where there is a teachable piety. Thirdly, Blessed are they that mourn; where there is the knowledge of one's own weakness. Fourthly, Blessed are they who hunger and thirst after righteousness; where there is the fortitude of endeavoring to have the lusts tamed. Fifthly, Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy; where there is the counsel of helping, so that you may deserve to be helped. Then one arrives at the sixth degree, in which it is said, Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God (Matth. V, 3-8); where the pure intellect, able to understand even in some small part, cannot discern the Trinity unless we also do not desire human praise, although we do things worthy of praise. Accordingly, in the seventh degree we arrive at the tranquillity of ? peace which the world cannot give. For even in those four virtues, which the philosophers also were able to investigate with memorable industry long ago, that is, prudence, fortitude, temperance, and justice, if we add these three joined to the perfect worship of religion, that is, faith, hope, and charity, we surely find the septenary number. For rightly these three are not omitted, without which we know that no one can either worship God or please Him.

Letter CLXXII

Jerome to Augustine, praising indeed his two small books on the Origin of the Soul, and on the Sentence of James; but excusing why he did not respond.

To the lord truly holy, and to me with all affection venerable pope AUGUSTINE, JEROME, greeting in Christ.

1. I have received the honorable man my brother, the son of your Dignation, the priest Orosius, both by his own merit and by your command. But a most difficult time occurred, when it was better for me to be silent than to speak, so that our studies ceased, and, according to Appius, canine eloquence was exercised. Therefore I have not been able to respond in time to your two small books, which you dedicated to my name, most learned and shining with all the splendor of eloquence: not that I think anything is to be reproved in them; but because according to the blessed Apostle, 'Let every man abound in his own sense; one indeed so, but another so' (Rom. XIV, 5).

Certe, quidquid dici potuit, et sublimi ingenio de Scripturarum sanctarum hauriri fontibus, a te positum atque dissertum est. Sed, quaeso Reverentiam tuam, parumper patiaris me tuum laudare ingenium. Nos enim inter nos eruditionis causa disserimus. Caeterum aemuli, et maxime haeretici, si diversas inter nos sententias viderint, de animi calumniabuntur rancore descendere. Mihi autem decretum est te amare, te suspicere, colere, mirari, tuaque dicta quasi mea defendere. Certe et in dialogo, quem nuper edidi (Lib. 3 adversus Pelagianos), tuae Beatitudinis, ut dignum fuerat, recordatus sum: magisque demus operam, ut perniciosissima haeresis de ecclesiis auferatur, quae semper simulat poenitentiam, ut docendi in ecclesiis habeat facultatem; ne, si aperta se luce prodiderit, foras expulsa moriatur.

2. Sanctae ac venerabiles filiae tuae Eustochium et Paula, et genere suo et exhortatione tua digne gradiuntur, specialiterque salutant Beatitudinem tuam; omnis quoque fraternitas quae nobiscum Domino Salvatori servire conatur. Sanctum presbyterum Firmum, anno praeterito, ob rem earum Ravennam, et inde Africam Siciliamque direximus, quem putamus jam in Africae partibus commorari. Sanctos tuo adhaerentes lateri, ut meo obsequio salutes, precor. Litteras quoque meas ad sanctum presbyterum Firmum direxi; quae si ad te venerint, ei dirigere non graveris. Incolumem te, et mei memorem, Christus Dominus custodiat, domine vere sancte, et beatissime papa. Et subter : Grandem latini sermonis in ista provincia notariorum patimur penuriam; et idcirco praeceptis tuis parere non possumus, maxime in editione Septuaginta, quae asteriscis verubusque dictincta est: pleraque enim prioris laboris, fraude cujusdam amisimus.

EPISTOLA CLXXIII Augustinus Donato, villae Mutugennae in dioecesi Hipponensi presbytero donatistae, qui jussus comprehendi et adduci ad ecclesiam, conatus est sibi vim inferre, suadet ut re sobrie perpensa resipiscat, docens pravam voluntatem recte cogi ad meliora.

Donato presbytero partis Donati, AUGUSTINUS episcopus Ecclesiae catholicae.

1. Si posses videre dolorem cordis mei, et sollicitudinem pro salute tua, fortassis misereris animae tuae, placens Deo (Eccli. XXX, 24) in audiendo verbo, non nostro, sed ipsius; nec ejus Scripturas sic in memoria tua figeres, ut contra eas cor clauderes. Displicet tibi quia traheris ad salutem, cum tam multos nostros ad perniciem traxeritis. Quid enim voluimus, nisi te comprehendi, et praesentari, et servari ne pereas?

Certainly, whatever could be said, and drawn with sublime genius from the fountains of the Holy Scriptures, has been set forth and discussed by you. But, I beseech your Reverence, suffer me for a little to praise your genius. For we discuss among ourselves for the sake of learning. Otherwise rivals, and especially heretics, if they see diverse sentences between us, will calumniate that they descend from rancor of soul. But for me it is decreed to love you, to look up to you, to cherish, to admire, and to defend your sayings as if they were mine. Certainly also in the dialogue which I recently published (Book 3 against the Pelagians), I remembered your Beatitude, as was worthy: and let us rather give labor that the most pernicious heresy may be taken away from the churches, which always feigns penitence, that it may have the faculty of teaching in the churches; lest, if it produces itself in the open light, it should die having been expelled outside.

2. Your holy and venerable daughters Eustochium and Paula walk worthily both by their own kind and by your exhortation, and specially salute your Beatitude; all the brotherhood also which with us endeavors to serve the Lord Savior. The holy priest Firmus, last year, we directed on their account to Ravenna, and thence to Africa and Sicily, whom we think is already staying in the parts of Africa. I pray that you salute the saints adhering to your side with my service. I have also directed my letters to the holy priest Firmus; which if they should come to you, may it not irk you to direct them to him. May Christ the Lord keep you safe, and mindful of me, truly holy lord, and most blessed pope. And below: We suffer a great penury of notaries of the Latin language in this province; and therefore we cannot obey your commands, especially in the edition of the Septuagint, which is distinguished with asterisks and obelis: for we have lost most of the former labor by the fraud of someone.

LETTER CLXXIII Augustine to Donatus, a Donatist priest of the villa Mutugenna in the diocese of Hippo, who having been ordered to be seized and brought to the church, attempted to do violence to himself; he persuades him that, the matter having been soberly weighed, he should repent, teaching that a perverse will is rightly forced to better things.

To Donatus a priest of the party of Donatus, AUGUSTINE bishop of the Catholic Church.

1. If you could see the sorrow of my heart, and the solicitude for your salvation, perhaps you would have mercy on your soul, pleasing God (Ecclus. XXX, 24) in hearing the word, not ours, but His own; nor would you so fix His Scriptures in your memory that you would close your heart against them. It displeases you that you are drawn to salvation, when you have drawn so many of ours to perdition. For what did we wish, except that you should be seized, and presented, and kept lest you should perish?

Quod autem in corpore laesus es, ipse tibi fecisisti, qui jumento tibi mox admoto uti noluisti, et te ad terram graviter collisisti: nam utique alius qui adductus est tecum, collega tuus illaesus venit, qui talia sibi ipse non fecit.

2. Sed neque hoc putas tibi fieri debuisse, quia neminem existimas cogendum esse ad bonum. Attende quid Apostolus dixerit, Qui episcopatum desiderat, bonum opus concupiscit (I Tim. III, 1); et tamen tam multi ut episcopatum suscipiant tenentur inviti, perducuntur, includuntur, custodiuntur, patiuntur tanta quae nolunt, donec eis adsit voluntas suscipiendi operis boni: quanto magis vos ab errore pernicioso, in quo vobis inimici estis, trahendi estis, et deducendi ad veritatem vel cognoscendam vel eligendam, non solum ut honorem salubriter habeatis, sed etiam ne pessime pereatis! Dicis Deum dedisse liberum arbitrium; ideo non debere cogi hominem nec ad bonum. Quare ergo illi de quibus supra dixi, coguntur ad bonum? Attende ergo quod considerare non vis. Ideo voluntas bona misericorditer impenditur, ut mala voluntas hominis dirigatur. Nam quis nesciat nec damnari hominem, nisi merito malae voluntatis, nec liberari nisi bonam habuerit voluntatem? Non tamen ideo qui diliguntur, malae suae voluntati impune et crudeliter permittendi sunt; sed ubi potestas datur, et a malo prohibendi, et ad bonum cogendi.

3. Nam si voluntas mala semper suae permittenda est libertati; quare Israelitae recusantes et murmurantes tam duris flagellis a malo prohibebantur, et ad terram promissionis compellebantur? Si voluntas mala semper suae permittenda est libertati; quare Paulus non est permissus uti pessima voluntate qua persequebatur Ecclesiam, sed prostratus est ut excaecaretur, et excaecatus est ut mutaretur, mutatus ut mitteretur, missus ut qualia fecerat in errore, talia pro veritate patereretur? Si voluntas mala semper suae permittenda est libertati; quare monetur pater in Scripturis sanctis, filium durum non solum verbis corripere, sed etiam latera ejus tundere, ut ad bonam disciplinam coactus et domitus dirigatur (Eccli. XXX, 12)? Unde idem dicit: Tu quidem percutis eum virga; animam autem ejus liberas a morte (Prov. XXIII, 14). Si mala voluntas semper suae permittenda est libertati; quare corripiuntur negligentes pastores, et dicitur eis: Errantem ovem non revocastis, perditam non requisistis (Ezech. XXXIV, 4)?

But as to your being hurt in body, you did it to yourself, who did not wish to use the beast of burden soon moved to you, and dashed yourself heavily to the ground: for certainly another who was brought with you, your colleague, came unhurt, who did not do such things to himself.

2. But neither do you think this ought to have been done to you, because you think no one is to be compelled to good. Attend to what the Apostle said, He who desires the episcopate, desires a good work (I Tim. III, 1); and yet so many, so that they might receive the episcopate, are held against their will, are brought, are shut up, are guarded, suffer so many things which they do not wish, until the will for receiving the good work is present to them: how much more are you to be drawn from pernicious error, in which you are enemies to yourselves, and led to the truth to be either known or chosen, not only so that you may have the honor healthfully, but also lest you perish most evilly! You say God has given free will; therefore a man ought not to be compelled even to good. Why then are those of whom I spoke above compelled to good? Attend therefore to what you do not wish to consider. Therefore a good will is mercifully bestowed, so that a man's bad will may be directed. For who may not know that a man is neither condemned except by the merit of a bad will, nor delivered unless he has a good will? Yet not therefore are those who are loved to be permitted with impunity and cruelly to their bad will; but where power is given, both of prohibiting from evil and of compelling to good.

3. For if a bad will is always to be permitted to its own liberty; why were the Israelites, refusing and murmuring, prohibited from evil by such hard scourges, and compelled to the land of promise? If a bad will is always to be permitted to its own liberty; why was Paul not permitted to use the worst will with which he was persecuting the Church, but was prostrated that he might be blinded, and blinded that he might be changed, changed that he might be sent, and sent so that such things as he had done in error, he might suffer for the truth? If a bad will is always to be permitted to its own liberty; why is a father warned in the Holy Scriptures to correct a hard son not only with words, but also to beat his sides, so that being compelled and tamed he may be directed to good discipline (Ecclus. XXX, 12)? Whence the same says: You indeed strike him with a rod; but you deliver his soul from death (Prov. XXIII, 14). If a bad will is always to be permitted to its own liberty; why are negligent shepherds corrected, and it is said to them: You have not brought back the straying sheep, you have not sought the lost one (Ezek. XXXIV, 4)?

Et vos oves Christi estis, characterem dominicum portatis in Sacramento quod accepistis; sed erratis et peritis. Non ideo vobis displiceamus, quia revocamus errantes, et quaerimus perditos. Melius enim facimus voluntatem Domini monentis ut vos ad ejus ovile redire cogamus, quam consentimus voluntati ovium errantium, ut perire vos permittamus. Noli ergo jam dicere quod te assidue audio dicere: Sic volo errare, sic volo perire. Melius enim nos hoc omnino non permittimus, quantum possumus.

4. Modo quod te in puteum, ut morereris, misisti, utique libera voluntate fecisti. Sed quam crudeles essent servi Dei, si huic malae tuae voluntati te permitterent, et non te de illa morte liberarent! quis eos non merito culparet? quis non impios recte judicaret? Et tamen tu te volens in aquam misisti ut morereris; illi te nolentem de aqua levaverunt, ne morereris: tu fecisti secundum voluntatem tuam, sed in perniciem tuam; illi contra voluntatem tuam, sed propter salutem tuam. Si ergo salus ista corporalis sic custodienda est, ut etiam in nolentibus, ab eis qui eos diligunt, servetur; quanto magis illa spiritualis, in cujus desertione mors aeterna metuitur! Quanquam in ista morte quam tibi tu ipse inferre voluisti, non solum ad tempus, sed etiam in aeternum morereris; quia etsi non ad salutem, non ad Ecclesiae pacem, non ad Christi corporis unitatem, non ad sanctam et individuam charitatem, sed ad mala aliqua cogereris, nec sic tibi ipse mortem inferre debuisti.

5. Considera Scripturas divinas, et discute quantum potes, et vide utrum hoc fecerit aliquis aliquando justorum atque fidelium, cum ab eis tanta mala perpessi sint, qui eos ad aeternum interitum, non ad vitam aeternam, quo tu compelleris, adigebant. Audivi quod dixeris apostolum Paulum significasse hoc fieri debere, ubi ait, Etsi tradidero corpus meum ut ardeam (I Cor. XIII, 3); quia videlicet omnia bona dicebat, quae sine charitate nihil prosunt, sicut sunt linguae hominum et Angelorum, et omnia sacramenta, et omnis scientia, et omnis prophetia, et omnis fides ita ut montes transferantur, et rerum suarum distributio pauperibus ; ideo videtur tibi etiam hoc inter bona numerasse, ut sibi quisque inferat mortem. Sed attende diligenter et agnosce quemadmodum dicat Scriptura, quod tradat quisque suum corpus ut ardeam. Non utique ut ipse se in ignem mittat, quando persequentem patitur inimicum; sed quando ei proponitur ut aut mali aliquid faciat, aut mali aliquid patiatur, eligat non facere mala quam non pati mala: atque ita corpus suum tradat in potestatem interfectoris, sicut tres illi viri fecerunt qui auream statuam cogebantur adorare, et nisi facerent, minabatur eis ille qui cogebat, caminum ignis ardentem.

And you are the sheep of Christ, you bear the Lord's character in the Sacrament which you have received; but you stray and perish. Let us not therefore displease you because we bring back the straying, and seek the lost. For we do better the will of the Lord warning that we should compel you to return to His fold, than we consent to the will of the straying sheep, that we should permit you to perish. Therefore do not already say what I assiduously hear you say: So I wish to err, so I wish to perish. For it is better that we do not permit this at all, as much as we can.

4. Now, that you threw yourself into a well to die, you surely did with free will. But how cruel would the servants of God be, if they permitted you to this bad will of yours, and did not deliver you from that death! who would not deservedly blame them? who would not rightly judge them impious? And yet you willingly threw yourself into the water to die; they, you being unwilling, raised you from the water, lest you should die: you did according to your will, but to your perdition; they against your will, but for your salvation. If therefore this bodily health is thus to be guarded, so that it is preserved even in the unwilling, by those who love them; how much more that spiritual one, in whose desertion eternal death is feared! Although in that death which you yourself wished to inflict on yourself, you would die not only for a time, but also eternally; because even if you were compelled not to salvation, not to the peace of the Church, not to the unity of the body of Christ, not to holy and undivided charity, but to some evils, not even so ought you to have inflicted death on yourself.

5. Consider the divine Scriptures, and discuss as much as you can, and see whether any of the just and faithful ever did this, when they suffered so many evils from those who were driving them to eternal destruction, not to eternal life, to which you are compelled. I have heard that you said the apostle Paul signified that this ought to be done, where he says, Even if I should deliver my body to be burned (I Cor. XIII, 3); because forsooth he was speaking of all the good things which without charity profit nothing, such as are the tongues of men and of angels, and all sacraments, and all knowledge, and all prophecy, and all faith so that mountains are moved, and the distribution of one's goods to the poor; therefore it seems to you that he also counted this among the good things, that each one should inflict death on himself. But attend diligently and recognize in what manner the Scripture says that each one should deliver his body to be burned. Not indeed that he should throw himself into the fire, when he suffers a persecuting enemy; but when it is proposed to him that he either do something evil, or suffer something evil, he should choose not to do evils rather than not to suffer evils: and so deliver his body into the power of the killer, as those three men did who were compelled to adore the golden statue, and unless they did, he who compelled them threatened them with a furnace of burning fire.

Idolum adorare noluerunt; non ipsi se in ignem miserunt: et tamen etiam de illis sic scriptum est, quod tradiderunt corpora sua, ut neque servirent, neque adorarent ullum deum, sed Deum suum (Dan. III, 14-95). Ecce quomodo dixit Apostolus, Si tradidero corpus meum ut ardeam.

6. Quod autem sequitur, vide: Si charitatem non habeam, nihil mihi prodest. Ad istam charitatem vocaris, ab ista charitate perire non sineris; et putas tibi aliquid prodesse, si te ipse praecipites in interitum, cum tibi nihil prodesset, etiamsi alter te occideret charitatis inimicum! Foris autem ab Ecclesia constitutus, et separatus a compage unitatis et vinculo charitatis, aeterno supplicio punireris, etiamsi pro Christi nomine vivus incendereris: hoc est enim quod ait Apostolus, Etsi tradidero corpus meum ut ardeam, charitatem autem non habeam, nihil mihi prodest. Revoca ergo animum ad sanam considerationem, et sobriam cogitationem; attende diligenter utrum ad errorem et impietatem voceris, et patere pro veritate quaslibet molestias. Si autem tu potius in errore atque in impietate versaris, quo autem vocaris ibi est veritas et pietas, quia ibi est christiana unitas et sancti Spiritus charitas; quid adhuc tibi esse conaris inimicus?

7. Ideo praestitit misericordia Dei ut et nos et episcopi vestri tam frequenti numeroso que conventu Carthaginem veniremus, atque inter nos de ipsa dissensione ordinatissime conferremus. Gesta conscripta sunt, nostrae etiam subscriptiones tenentur; lege, vel patere ut tibi legantur, et tunc elige quod volueris. Audivi quod dixeris posse te nobiscum de ipsis Gestis aliquid agere, si omittamus verba episcoporum vestrorum, ubi dixerunt, Nec causa causae, nec persona personae praejudicat. Haec verba vis omittamus, ubi per eos nescientes veritas ipsa locuta est. Sed tu dicturus es hic eos errasse, et in falsam sententiam incautius cecidisse. Nos autem dicimus hoc eos verum dixisse, et hoc per teipsum facillime probamus. Si enim episcopi vestri electi ab universa parte Donati, qui causam omnium sustinerent, et si quid egissent gratum et acceptum caeteri haberent, tamen in eo quod illos temere et non recte dixisse arbitraris, non vis ut tibi praejudicent; verum ergo dixerunt, quia nec causa causae, nec persona personae praejudicat. Et ibi debes agnoscere, quia si persona tot episcoporum tuorum in illis septem constitutorum non vis ut praejudicet personae Donati Mutugennensis presbyteri, quanto minus non debet praejudicare Caeciliani persona, etiamsi mali aliquid in illo esset inventum, universae unitati Christi, quae non in una villa Mutugenna concluditur, sed toto terrarum orbe diffunditur?

8. Sed ecce facimus quod voluisti; sic tecum agimus, ac si non dixerint vestri, Nec causa causae, nec persona personae praejudicat.

They did not wish to adore the idol; they did not throw themselves into the fire: and yet even of them it is thus written, that they delivered their bodies, so that they might neither serve nor adore any god, but their own God (Dan. III, 14-95). Behold how the Apostle said, If I deliver my body to be burned.

6. But see what follows: If I have not charity, it profits me nothing. To this charity you are called, by this charity you are not permitted to perish; and do you think it profits you anything, if you throw yourself into destruction, when it would profit you nothing even if another killed you as an enemy of charity! But being constituted outside the Church, and separated from the structure of unity and the bond of charity, you would be punished with eternal suffering, even if you were burned alive for Christ's name: for this is what the Apostle says, Even if I should deliver my body to be burned, but have not charity, it profits me nothing. Recall therefore your mind to sound consideration, and sober thought; attend diligently whether you are called to error and impiety, and suffer any troubles for the truth. But if you rather are conversant in error and in impiety, but where you are called there is truth and piety, because there is Christian unity and the charity of the Holy Spirit; why do you still try to be an enemy to yourself?

7. Therefore the mercy of God granted that both we and your bishops should come to Carthage in such a frequent and numerous assembly, and should confer among ourselves most orderly concerning that dissension. The Acts were written down, our signatures also are kept; read, or suffer that they be read to you, and then choose what you will. I heard that you said you could do something with us concerning those Acts, if we omit the words of your bishops, where they said, Neither does cause prejudice cause, nor person prejudice person. You wish that we omit these words, where through them, they being ignorant, the truth itself has spoken. But you are about to say that here they erred, and fell more incautiously into a false sentence. But we say that they spoke this truly, and we prove this most easily through yourself. For if your bishops elected by the whole party of Donatus, who were to sustain the cause of all, and if they had done anything the others would hold it as pleasing and accepted, yet in that which you think they said rashly and not rightly, you do not wish that they prejudice you; they spoke truly therefore, because neither does cause prejudice cause, nor person prejudice person. And there you ought to recognize, because if you do not wish the person of so many of your bishops constituted in those seven to prejudice the person of Donatus the priest of Mutugenna, how much less ought the person of Caecilian, even if something evil had been found in him, prejudice the universal unity of Christ, which is not enclosed in one village of Mutugenna, but is diffused in the whole world?

8. But behold, we do what you wished; we act with you as if your people had not said: Neither does cause prejudice cause, nor person prejudice person.

Tu inveni quid illi dicere debuerint, cum eis objecta esset causa et persona Primiani, qui damnatores suos et damnavit cum caeteris, et damnatos ac detestatos in suos rursus honores suscepit, et baptismum quem mortui dederant (quia de ipsis in illa praeclara sententia dictum erat quod mortuorum funeribus plena sint littora [In Bagaitano concilio]), agnoscere potius et acceptare, quam exsufflare et rescindere maluit, totumque dissolvit quod male intelligentes dicere soletis, Qui baptizatur a mortuo, quid ei prodest lavacrum ejus (Eccli. XXXIV, 30)? Si ergo non dicerent, Nec causa causae, nec persona personae praejudicat, rei tenerentur in causa Primiani: cum autem hoc dixerunt, immunem fecerunt Ecclesiam catholicam, sicut nos asserebamus, a causa Caeciliani.

9. Sed caetera lege, caetera discute. Vide utrum in ipsum Caecilianum, de cujus persona praejudicare conabantur Ecclesiae, aliquid mali probare potuerint. Vide utrum non potius etiam pro illo multa egerint, et pluribus lectionibus, quas contra se protulerunt et recitaverunt, causam ejus bonam omnino firmaverint. Lege ista, vel legantur tibi. Considera omnia, retracta diligenter, et elige quid sequaris: utrum nobiscum in Christi pace, in Ecclesiae catholicae unitate, in fraterna charitate gaudere; an pro nefaria dissensione, pro Donati parte, pro sacrilega divisione, importunitatem nostrae circa te dilectionis diutius sustinere.

10. Attendis enim et saepe repetis, sicut audio, quod in Evangelio scriptum est recessisse a Domino septuaginta discipulos, et arbitrio suae malae atque impiae discessionis fuisse permissos, caeterisque duodecim qui remanserant, fuisse responsum, Numquid et vos vultis ire (Joan. VI, 68)? Et non attendis quia tunc primum Ecclesia novello germine pullulabat, nondumque in ea fuerat completa illa prophetia, Et adorabunt eum omnes reges terrae; omnes gentes servient illi (Psal. LXXI, 11): quod utique quanto magis impletur, tanto majore utitur Ecclesia potestate, ut non solum invitet, sed etiam cogat ad bonum. Hoc tunc Dominus significare volebat, qui quamvis haberet magnam potestatem, prius tamen elegit commendare humilitatem. Hoc et in illa convivii similitudine satis evidenter ostendit, ubi misit ad invitatos, et venire noluerunt, et ait servo: Exi in plateas et vicos civitatis, et pauperes, et debiles, et caecos, et claudos introduc huc. Et ait servus domino, Factum est ut imperasti, et adhuc locus est. Et ait dominus servo, Exi in vias et sepes, et compelle intrare, ut impleatur domus mea (Luc. XIV, 21-23). Vide nunc quemadmodum de his qui prius venerunt, dictum est, Introduc huc; non dictum est, compelle: ita significata sunt Ecclesiae primordia ad hoc crescentis, ut essent vires etiam compellendi.

You find what they ought to have said when the cause and person of Primian was objected to them, who both condemned his own condemners with the others, and received back into their honors those condemned and detested, and preferred to recognize and accept, rather than to blow upon and rescind, the baptism which the dead had given (because it had been said of them in that famous sentence that the shores are full of the funerals of the dead [In the Council of Bagai]), and he dissolved all that you, understanding poorly, are accustomed to say: He who is baptized by the dead, what does his washing profit him? (Eccli. XXXIV, 30). If therefore they did not say, Neither does cause prejudice cause, nor person prejudice person, they would be held guilty in the cause of Primian; but since they said this, they made the Catholic Church immune, as we were asserting, from the cause of Caecilian.

9. But read the rest, discuss the rest. See whether they were able to prove anything evil against Caecilian himself, concerning whose person they were trying to prejudice the Church. See whether they did not rather do many things even for him, and by the many readings which they brought forward and recited against themselves, completely confirmed his good cause. Read these things, or let them be read to you. Consider all things, retract diligently, and choose what you will follow: whether to rejoice with us in the peace of Christ, in the unity of the Catholic Church, in fraternal charity; or for a wicked dissension, for the party of Donatus, for a sacrilegious division, to endure longer the importunity of our love toward you.

10. For you attend to and often repeat, as I hear, what is written in the Gospel, that seventy disciples withdrew from the Lord, and were permitted to the judgment of their own evil and impious withdrawal, and to the other twelve who remained, it was answered: Do you also wish to go? (John VI, 68). And you do not attend to the fact that then the Church was first sprouting with a new germ, and that prophecy had not yet been fulfilled in it: And all the kings of the earth shall adore him; all nations shall serve him (Psalm LXXI, 11): which certainly, the more it is fulfilled, the greater power the Church uses, so that it not only invites, but also compels to the good. This the Lord wished to signify then, who although he had great power, yet chose first to commend humility. This he also showed evidently enough in that similitude of the feast, where he sent to those invited, and they did not wish to come, and he said to the servant: Go out into the streets and lanes of the city, and bring in hither the poor, and the feeble, and the blind, and the lame. And the servant said to the master: It is done as you commanded, and yet there is room. And the master said to the servant: Go out into the highways and hedges, and compel them to come in, that my house may be filled (Luke XIV, 21-23). See now how concerning those who first came, it was said: Bring in hither; it was not said: compel: thus were signified the beginnings of the Church growing to this, so that there would be strength even for compelling.

Proinde, quia oportebat ejus jam viribus et magnitudine roborata etiam compelli homines ad convivium salutis aeternae, posteaquam dictum est, Factum est quod jussisti, et adhuc est locus; Exi, inquit, in vias et sepes, et compelle intrare. Quapropter si ambularetis quieti extra hoc convivium salutis aeternae et sanctae unitatis Ecclesiae, tanquam in viis vos inveniremus; nunc vero quia per multa mala et saeva quae in nostros committitis, tanquam spinis et asperitate pleni estis, vos tanquam in sepibus invenimus, et intrare compellimus. Qui compellitur, quo non vult cogitur; sed cum intraverit, jam volens pascitur. Cohibe itaque tam iniquum et impacatum animum, ut in vera Ecclesia Christi invenias salutare convivium.

Epistola CLXXIV.

Augustinus Aurelio Carthaginensi episcopo, transmittens libros de Trinitate, absolutos demum secundum ipsius Aurelii aliorumque desiderium, et emendatos.

Domino beatissimo, et sincerissima charitate venerando, sancto fratri et consacerdoti papae AURELIO, AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

De Trinitate, quae Deus summus et verus est, libros juvenis inchoavi, senex edidi. Omiseram quippe hoc opus, posteaquam comperi praereptos mihi esse sive subreptos antequam eos absolverem, et retractatos, ut mea dispositio fuerat, expolirem. Non enim singillatim, sed omnes simul edere ea ratione decreveram, quoniam praecedentibus consequentes inquisitione proficiente nectuntur. Cum ergo per eos homines (quia priusquam vellem, ad quosdam illorum pervenire potuerunt) dispositio mea nequivisset impleri, interruptam dictationem reliqueram, cogitans hoc ipsum in aliquibus meis scriptis conqueri, ut scirent, qui possent, non a me fuisse eosdem libros editos, sed ablatos priusquam mihi editione mea digni viderentur. Verum multorum fratrum vehementissima postulatione, et maxime tua jussione compulsus, opus tam laboriosum, adjuvante Domino terminare curavi; eosque emendatos non ut volui, sed ut potui, ne ab illis qui subrepti jam in manus hominum exierant, plurimum discreparent, Venerationi tuae per filium nostrum condiaconum charissimum misi, et cuicumque audiendos, describendos, legendosque permisi: in quibus si servari mea dispositio potuisset, essent profecto, etsi easdem sententias habentes, multo tamen enodatiores atque planiores, quantum rerum tantarum explicandarum difficultas et facultas nostra pateretur.

Therefore, because it was necessary that, its strength and magnitude being already strengthened, men should also be compelled to the feast of eternal salvation, after it was said: It is done what you commanded, and yet there is room; Go out, he said, into the highways and hedges, and compel them to come in. Wherefore if you were walking quietly outside this feast of eternal salvation and the holy unity of the Church, we would find you as if in the highways; but now because through many evil and cruel things which you commit against our people, you are full as if of thorns and roughness, we find you as if in the hedges, and we compel you to enter. He who is compelled is forced where he does not wish; but when he has entered, he already feeds willingly. Restrain therefore such an unjust and unpacified mind, so that in the true Church of Christ you may find the salutary feast.

Letter CLXXIV.

Augustine to Aurelius, Bishop of Carthage, transmitting the books on the Trinity, finally finished according to the desire of Aurelius himself and others, and corrected.

To the most blessed lord, and to be venerated with most sincere charity, holy brother and fellow-priest Pope AURELIUS, AUGUSTINE, health in the Lord.

Concerning the Trinity, which is the highest and true God, I began the books as a young man and published them as an old man. For I had omitted this work after I found that they had been snatched from me or stolen before I could finish them and polish them with corrections, as had been my plan. For I had decreed to publish all of them not one by one, but all at once, since the subsequent ones are linked to the preceding ones as the inquiry progresses. When, therefore, through those men (because before I wished, they were able to reach some of them), my plan could not be fulfilled, I had left the dictation interrupted, thinking to complain of this very thing in some of my writings, so that those who could might know that the same books were not published by me, but taken away before they seemed worthy of publication by me. But compelled by the most vehement demand of many brothers, and especially by your command, I took care to finish such a laborious work, the Lord helping; and I sent them, corrected not as I wished, but as I could, lest they should differ very much from those which, already stolen, had gone out into the hands of men, to your Veneration through our son, our most dear fellow-deacon, and I permitted them to be heard, copied, and read by anyone: in which, if my plan could have been preserved, they would certainly be, although having the same sentences, yet much more unfolded and clearer, as much as the difficulty of explaining such great things and our ability would allow.

Sunt autem qui primos quatuor vel potius quinque etiam sine prooemiis habent, et duodecimum sine extrema parte non parva: sed si eis haec editio potuerit innotescere, omnia si voluerint et valuerint, emendabunt. Peto sane ut hanc epistolam, seorsum quidem, sed tamen ad caput eorumdem librorum jubeas anteponi. Vale. Ora pro me.

Epistola CLXXV.

Patres concilii Carthaginensis, Innocentio pontifici Romano, de actis adversus Pelagium et Celestium.

Domino beatissimo et honorandissimo, sancto fratri INNOCENTIO, AURELIUS, NUMIDIUS, RUSTICIANUS, FIDENTIANUS, EVAGRIUS , ANTONIUS , PALATINUS, ADEODATUS, VINCENTIUS, PUBLIANUS , THEASIUS, TUTUS, PANNONIUS , VICTOR, RESTITUTUS, RUSTICUS, FORTUNATIANUS, alius RESTITUTUS, AMPELIUS, AMBIVIUS , FELIX, DONATIANUS, ADEODATUS, OCTAVIUS, SEROTINUS, MAJORINUS, POSTHUMIANUS , CRISPULUS , VICTOR, alius VICTOR, LEUCIUS , MARIANUS, FRUCTUOSUS, FAUSTINIANUS, QUODVULTDEUS, CANDORIUS, MAXIMUS, MEGASIUS, RUSTICUS, RUFINIANUS, PROCULUS, SEVERUS, THOMAS , JANUARIUS, OCTAVIANUS, PRAETEXTATUS, SIXTUS , QUODVULTDEUS, PENTHADIUS, QUODVULDEUS, CYPRIANUS, SERVILIUS, PELAGIANUS , MARCELLUS, VENANTIUS, DIDYMUS, SATURNINUS, BIZACENUS , GERMANUS, GERMANIANUS, INVENTIUS, MAJORINUS, INVENTIUS , CANDIDUS, CYPRIANUS, AEMILIANUS, ROMANUS, AFRICANUS, MARCELLINUS, et caeteri qui in concilio ecclesiae Carthaginensis adfuimus.

1. Cum ex more ad Carthaginensem ecclesiam solemniter venissemus, atque ex diversis causis congregata ex nobis synodus haberetur, compresbyter noster Orosius nobis litteras sanctorum fratrum et consacerdotum nostrorum dedit Herotis et Lazari, quarum formam his constituimus esse subdendam. His ergo lectis, Pelagium et Celestium auctores argui nefarii prorsus, et ab omnibus nobis anathemandi erroris advertimus. Unde factum est ut recensendum peteremus; quid ante ferme quinquennium super Celestii nomine hic apud Carthaginem fuerit agitatum.

There are, however, some who have the first four or rather five even without the prefaces, and the twelfth without a not small final part: but if this edition can become known to them, they will correct all things if they wish and are able. I ask indeed that you order this letter to be placed before, separately indeed, but yet at the head of the same books. Farewell. Pray for me.

Letter CLXXV.

The Fathers of the Council of Carthage to Pope Innocent of Rome, concerning the acts against Pelagius and Celestius.

To the most blessed and most honorable lord, holy brother INNOCENT, AURELIUS, NUMIDIUS, RUSTICIANUS, FIDENTIANUS, EVAGRIUS, ANTONIUS, PALATINUS, ADEODATUS, VINCENTIUS, PUBLIANUS, THEASIUS, TUTUS, PANNONIUS, VICTOR, RESTITUTUS, RUSTICUS, FORTUNATIANUS, another RESTITUTUS, AMPELIUS, AMBIVIUS, FELIX, DONATIANUS, ADEODATUS, OCTAVIUS, SEROTINUS, MAJORINUS, POSTHUMIANUS, CRISPULUS, VICTOR, another VICTOR, LEUCIUS, MARIANUS, FRUCTUOSUS, FAUSTINIANUS, QUODVULTDEUS, CANDORIUS, MAXIMUS, MEGASIUS, RUSTICUS, RUFINIANUS, PROCULUS, SEVERUS, THOMAS, JANUARIUS, OCTAVIANUS, PRAETEXTATUS, SIXTUS, QUODVULTDEUS, PENTHADIUS, QUODVULDEUS, CYPRIANUS, SERVILIUS, PELAGIANUS, MARCELLUS, VENANTIUS, DIDYMUS, SATURNINUS, BIZACENUS, GERMANUS, GERMANIANUS, INVENTIUS, MAJORINUS, INVENTIUS, CANDIDUS, CYPRIANUS, AEMILIANUS, ROMANUS, AFRICANUS, MARCELLINUS, and the rest of us who were present in the council of the church of Carthage.

1. When according to custom we had come solemnly to the church of Carthage, and a synod gathered from us for various causes was being held, our fellow-priest Orosius gave us the letters of our holy brothers and fellow-priests Heros and Lazarus, the form of which we have determined to be subjoined here. These therefore being read, we perceived that Pelagius and Celestius were accused as authors of an altogether wicked error, to be anathematized by all of us. Whence it happened that we asked to review what had been agitated here at Carthage concerning the name of Celestius almost five years ago.

Quo recitato, sicut ex subditis advertere poterit Sanctitas tua, quamvis et judicatio manifesta constaret, qua illo tempore episcopali judicio excisum hoc tantum vulnus ab Ecclesia videretur: nihilominus tamen id communi deliberatione censuimus, hujusmodi persuasionis auctores, quamvis et ad presbyterium idem Celestius postea pervenisse dicatur, nisi haec apertissime anathemaverint, ipsos anathemari oportere, ut si ipsorum non potuerit, saltem eorum qui ab eis decepti sunt vel decipi possunt, cognita sententia quae in eos lata est, sanitas procuretur.

2. Hoc itaque gestum, domine frater, sanctae Charitati tuae intimandum duximus, ut statutis nostrae mediocritatis etiam apostolicae Sedis adhibeatur auctoritas, pro tuenda salute multorum, et quorumdam perversitate etiam corrigenda. Id enim agunt isti damnabilibus disputationibus suis, ut non defendendo, sed potius in superbiam sacrilegam extollendo liberum arbitrium, nullum relinquant locum gratiae Dei, qua christiani sumus, qua et ipsum nostrae voluntatis arbitrium vere fit liberum, dum a carnalium concupiscentiarum dominatione liberatur, dicente Domino, Si vos filius liberaverit, tunc vere liberi eritis (Joan. VIII, 36); quod auxilium fides impetrat, quae est in Christo Jesu Domino nostro . Isti autem asserunt, sicut a fratribus qui etiam eorum libros legerunt, cognovimus, in eo Dei gratiam deputandam, quod talem hominis instituit creavitque naturam, quae per propriam voluntatem legem Dei possit implere, sive naturaliter in corde conscriptam, sive in litteris datam: eamdem quoque legem ad gratiam Dei pertinere, quod illam Deus in adjutorium hominibus dedit (Isai. VIII, 20, sec. LXX).

3. Illam vero gratiam qua, ut dictum est, christiani sumus, cujus Apostolus praedicator est, dicens, Condelector enim legi Dei secundum interiorem hominem: video autem aliam legem in membris meis repugnantem legi mentis meae, et captivantem me sub lege peccati, quae est in membris meis. Miser ego homo! quis me liberabit de corpore mortis hujus? Gratia Dei per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum (Rom. VII, 22-25), nolunt omnino cognoscere; sed nec aperte quidem oppugnare audent: sed quid aliud agunt, cum hominibus animalibus non percipientibus quae sunt Spiritus Dei (I Cor. II, 14) persuadere non cessant, ad operandam perficiendamque justitiam et Dei mandata complenda solam sibi humanam sufficere posse naturam? non attendentes quod scriptum est, Spiritus adjuvat infirmitatem nostram (Rom. VIII, 26); et, Non volentis, neque currentis, sed miserentis est Dei (Id. IX, 16);

Which being recited, as your Holiness will be able to perceive from the subjoined things, although a manifest judgment also stood, by which at that time by episcopal judgment this so great a wound seemed to have been cut out from the Church: nevertheless we judged it by common deliberation that the authors of a persuasion of this kind, although the same Celestius is said to have afterwards reached the priesthood, unless they most openly anathematize these things, they themselves ought to be anathematized, so that if their own sanity cannot be procured, at least that of those who have been deceived by them or can be deceived may be procured, the sentence which was brought against them being known.

2. This therefore having been done, lord brother, we have thought that it ought to be intimated to your holy Charity, so that to the statutes of our mediocrity the authority of the Apostolic See may also be applied, for protecting the salvation of many, and even for correcting the perversity of some. For these men act by their damnable disputations so that, not by defending but rather by extolling free will into a sacrilegious pride, they leave no place for the grace of God, by which we are Christians, by which also the very choice of our will becomes truly free, while it is liberated from the domination of carnal concupiscences, the Lord saying: If the Son shall liberate you, then you shall be truly free (John VIII, 36); which help faith impetrates, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord. But these men assert, as we have learned from the brothers who also read their books, that the grace of God is to be deputed to this, that he instituted and created such a nature of man, which through its own will can fulfill the law of God, whether written naturally in the heart, or given in letters: that same law also pertains to the grace of God, because God gave it for help to men (Isaiah VIII, 20, according to the LXX).

3. But that grace by which, as has been said, we are Christians, of which the Apostle is the preacher, saying: For I delight in the law of God according to the inner man: but I see another law in my members repugnant to the law of my mind, and captivating me under the law of sin, which is in my members. Wretched man that I am! who shall liberate me from the body of this death? The grace of God through Jesus Christ our Lord (Romans VII, 22-25), they are altogether unwilling to recognize; but they do not even dare to oppose it openly: but what else do they do, when they do not cease to persuade animal men not perceiving the things which are of the Spirit of God (I Cor. II, 14) that human nature alone can suffice for itself to work and perfect justice and to fulfill the commands of God? not attending to what is written: The Spirit helps our infirmity (Romans VIII, 26); and: It is not of him who wills, nor of him who runs, but of God who has mercy (Id. IX, 16);

et quod unum corpus sumus in Christo, singuli autem alter alterius membra; habentes dona diversa secundum gratiam quae data est nobis (Id. XII, 5, 6); et, Gratia Dei sum id quod sum, et gratia ejus in me vacua non fuit, sed abundantius omnibus illis laboravi; non ego autem, sed gratia Dei mecum; et, Gratias Deo, qui dedit nobis victoriam per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum (I Cor. XV, 10, 57); et, Non quia idonei sumus cogitare aliquid quasi ex nobismetipsis; sed sufficientia nostra ex Deo est (II Cor. III, 5); et, Habemus tnesaurum istum in vasis fictilibus, ut eminentia virtutis sit Dei, et non ex nobis (II Cor. IV, 7); et innumerabilia talia, quae de Scripturis omnibus si colligere velimus, tempus non sufficit. Et veremur ne apud te ista ipsa commemorando, quae majore gratia de Sede apostolica praedicas, inconvenienter facere videamur: sed ideo facimus, quia eo quo infirmiores sumus , quaquaversum quisque nostrum verbo Dei praedicando putatur attentior, crebrius eos patimur in nos et audacius insurgentes.

4. Si ergo Pelagius episcopalibus Gestis quae in Oriente confecta dicuntur , etiam tuae Venerationi juste visus fuerit absolutus; error tamen ipse et impietas, quae jam multos assertores habet, per diversa dispersos, etiam auctoritate apostolicae Sedis anathemanda est. Consideret enim Sanctitas tua, et pastoralibus nobis compatiatur visceribus, quam sit pestiferum et exitiale ovibus Christi, quod istorum sacrilegas disputationes necessario consequitur, ut nec orare debeamus ne intremus in tentationem, quod Dominus et discipulos monuit (Matth. XXVI, 41), et posuit in oratione quam docuit (Id. VI, 13); aut ne deficiat fides nostra, quod pro apostolo Petro se rogasse ipse testatus est (Luc. XXII, 32). Si enim haec possibilitate naturae, et arbitrio voluntatis in potestate sunt constitutae; quis non ea videat a Domino inaniter peti, et fallaciter orari, cum orando poscuntur quae naturae nostrae jam ita conditae sufficientibus viribus obtinentur? nec debuisse dicere Dominum Jesum, Vigilate et orate; sed tantummodo, Vigilate, ne intretis in tentationem? nec beatissimo Petro primo Apostolorum, Rogavi pro te, sed, moneo te, vel impero ac praecipio ne deficiat fides tua?

5. Contradicitur etiam istorum contentione benedictionibus nostris, ut incassum super populum dicere videamur quidquid eis a Domino precamur, ut recte ac pie vivendo illi placeant; vel illa quae pro fidelibus precatur Apostolus, dicens: Flecto genua mea ad Patrem Domini nostri Jesu Christi, ex quo omnis paternitas in coelis et in terra nominatur, ut del vobis secundum divitias gloriae suae virtute corroborari per Spiritum ejus (Eph. III, 14-16).

and that we are one body in Christ, but individually members of one another; having diverse gifts according to the grace which is given to us (Id. XII, 5, 6); and: By the grace of God I am what I am, and his grace in me was not void, but I labored more abundantly than all those; yet not I, but the grace of God with me; and: Thanks be to God, who gave us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ (I Cor. XV, 10, 57); and: Not because we are sufficient to think anything as if from ourselves; but our sufficiency is from God (II Cor. III, 5); and: We have this treasure in earthen vessels, so that the eminence of virtue may be of God, and not from us (II Cor. IV, 7); and innumerable such things, which if we wished to collect from all the Scriptures, time does not suffice. And we fear lest in commemorating these very things to you, which you preach with greater grace from the Apostolic See, we may seem to act inconveniently: but we do it for this reason, because by that by which we are weaker, wherever each of us is thought more attentive in preaching the word of God, the more frequently and more audaciously we suffer them rising up against us.

4. If therefore Pelagius has seemed to your Veneration to be justly absolved by the episcopal Acts which are said to have been finished in the East; yet the error itself and impiety, which now has many assertors dispersed through diverse places, is to be anathematized even by the authority of the Apostolic See. For let your Holiness consider, and have compassion on us with pastoral bowels, how pestiferous and exitial it is for the sheep of Christ, what necessarily follows the sacrilegious disputations of these men, that we ought not even to pray lest we enter into temptation, which the Lord both warned the disciples of (Matt. XXVI, 41), and placed in the prayer which he taught (Id. VI, 13); or lest our faith fail, which he himself testified that he had asked for the apostle Peter (Luke XXII, 32). For if these things are constituted in our power by the possibility of nature and the choice of the will; who would not see that they are petitioned from the Lord in vain, and prayed for fallaciously, since those things are asked for in praying which are obtained by sufficient forces of our nature already so created? and that the Lord Jesus ought not to have said: Watch and pray; but only: Watch, lest you enter into temptation? nor to most blessed Peter the first of the Apostles: I have asked for you, but, I warn you, or I command and prescribe lest your faith fail?

5. It is also contradicted by the contention of these men to our blessings, so that we may seem to say in vain over the people whatever we pray for them from the Lord, that by living rightly and piously they may please him; or those things which the Apostle prays for the faithful, saying: I bend my knees to the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, from whom all paternity in heaven and on earth is named, that he may give to you according to the riches of his glory to be corroborated with virtue through his Spirit (Eph. III, 14-16).

Si ergo voluerimus benedicendo super populum dicere, Da illis, Domine, virtute corroborari per Spiritum tuum; istorum nobis disputatio contradicit, affirmans negari liberum arbitrium, si hoc a Deo poscitur quod in nostra est potestate: Virtute enim corroborari si volumus, inquiunt, possumus ea possibilitate naturae, quam nunc non accipimus, sed cum crearemur accepimus.

6. Parvulos etiam propter salutem quae per Salvatorem Christum datur, baptizandos negant, ac sic eos mortifera ista doctrina in aeternum necant, promittentes etiamsi non baptizentur, habituros vitam aeternam, nec pertinere ad eos de quibus Dominus ait, Venit enim Filius hominis quaerere et salvare quod perierat (Luc. XIX, 10); quia isti, inquiunt, non perierant, nec est quod in eis salvetur, vel tanto pretio redimatur: quia nihil est in eis vitiatum, nihil tenetur sub diaboli potestate captivum, nec pro eis fusus est sanguis qui fusus in remissionem legitur peccatorum (Matth. XXVI, 28). Quanquam per baptismum Christi etiam parvulorum fieri redemptionem, in libello suo Celestius in Carthaginensi ecclesia jam confessus est: sed multi qui eorum perhibentur esse vel fuisse discipuli, haec mala quibus fundamenta christianae fidei conantur evertere, quacumque possunt, affirmare non cessant. Unde etiamsi Pelagius Celestiusque correcti sunt, vel se ista nunquam sensisse dicunt, et quaecumque scripta contra eos prolata fuerint sua esse negant, nec est quemadmodum de mendacio convincantur: generaliter tamen quicumque dogmatizat et affirmat humanam sibi ad vitanda peccata, et Dei mandata facienda sufficere posse naturam, et eo modo gratiae Dei, quae sanctorum evidentius orationibus declaratur, adversarius invenitur; et quicumque negat parvulos per baptismum Christi a perditione liberari, et salutem percipere sempiternam, anathema sit. Quaecumque autem alia eis objiciuntur, non dubitamus Venerationem tuam, cum Gesta episcopalia perspexerit, quae in Oriente in eadem causa confecta dicuntur, id judicaturam unde omnes in Dei misericordia gaudeamus. Ora pro nobis, domine beatissime Papa .

Epistola CLXXVI.

Milevitani concilii Patres Innocentio, de cohibendis Pelagianis haereticis.

If therefore we should wish by blessing over the people to say: Give to them, Lord, to be corroborated with virtue through your Spirit; the disputation of these men contradicts us, affirming that free will is denied if this is asked from God which is in our power: For if we wish to be corroborated with virtue, they say, we can by that possibility of nature, which we do not receive now, but received when we were created.

6. They also deny that infants are to be baptized on account of the salvation which is given through Christ the Savior, and thus they kill them eternally by this deadly doctrine, promising that even if they are not baptized, they will have eternal life, and that they do not pertain to those of whom the Lord says: For the Son of man came to seek and save what had perished (Luc. XIX, 10); because these, they say, had not perished, nor is there anything in them to be saved, or to be redeemed at so great a price: because nothing in them is vitiated, nothing is held captive under the power of the devil, nor for them was that blood shed which is read to have been shed for the remission of sins (Matth. XXVI, 28). Although Celestius has already confessed in the church of Carthage in his booklet that the redemption even of infants is made through the baptism of Christ: but many who are held to be or to have been their disciples do not cease to affirm, wherever they can, these evils by which they try to overturn the foundations of the Christian faith. Whence even if Pelagius and Celestius are corrected, or say that they never felt these things, and deny that whatever writings brought forward against them are theirs, nor is there any way they can be convicted of a lie: yet generally whoever dogmatizes and affirms that human nature alone can suffice for itself to avoid sins and to do the commands of God, and in that way is found an adversary of the grace of God, which is more evidently declared by the prayers of the saints; and whoever denies that infants are liberated from perdition through the baptism of Christ, and perceive eternal salvation, let him be anathema. But whatever other things are objected to them, we do not doubt that your Veneration, when you have perceived the episcopal Acts which are said to have been finished in the East in the same cause, will judge that from which we all may rejoice in the mercy of God. Pray for us, most blessed Lord Pope.

Letter CLXXVI.

The Fathers of the Council of Milevis to Innocent, concerning the curbing of the Pelagian heretics.

Domino beatissimo meritoque venerabili, et in Christo honorando Papae INNOCENTIO, SILVANUS , VALENTINUS, AURELIUS, DONATUS, RESTITUTUS, LUCIANUS, ALYPIUS, AUGUSTINUS, PLACENTIUS , SEVERUS, FORTUNATUS , POSSIDIUS, NOVATUS, SECUNDUS, MAURENTIUS, LEO, FAUSTINIANUS, CRESCONIUS, MALCUS, LITTORIUS , FORTUNATUS, DONATUS, PONTICANUS, SATURNINUS, CHRISTONIUS , HONORIUS, LUCIUS, ADEODATUS, PROCESSUS, CRESCONIUS, SECUNDUS, FELIX, ASIATICUS, RUFINIANUS , FAUSTINUS, SERVUS, TERENTIUS, CRESCONIUS, SPERANTIUS, QUADRATUS, LUCILLUS, SABINUS, FAUSTINUS , CRESCONIUS, VICTOR, GIGNANTIUS , POSSIDONIUS, ANTONINUS , INNOCENTIUS, PRAESIDIUS, CRESCENTIUS , FELIX, ANTONIUS , VICTOR, HONORATUS, DONATUS, PETRUS, PRAESIDIUS, CRESCONIUS, LAMPADIUS, DELPHINUS, ex concilio Milevitano, in Domino salutem.

1. Quia te Dominus gratiae suae praecipuo munere in Sede apostolica collocavit, talemque nostris temporibus praestitit, ut nobis potius ad culpam negligentiae valeat, si apud tuam Venerationem, quae pro Ecclesia suggerenda sunt, tacuerimus, quam ea tu possis vel fastidiose vel negligenter accipere; magnis periculis infirmorum membrorum Christi pastoralem diligentiam, quaesumus, adhibere digneris.

2. Nova quippe haeresis et nimium perniciosa tentat assurgere inimicorum gratiae Christi , qui nobis etiam dominicam orationem impiis disputationibus conantur auferre. Cum enim Dominus docuerit ut dicamus, Dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris; isti dicunt posse hominem in hac vita, praeceptis Dei cognitis, ad tantam perfectionem justitiae sine adjutorio gratiae Salvatoris, per solum liberum voluntatis arbitrium pervenire, ut ei non sit jam necessarium dicere, Dimitte nobis debita nostra. Illud vero quod sequitur, Ne nos inferas in tentationem (Matth. VI, 12, 13), non ita intelligendum, tanquam divinum adjutorium poscere debeamus ne in peccatum tentati decidamus; sed hoc in nostra esse positum potestate, et ad hoc implendum solam sufficere voluntatem hominis: tanquam frustra Apostolus dixerit, Non volentis neque currentis, sed miserentis est Dei (Rom. IX, 16); et, Fidelis Deus, qui non permittet vos tentari super id quod potestis; sed faciet cum tentatione etiam exitum, ut possitis sustinere (I Cor. X, 13). Frustra etiam Dominus dixerit apostolo Petro, Rogavi pro te, ne deficiat fides tua (Luc. XXII, 32); et omnibus suis, Vigilate, et orate, ne intretis in tentationem (Matth. XXVI, 41); si hoc totum est potestatis humanae.

To the most blessed lord and deservedly venerable, and to be honored in Christ Pope INNOCENT, SILVANUS, VALENTINUS, AURELIUS, DONATUS, RESTITUTUS, LUCIANUS, ALYPIUS, AUGUSTINUS, PLACENTIUS, SEVERUS, FORTUNATUS, POSSIDIUS, NOVATUS, SECUNDUS, MAURENTIUS, LEO, FAUSTINIANUS, CRESCONIUS, MALCUS, LITTORIUS, FORTUNATUS, DONATUS, PONTICANUS, SATURNINUS, CHRISTONIUS, HONORIUS, LUCIUS, ADEODATUS, PROCESSUS, CRESCONIUS, SECUNDUS, FELIX, ASIATICUS, RUFINIANUS, FAUSTINUS, SERVUS, TERENTIUS, CRESCONIUS, SPERANTIUS, QUADRATUS, LUCILLUS, SABINUS, FAUSTINUS, CRESCONIUS, VICTOR, GIGNANTIUS, POSSIDONIUS, ANTONINUS, INNOCENTIUS, PRAESIDIUS, CRESCENTIUS, FELIX, ANTONIUS, VICTOR, HONORATUS, DONATUS, PETRUS, PRAESIDIUS, CRESCONIUS, LAMPADIUS, DELPHINUS, from the council of Milevis, health in the Lord.

1. Because the Lord by a special gift of his grace has placed you in the Apostolic See, and has provided such a one in our times, that it may rather avail to us for the fault of negligence if we should be silent before your Veneration concerning those things which are to be suggested for the Church, than that you could receive them either fastidiously or negligently; we beseech you, deign to apply pastoral diligence to the great dangers of the weak members of Christ.

2. For a new and too pernicious heresy tries to rise up of the enemies of the grace of Christ, who even try to take away from us the Lord's prayer by impious disputations. For when the Lord taught that we should say: Forgive us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors; these men say that a man can in this life, the precepts of God being known, reach such great perfection of justice without the help of the Savior's grace, through the sole free choice of the will, that it is no longer necessary for him to say: Forgive us our debts. But that which follows: Lead us not into temptation (Matt. VI, 12, 13), is not so to be understood, as if we ought to ask for divine help lest having been tempted we fall into sin; but that this is placed in our power, and for fulfilling this the sole will of man suffices: as if the Apostle said in vain: It is not of him who wills nor of him who runs, but of God who has mercy (Romans IX, 16); and: God is faithful, who will not permit you to be tempted above that which you can; but will make with the temptation also an exit, that you may be able to sustain (I Cor. X, 13). In vain also would the Lord have said to the apostle Peter: I have asked for you, lest your faith fail (Luke XXII, 32); and to all his own: Watch, and pray, lest you enter into temptation (Matt. XXVI, 41); if all this is of human power.

Pueros quoque parvulos, etsi nullis innoventur christianae gratiae Sacramentis, habituros vitam aeternam, nequam praesumptione contendunt, evacuantes quod dicit Apostolus, Per unum hominem peccatum intravit in mundum, et per peccatum mors, et ita in omnes homines pertransiit, in quo omnes peccaverunt (Rom. V, 12); et alio loco, Sicut in Adam omnes moriuntur, sic et in Christo omnes vivificabuntur (I Cor. XV, 22).

3. Ut ergo alia omittamus quae contra sanctas Scripturas plurima disserunt; haec interim duo, quibus omnino totum quod christiani sumus nituntur evertere, quae fidelia corda sustineant , non esse rogandum Deum ut contra peccati malum atque ad operandam justitiam sit noster adjutor, et non opitulari parvulis ad consequendam vitam aeternam christianae gratiae Sacramentum: haec insinuantes apostolico pectori tuo, non opus habemus multa dicere, et tantam impietatem verbis exaggerare, cum procul dubio te ita permoveant, ut ab eis corrigendis, ne latius serpant, multosque contaminent, vel potius interimant, dum eos sub nomine Christi, a gratia Christi penitus alienant, omnino dissimulare non possis.

4. Hujus autem perniciosissimi erroris auctores esse perhibentur Pelagius et Celestius, quos quidem in Ecclesia sanari malumus, quam desperata salute ab Ecclesia resecari, si necessitas nulla compellat. Quorum unus, id est Celestius, etiam ad presbyterium in Asia dicitur pervenisse: de quo ante paucos annos quid gestum fuerit, Sanctitas tua de Carthaginensi Ecclesia melius instruitur. Pelagius vero, sicut a quibusdam fratribus nostris missae loquuntur epistolae, Jerosolymis constitutus nonnullos fallere asseritur: verumtamen multo plures, qui ejus sensus diligentius indagare potuerunt, adversus eum pro gratia Christi et catholicae fidei veritate confligunt; sed praecipue sanctus filius tuus, frater et compresbyter noster Hieronymus.

5. Sed arbitramur, adjuvante misericordia Domini Dei nostri qui te et regere consulentem, et orantem exaudire dignetur, auctoritati Sanctitatis tuae, de sanctarum Scripturarum auctoritate depromptae, facilius eos qui tam perversa et perniciosa sentiunt, esse cessuros, ut de correctione potius eorum congratulemur, quam contristemur interitu. Quodlibet autem ipsi eligant, certe vel aliis, quos plurimos possunt, si ab eis dissimuletur, suis laqueis implicare, cernit Venerabilitas tua instanter et celeriter providendum.

They also contend by a wicked presumption that small children, even if they are not innovated by any Sacraments of Christian grace, will have eternal life, evacuating what the Apostle says: Through one man sin entered into the world, and through sin death, and so it passed through into all men, in whom all have sinned (Romans V, 12); and in another place: As in Adam all die, so also in Christ all shall be made alive (I Cor. XV, 22).

3. That we may therefore omit other things which they discuss very many things against the holy Scriptures; these two in the meantime, by which they try altogether to overturn the whole of what we are as Christians, which faithful hearts may sustain, that God is not to be asked that he may be our helper against the evil of sin and for working justice, and that the Sacrament of Christian grace does not help small children for attaining eternal life: insinuating these things to your apostolic breast, we have no need to say many things, and to exaggerate such great impiety with words, since without doubt they so move you, that you cannot altogether dissimulate from correcting them, lest they creep more widely, and contaminate many, or rather kill them, while under the name of Christ, they alienate them entirely from the grace of Christ.

4. But Pelagius and Celestius are held to be the authors of this most pernicious error, whom indeed we prefer to be healed in the Church, rather than to be cut off from the Church, their salvation being despaired of, if no necessity compels. Of whom one, that is Celestius, is said to have reached even to the priesthood in Asia: concerning whom your Holiness is better instructed from the Church of Carthage what was done a few years ago. But Pelagius, as the letters sent by certain of our brothers speak, being constituted at Jerusalem is asserted to deceive some: nevertheless many more, who were able to investigate his senses more diligently, conflict against him for the grace of Christ and the truth of the Catholic faith; but especially your holy son, our brother and fellow-priest Jerome.

5. But we think, the mercy of our Lord God helping, who may deign both to rule you consulting and to hear you praying, that they who feel such perverse and pernicious things will more easily yield to the authority of your Holiness, drawn from the authority of the holy Scriptures, so that we may rather congratulate concerning their correction, than be saddened by their destruction. But whatever they themselves choose, certainly your Veneration sees that it is to be provided instantly and quickly, lest they involve very many others in their snares, as they can if they are dissimulated by you.

Haec ad Sanctitatem tuam de concilio Numidiae scripta direximus, imitantes Carthaginensis Ecclesiae et Carthaginensis provinciae coepiscopos nostros, quos ad Sedem apostolicam, quam beatus illustras, de hac causa scripsisse comperimus . Et alia manu: Memor nostri, in Dei gratia augearis, domine beatissime meritoque venerabilis, et in Christo honorande sancte Pater.

Epistola CLXXVII

Aurelius aliique tres una cum Augustino episcopi, ad Innocentium de Pelagio, retegentes ipsius haeresim, eamque ab apostolica Sede proscribi postulantes.

Domino beatissimo, meritoque honorandissimo fratri INNOCENTIO Papae, AURELIUS, ALYPIUS, AUGUSTINUS, EVODIUS, et POSSIDIUS, in Domino salutem.

1. De conciliis duobus provinciae Carthaginensis atque Numidiae ad tuam Sanctitatem a non parvo episcoporum numero subscriptas litteras misimus contra inimicos gratiae Christi, qui confidunt in virtute sua, et Creatori nostro quodammodo dicunt: Tu nos fecisti homines; justos autem ipsi nos fecimus. Qui naturam humanam ideo dicunt liberam, ne quaerant Liberatorem; ideo salvam, ut superfluum judicent Salvatorem. Tantum enim dicunt valentem, ut suis viribus semel in origine suae creationis acceptis, possit per liberum arbitrium, nihil ulterius adjuvante illius gratia qui creavit, domare et exstinguere omnes cupiditates, tentationesque superare; multique eorum insurgunt adversum nos, et dicunt animae nostrae, Non est salus illi in Deo ejus (Psal. III, 3). Familia ergo Christi quae dicit, Quando infirmor, tunc fortis sum (II Cor. XII, 10), et cui dicit Dominus ejus, Salus tua ego sum (Psal. XXXIV, 3), suspenso corde, cum timore et tremore adjutorium Domini etiam per charitatem tuae Venerationis exspectat.

Audivimus enim esse in urbe Roma, ubi ille diu vixit, nonnullos qui diversis causis ei faveant, quidam scilicet, quia eis talia persuasisse perhibetur, plures vero, qui eum talia sentire non credunt; praesertim quia in Oriente, ubi degit, Gesta ecclesiastica facta esse jactantur, quibus putatur esse purgatus. ubi quidem si episcopi eum catholicum pronuntiarunt, non ob aliud factum esse credendum est, nisi quia se dixit Dei gratiam confiteri, et ita posse hominem suo labore ac voluntate juste vivere, ut ad hoc adjuvari Dei gratia non negaret.

These things we have directed written to your Holiness from the council of Numidia, imitating our fellow-bishops of the Church of Carthage and of the province of Carthage, whom we have learned to have written concerning this cause to the Apostolic See, which you, blessed, illustrate. And by another hand: Mindful of us, may you be increased in the grace of God, most blessed lord deservedly venerable, and in Christ to be honored holy Father.

Letter CLXXVII.

Aurelius and three other bishops together with Augustine, to Innocent concerning Pelagius, revealing his heresy, and asking that it be proscribed by the Apostolic See.

To the most blessed lord, and deservedly most honorable brother Pope INNOCENT, AURELIUS, ALYPIUS, AUGUSTINUS, EVODIUS, and POSSIDIUS, health in the Lord.

1. Concerning the two councils of the province of Carthage and of Numidia we have sent letters subscribed by no small number of bishops to your Holiness against the enemies of the grace of Christ, who trust in their own virtue, and say in a certain way to our Creator: You made us men; but we made ourselves just. Who say that human nature is therefore free, lest they seek a Liberator; therefore safe, so that they may judge a Savior superfluous. For they say it is so far valent, that by its own forces once received in the origin of its creation, it can through free choice, nothing further the grace of him who created helping, tame and extinguish all cupidities, and overcome temptations; and many of them rise up against us, and say to our soul: There is no salvation for him in his God (Psalm III, 3). The family of Christ therefore which says: When I am weak, then I am strong (II Cor. XII, 10), and to which its Lord says: I am your salvation (Psalm XXXIV, 3), with suspended heart, with fear and trembling expects the help of the Lord even through the charity of your Veneration.

For we have heard that there are some in the city of Rome, where he lived for a long time, who favor him for various reasons—some, because he is said to have persuaded them of such things; but many more, who do not believe that he holds such views, especially because it is boasted that ecclesiastical Acts were performed in the East, where he resides, by which he is thought to have been cleared. Indeed, if the bishops there pronounced him a Catholic, it must be believed that this happened for no other reason than because he said he confessed the grace of God, and that a man could live justly by his own labor and will in such a way that he did not deny that he was helped by the grace of God for this purpose.

His enim auditis verbis, catholici antistites nullam aliam Dei gratiam intelligere potuerunt, nisi quam in Libris Dei legere, et populis Dei praedicare consueverunt: eam utique de qua dicit Apostolus, Non irritam facio gratiam Dei. Nam si per Legem justitia, ergo Christus gratis mortuus est (Galat. II, 21); sine dubio gratiam qua justificamur ab iniquitate, et qua salvamur ab infirmitate, non qua creati sumus cum propria voluntate. Nam si intellexissent illi episcopi eam illum dicere gratiam, quam etiam cum impiis habemus, cum quibus homines sumus; negare vero eam qua christiani et filii Dei sumus; quis eum patienter catholicorum sacerdotum non dicimus audiret, sed ante oculos suos ferret? Quapropter non culpandi sunt judices, quia ecclesiastica consuetudine nomen gratiae audierunt, nescientes quid hujusmodi homines vel in suae doctrinae libris, vel in suorum solent auribus spargere.

Non agitur de uno Pelagio, qui jam forte correctus est, quod utinam ita sit; sed de tam multis, quibus loquaciter contendentibus, et infirmas atque ineruditas animas velut vinctas trahentibus, firmas autem et in fide stabiles ipsa contentione fatigantibus, usquequaque jam plena sunt omnia. Aut ergo a tua Veneratione acciendus est Romam, et diligenter interrogandus quam dicat gratiam, qua fateatur, si tamen jam fateatur, ad non peccandum justeque vivendum homines adjuvari; aut hoc ipsum cum eo per litteras agendum. et cum inventus fuerit hanc dicere quam docet ecclesiastica et apostolica veritas, tunc sine ullo scrupulo Ecclesiae, sine latibulo ambiguitatis ullius absolvendus est, tunc est revera de ejus purgatione gaudendum.

Sive enim gratiam dixerit esse liberum arbitrium, sive gratiam esse remissionem peccatorum, sive gratiam esse legis praeceptum; nihil eorum dicit, quae per subministrationem Spiritus sancti pertinent ad concupiscentias tentationesque vincendas, quem ditissime effudit in nos (Tit. III, 6), qui ascendit in coelum, et captivans captivitatem dedit dona hominibus (Eph. IV, 8). Hinc enim oramus ut peccatorum tentationem superare possimus, ut Spiritus Dei, unde pignus accepimus (II Cor. II, 22), adjuvet infirmitatem nostram (Rom. VIII, 26). Qui autem orat et dicit, Ne nos inferas in tentationem, non utique id orat ut homo sit, quod est natura; neque id orat ut habeat liberum arbitrium, quod jam accepit, cum crearetur ipsa natura; neque orat remissionem peccatorum, quia hoc superius dicitur, Dimitte nobis debita nostra (Matth. VI, 13, 12); neque orat ut accipiat mandatum: sed plane orat ut faciat mandatum. Si enim in tentationem inductus fuerit, hoc est, in tentatione defecerit, facit utique peccatum quod est contra mandatum.

For upon hearing these words, the Catholic bishops could understand no other grace of God than that which they were accustomed to read in the Books of God and preach to the people of God: namely, that of which the Apostle says: "I do not make void the grace of God." For if justice is through the Law, then Christ died in vain (Galat. II, 21); undoubtedly the grace by which we are justified from iniquity and by which we are saved from infirmity, not that by which we were created with our own will. For if those bishops had understood that he spoke of that grace which we have even with the ungodly, with whom we are human beings, but denied that by which we are Christians and children of God, who of the Catholic priests would have heard him—we do not say patiently—but would even have endured him before his eyes? Therefore, the judges are not to be blamed, because by ecclesiastical custom they heard the name of grace, not knowing what men of this sort are accustomed to scatter either in the books of their doctrine or in the ears of their followers.

It is not a question of one man, Pelagius, who perhaps has already been corrected—and would that it were so!—but of so many who, contending talkatively and dragging weak and unlearned souls along as if bound, and exhausting those who are firm and stable in the faith by that very contention, have now filled everything everywhere. Therefore, he must either be summoned to Rome by your Veneration and diligently questioned as to what grace he means when he confesses—if indeed he now confesses—that men are helped toward not sinning and living justly; or this very matter must be dealt with him through letters. And when he is found to speak of this grace which the ecclesiastical and apostolic truth teaches, then he is to be absolved without any scruple of the Church, without any hiding-place of ambiguity; then is there truly cause to rejoice in his clearance.

For whether he says that grace is free will, or that grace is the remission of sins, or that grace is the precept of the law, he says none of those things which, through the supply of the Holy Spirit, pertain to overcoming concupiscences and temptations—the Spirit which He poured out upon us most richly (Tit. III, 6), He who ascended into heaven and, leading captivity captive, gave gifts to men (Eph. IV, 8). For this reason we pray that we may be able to overcome the temptation of sins, so that the Spirit of God, of whom we have received a pledge (II Cor. II, 22), may help our infirmity (Rom. VIII, 26). But he who prays and says, "Lead us not into temptation," surely does not pray that he may be a man, which is his nature; nor does he pray that he may have free will, which he already received when nature itself was created; nor does he pray for the remission of sins, because that is said above, "Forgive us our debts" (Matth. VI, 13, 12); nor does he pray that he may receive a commandment: but he clearly prays that he may perform the commandment. For if he is led into temptation, that is, if he fails in temptation, he surely commits the sin which is against the commandment.

Orat ergo ut non peccet, hoc est ne quid faciat mali, quod pro Corinthiis orat apostolus Paulus, dicens: Oramus autem ad Dominum ne quid faciatis mali (II Cor. XIII, 7). Unde satis apparet quod ad non peccandum, id est, ad non male faciendum, quamvis esse non dubitetur arbitrium voluntatis, tamen ejus potestas non sufficiat, nisi adjuvetur infirmitas. Ipsa igitur oratio, clarissima est gratiae testificatio: hanc ille confiteatur, et eum gaudebimus sive rectum, sive correctum.

Distinguenda est lex, et gratia. Lex jubere novit, gratia juvare. Nec lex juberet, nisi esset voluntas; nec gratia juvaret, si sat esset voluntas. Jubetur ut habeamus intellectum, ubi dicitur, Nolite esse sicut equus et mulus, quibus non est intellectus (Psal. XXXI, 9); et tamen oramus ut habeamus intellectum, ubi dicitur, Da mihi intellectum ut discam mandata tua (Psal. CXVIII, 125). Jubetur ut habeamus sapientiam, ubi dicitur, Stulti aliquando sapite (Psal. XCIII, 8); et tamen oratur ut habeamus sapientiam, ubi dicitur, Si quis autem vestrum indiget sapientia, postulet a Deo, qui dat omnibus affluenter, et non improperat; et dabitur ei (Jacobi I, 5). Jubetur ut habeamus continentiam, ubi dicitur, Sint lumbi vestri praecincti (Luc. XII, 35); et tamen oramus ut habeamus continentiam, ubi dicitur, Cum scirem quia nemo potest esse continens, nisi Deus det, et hoc ipsum erat sapientiae, scire cujus esset hoc donum; adii Dominum, et deprecatus sum (Sap. VIII, 21). Postremo ne nimium longum sit cuncta percurrere, jubetur ut non faciamus malum, ubi dicitur, Declina a malo; et tamen oratur ut non faciamus malum, ubi dicitur, Oramus autem ad Dominum ne quid faciatis mali. Jubetur ut faciamus bonum, ubi dicitur, Declina a malo, et fac bonum (Psal. XXXVI, 27); et tamen oratur ut faciamus bonum, ubi dicitur, Non cessamus pro vobis orantes et postulantes: atque inter caetera, quae pro illis orat, dicit, Ut ambuletis digne Deo in omne beneplacitum, in omni opere et sermone bono (Coloss. I, 9, 10). Sicut ergo agnoscimus voluntatem, cum haec praecipiuntur; sic et ipse agnoscat gratiam, cum petuntur.

Misimus Reverentiae tuae librum, quem dederunt quidam religiosi et honesti adolescentes servi Dei, quorum etiam nomina non tacemus; nam Timasius et Jacobus vocantur: qui, sicut audivimus, et etiam nosse dignaris, ipsius Pelagii exhortatione spem quam habebant in saeculo reliquerunt, et nunc continentes Deo serviunt. Qui cum eodem errore tandem aliquando per qualemcumque operam nostram Domino inspirante caruissent, protulerunt eumdem librum, Pelagii esse dicentes, et ut ei responderetur impendio rogaverunt. Factum est; ad eosdem rescripta est ipsa responsio: agentes gratias rescripserunt.

He prays, therefore, that he may not sin, that is, that he may do nothing evil, which the Apostle Paul prays for the Corinthians, saying: "But we pray to the Lord that you do nothing evil" (II Cor. XIII, 7). From this it appears sufficiently that for not sinning, that is, for not doing evil, although it is not doubted that there is the choice of the will, yet its power does not suffice unless its infirmity is helped. Therefore, prayer itself is the clearest testimony of grace: let him confess this, and we shall rejoice over him, whether he be upright or corrected.

A distinction must be made between the law and grace. The law knows how to command, grace how to help. Neither would the law command unless there were a will, nor would grace help if the will were sufficient. It is commanded that we have understanding, where it is said: "Be not as the horse and the mule, which have no understanding" (Psalm XXXI, 9); and yet we pray that we may have understanding, where it is said: "Give me understanding that I may learn your commandments" (Psalm CXVIII, 125). It is commanded that we have wisdom, where it is said: "Ye fools, be wise at last" (Psalm XCIII, 8); and yet it is prayed that we may have wisdom, where it is said: "But if any of you want wisdom, let him ask of God, who gives to all abundantly and upbraids not; and it shall be given him" (James I, 5). It is commanded that we have continence, where it is said: "Let your loins be girt" (Luke XII, 35); and yet we pray that we may have continence, where it is said: "Since I knew that no one can be continent unless God gives it, and this very thing was of wisdom, to know whose gift this was; I went to the Lord and besought Him" (Wisdom VIII, 21). Finally, lest it be too long to run through everything, it is commanded that we do not do evil, where it is said: "Decline from evil"; and yet it is prayed that we do not do evil, where it is said: "But we pray to the Lord that you do nothing evil." It is commanded that we do good, where it is said: "Decline from evil and do good" (Psalm XXXVI, 27); and yet it is prayed that we do good, where it is said: "We cease not praying and asking for you"; and among other things which he prays for them, he says: "That you may walk worthily of God in all pleasing, in every good work and word" (Coloss. I, 9, 10). Therefore, as we recognize the will when these things are prescribed, so let him recognize grace when they are requested.

We have sent to your Reverence the book which certain religious and honorable young men, servants of God, whose names also we do not conceal—for they are called Timasius and James—gave us. These, as we have heard and as you also deign to know, left the hope they had in the world at the exhortation of Pelagius himself, and now serve God in continence. When they at last, by some labor of ours, the Lord inspiring, had become free from the same error, they brought forward the same book, saying it was Pelagius's, and earnestly requested that it be answered. It was done; the response itself was written back to them; they wrote back giving thanks.

Utrumque misimus, et cui responsum est, et quod responsum est: et ne nimium essemus onerosi, signa fecimus his locis ubi petimus inspicere non graveris, quemadmodum sibi objecta quaestione quod gratiam Dei negaret, ita respondit, ut eam esse non diceret nisi naturam in qua nos condidit Deus.

Si autem hunc esse suum librum negat, aut eadem in libro loca, non contendimus; anathemet ea, et illam confiteatur apertissime gratiam quam doctrina christiana demonstrat et praedicat esse propriam Christianorum, quae non est natura, sed qua salvatur natura. quae naturam non auribus sonante doctrina vel aliquo adjumento visibili fovet, sicut plantator quodammodo et irrigator extrinsecus; sed subministratione spiritus, et occulta misericordia, sicut facit ille qui dat incrementum Deus (I Cor. III, 7). Etsi enim quadam non improbanda ratione dicitur gratia Dei qua creati sumus, ut nonnihil essemus, nec ita essemus aliquid ut cadaver quod non vivit, aut arbor quae non sentit, aut pecus quod non intelligit, sed homines, qui et essemus, et viveremus, et sentiremus, et intelligeremus, et de hoc tanto beneficio Creatori nostro gratias agere valeamus; unde merito et ista gratia dici potest, quia non praecedentium aliquorum bonorum operum meritis, sed gratuita Dei bonitate donata est. alia est tamen qua praedestinati vocamur, justificamur, glorificamur, ut dicere possimus, Si Deus pro nobis, quis contra nos? Qui Filio suo proprio non pepercit, sed pro nobis omnibus tradidit eum (Rom. VIII, 31, 32).

De hac gratia quaestio vertebatur, quando ab iis quos Pelagius graviter offendebat atque turbabat, dicebatur ei quod eam suis disputationibus oppugnaret, quibus assereret non solum ad facienda, verum etiam ad perficienda mandata divina, per liberum arbitrium humanam sibi sufficere naturam. Hanc apostolica doctrine gratiam non immerito isto nomine appellat, qua salvamur et justificamur ex fide Christi. De hac scriptum est, Non irritam facio gratiam Dei. Nam si per Legem justitia; ergo Christus gratis mortuus est (Galat. II, 21): de hac scriptum est, Evacuati estis a Christo, qui in Lege justificamini; a gratia excidistis (Id. V, 4): de hac scriptum est, Si autem gratia, jam non ex operibus; alioquin gratia jam non est gratia (Rom. XI, 6): de hac scriptum est, Ei autem qui operatur merces non imputatur secundum gratiam, sed secundum debitum: ei autem qui non operatur, credenti autem in eum qui justificat impium, reputatur fides ejus ad justitiam (Id. IV, 4, 5); et multa alia, quae melius potes ipse meminisse, et intelligere prudentius, et illustrius praedicare. Illam vero gratiam qua creati sumus homines, etiamsi ita appellandam non immerito intelligimus, mirum est tamen si ita appellatam in ullis legitimis propheticis, evangelicis, apostolicisque Litteris legimus.

We have sent both: that to which the response was made, and the response itself. And lest we be too burdensome, we have made marks in those places where we ask you not to find it troublesome to look, how, when the question was put to him that he denied the grace of God, he answered in such a way that he did not say it was anything other than the nature in which God created us.

But if he denies that this is his book, or those same places in the book, we do not contend; let him anathematize them, and let him most openly confess that grace which Christian doctrine demonstrates and preaches to be proper to Christians, which is not nature, but by which nature is saved. which does not foster nature by a doctrine sounding in the ears or by any visible aid, like a planter and a waterer, so to speak, from without; but by the supply of the Spirit and secret mercy, as He does who gives the increase, God (I Cor. III, 7). For although by a certain reason not to be disapproved it is called the grace of God by which we were created, so that we were not nothing, nor were we something like a corpse that does not live, or a tree that does not feel, or a beast that does not understand, but men, who might both exist and live and feel and understand, and be able to give thanks to our Creator for so great a benefit; whence deservedly this also can be called grace, because it was given not by the merits of any preceding good works, but by the gratuitous goodness of God. yet that is another by which, having been predestined, we are called, justified, and glorified, so that we can say: "If God be for us, who is against us? He who spared not His own Son, but delivered Him up for us all" (Rom. VIII, 31, 32).

Concerning this grace the question was turned, when by those whom Pelagius gravely offended and disturbed, it was said to him that he attacked it with his disputations, in which he asserted that not only for performing, but even for perfecting the divine commandments, human nature was sufficient for itself through free choice. Apostolic doctrine not undeservedly calls grace by that very name, by which we are saved and justified from the faith of Christ. Concerning this it is written: "I do not make void the grace of God. For if justice is through the Law, then Christ died in vain" (Galat. II, 21): concerning this it is written: "You are made void of Christ, you who are justified in the Law; you are fallen from grace" (Id. V, 4): concerning this it is written: "But if by grace, then it is no more of works; otherwise grace is no more grace" (Rom. XI, 6): concerning this it is written: "Now to him that works, the reward is not reckoned according to grace, but according to debt: but to him that works not, but believes in Him that justifies the ungodly, his faith is reputed to justice" (Id. IV, 4, 5); and many other things, which you yourself can better remember, and understand more prudently, and preach more illustriously. But that grace by which we were created men, although we understand it is not undeservedly to be so called, yet it is a wonder if we read it so called in any legitimate prophetic, evangelical, and apostolic Letters.

Cum itaque de hac gratia Christianis fidelibus catholicisque notissima, illi objiceretur quaestio, ut eam oppugnare desineret; quid est quod cum haec sibi in libro suo velut adversante persona idem ipse objecisset, ut se respondendo purgaret, nihil aliud respondit, nisi naturam creati hominis referre gratiam Creatoris; atque ita se dicere, sine peccato impleri posse justitiam per liberum arbitrium cum adjutorio divinae gratiae, quod Deus hoc dederit homini ipsa possibilitate naturae? Cui merito respondetur, Ergo evacuatum est scandalum crucis (Galat. V, 11). Ergo Christus gratis mortuus est. Num enim si non moreretur propter delicta nostra, et resurgeret propter justificationem nostram (Rom. IV, 25), nec ascendisset in altum, et captivans captivitatem daret dona hominibus, ista naturae possibilitas quam defendit, in hominibus non esset?

An forte Dei mandatum deerat, et ideo Christus mortuus est? Imo jam et hoc erat sanctum, et justum, et bonum (Id. VII, 12): jam dictum fuerat, Non concupisces (Exod. XX, 17): jam dictum fuerat, Diliges proximum tuum tanquam teipsum (Levit. XIX, 18), in quo sermone Apostolus omnem legem dicit impleri (Rom. XIII, 9). Et quoniam nisi diligat Deum, nemo diligit seipsum, ideo Dominus in iis duobus praeceptis totam Legem Prophetasque dicit pendere (Matth. XXII, 37-40): quae duo praecepta jam erant hominibus divinitus data. An aeternum praemium justitiae promissum nondam erat? Hoc ipse non dicit qui in suis Litteris posuit etiam in Vetere Testamento regnum coelorum esse promissum (Hebr. XI). Si ergo ad faciendam perficiendamque justitiam, jam erat naturae possibilitas per liberum arbitrium, jam erat Legis Dei sanctum et justum bonumque mandatum, jam erat promissum praemium sempiternum; ergo Christus gratis mortuus est.

Ergo neque per Legem justitia, neque per naturae possibilitatem, sed ex fide et dono Dei per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum, unum mediatorem Dei et hominum (I Tim. II, 5): qui nisi in plenitudine temporis mortuus esset propter delicta nostra, et resurrexisset propter justificationem nostram, profecto et antiquorum fides evacuaretur et nostra. Fide vero evacuata, quae homini justitia remaneat, cum justus ex fide vivat (Habac. II, 4)? Ex quo enim per unum hominem peccatum intravit in mundum, et per peccatum mors, et ita in omnes homines pertransiit, in quo omnes peccaverunt (Rom. V, 12): procul dubio a corpore mortis hujus, ubi alia lex repugnat legi mentis, neminem liberavit aut liberat sua possibilitas, quae perdita Redemptore indiget, saucia Salvatore; sed gratia Dei per fidem unius mediatoris Dei et hominum, hominis Christi Jesu (Id. VII, 21-25): qui et Deus cum esset, hominem fecit; et manens Deus, homo factus refecit ipse quod fecit.

Since therefore concerning this grace most well known to the Christian faithful and Catholics, the question was put to him, that he should cease to attack it; why is it that when he had put these things to himself in his book as if from an opposing person, so that he might clear himself by responding, he responded nothing else but that the nature of created man refers back the grace of the Creator; and so he says, that justice can be fulfilled without sin through free choice with the help of divine grace, because God gave this to man in the very possibility of nature? To which it is deservedly answered: "Therefore the scandal of the cross is made void" (Galat. V, 11). "Therefore Christ died in vain." For if He had not died for our offenses, and risen for our justification (Rom. IV, 25), nor had ascended on high and, leading captivity captive, given gifts to men, would that possibility of nature which he defends not be in men?

Or perhaps was the commandment of God lacking, and therefore Christ died? Nay, already that was holy and just and good (Id. VII, 12): already it had been said: "You shall not covet" (Exod. XX, 17): already it had been said: "You shall love your neighbor as yourself" (Levit. XIX, 18), in which word the Apostle says all the law is fulfilled (Rom. XIII, 9). And since unless he love God, no one loves himself, therefore the Lord says that in these two precepts the whole Law and the Prophets depend (Matth. XXII, 37-40): which two precepts had already been given to men by God. Or was the eternal reward of justice not yet promised? He himself does not say this, who placed in his own Letters that even in the Old Testament the kingdom of heaven was promised (Hebr. XI). If therefore for performing and perfecting justice, there was already the possibility of nature through free choice, there was already the holy and just and good commandment of the Law of God, there was already promised the everlasting reward; then Christ died in vain.

Therefore, justice is neither through the Law, nor through the possibility of nature, but from faith and the gift of God through Jesus Christ our Lord, the one mediator between God and men (I Tim. II, 5): who, unless He had died in the fullness of time for our offenses and risen for our justification, surely both the faith of the ancients would be made void, and ours. For if faith is made void, what justice would remain for man, since the just lives by faith (Habac. II, 4)? For from the time that through one man sin entered into the world, and death through sin, and so it passed into all men, in whom all have sinned (Rom. V, 12): without doubt from the body of this death, where another law fights against the law of the mind, no one's own possibility has delivered or delivers, which, having been lost, needs a Redeemer, being wounded, needs a Savior; but the grace of God through the faith of the one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus (Id. VII, 21-25): who, while He was God, made man; and remaining God, having been made man, He Himself remade what He made.

Puto autem quod eum lateat, fidem Christi, quae postea in revelationem venit, in occulto fuisse temporibus patrum nostrorum; per quam tamen etiam ipsi Dei gratia liberati sunt, quicumque omnibus humani generis temporibus liberari potuerunt, occulto judicio Dei, non tamen vituperabili. Unde dicit Apostolus, Habentes autem spiritum fidei, utique eumdem quem et illi, secundum quod scriptum est, Credidi, propter quod et locutus sum; et nos credimus, propter quod et loquimur (II Cor. IV, 13): inde est quod ait ipse Mediator, Abraham pater vester concupivit videre diem meum; et vidit, et gavisus est (Joan. VIII, 56): inde Melchisedech prolato sacramento mensae dominicae, novit aeternum ejus sacerdotium figurare (Gen. XIV, 18).

Jam vero data in Litteris Lege, quam dicit Apostolus subintrasse ut abundaret delictum, et de qua dicit, Si ergo ex Lege haereditas, jam non ex promissione. Abrahae autem per repromissionem donavit Deus. Quid autem lex? Transgressionis gratia proposita est, donec veniret semen cui promissum est, dispositum per Angelos in manu Mediatoris. Mediator autem unius non est; Deus autem unus est. Lex ergo adversus promissa Dei? Absit. Si enim data esset lex quae posset vivificare, omnino ex Lege esset justitia. Sed conclusit Scriptura omnia sub peccato, ut promissio ex fide Jesu Christi daretur credentibus (Galat. III, 18-22); nonne satis ostenditur hoc actum esse per Legem, ut peccatum agnosceretur, et praevaricatione augeretur (Ubi enim lex non est, nec praevaricatio (Rom. IV, 15); et sic adversus victoriam peccati ad divinam gratiam, quae in promissionibus est, confugeretur: atque ita Lex non esset adversus promissa Dei; quia ideo per illam fit cognitio peccati, et ex praevaricatione Legis abundantia peccati, ut ad liberationem quaerantur promissiones Dei, quod est gratia Dei; et incipiat esse in homine justitia, non sua, sed Dei, hoc est data dono Dei?

Quam etiam nunc quidam ignorantes Dei justitiam, sicut et tunc de Judaeis dictum est, et suam volentes constituere, justitiae Dei non sunt subjecti (Id. X, 3). Per Legem quippe et illi justificari se arbitrantur, sufficiente sibi ad eam custodiendam libero arbitrio, hoc est, justitia sua prolata ex natura humana; non donata ex gratia divina, propter quod justitia Dei dicitur. Unde item scriptum est: Per Legem enim cognitio peccati. Nunc autem sine Lege justitia Dei manifestata est, testificata per Legem et Prophetas (Id. III, 20, 21).

But I think that it is hidden from him that the faith of Christ, which afterwards came into revelation, was in secret in the times of our fathers; through which, however, even they were delivered by the grace of God, whoever in all times of the human race could be delivered, by the secret judgment of God, yet not blameworthy. Whence the Apostle says: "But having the spirit of faith," surely the same which they also had, "according to what is written, I believed, for which reason also I have spoken; and we believe, for which reason also we speak" (II Cor. IV, 13): from this it is that the Mediator Himself says: "Abraham your father desired to see my day; and he saw it and was glad" (John VIII, 56): from this Melchizedek, having brought forth the sacrament of the Lord's table, knew how to figure His eternal priesthood (Gen. XIV, 18).

Now, the Law having been given in the Letters, which the Apostle says entered in that offense might abound, and of which he says: "If therefore the inheritance is from the Law, it is no more from the promise. But God gave it to Abraham by promise." What then is the law? It was set for the sake of transgression, until the seed should come to whom the promise was made, ordained by Angels in the hand of a Mediator. Now a mediator is not of one; but God is one. Is the Law then against the promises of God? God forbid. For if a law had been given which could give life, justice would be entirely from the Law. But the Scripture has concluded all under sin, that the promise by the faith of Jesus Christ might be given to them that believe (Galat. III, 18-22); is it not sufficiently shown that this was done through the Law, that sin might be recognized and increased by transgression (For where there is no law, there is no transgression (Rom. IV, 15); and thus against the victory of sin, one might flee to divine grace, which is in the promises: and so the Law would not be against the promises of God; because for this reason the knowledge of sin is made through it, and from the transgression of the Law the abundance of sin, so that for deliverance the promises of God may be sought, which is the grace of God; and justice may begin to be in man, not his own, but God's, that is, given by the gift of God?

Which even now some, being ignorant of God's justice, as was also said then of the Jews, and wanting to establish their own, are not subject to the justice of God (Id. X, 3). For they also think they are justified by the Law, free choice being sufficient for them to keep it, that is, their own justice brought forth from human nature; not given from divine grace, on which account it is called the justice of God. Whence also it is written: "For through the Law is the knowledge of sin. But now without the Law the justice of God is manifested, being witnessed by the Law and the Prophets" (Id. III, 20, 21).

Cum dicit, manifestata est; ostendit quia et tunc erat, sed tanquam illa pluvia quam Gedeon impetravit, tunc velut in vellere occulta, nunc autem velut in area, manifesta (Judic. VI, 36-40). Cum ergo Lex sine gratia non mors peccati potuisset esse, sed virtus; sic enim dictum est, Aculeus mortis peccatum, virtus autem peccati Lex (I Cor. XV, 56): sicut confugiunt multi a facie regnantis peccati ad gratiam velut in area nunc patentem, ita pauci ad eam confugiebant velut in vellere tunc latentem. Haec vero temporum distributio refertur ad altitudinem divitiarum sapientiae et scientiae Dei, de qua dictum est: Quam inscrutabilia sunt judicia ejus, et investigabiles viae ejus (Rom. XI, 33)!

Quapropter si et ante tempus Legis, et tempore ipso Legis justos patres ex fide viventes, non possibilitas naturae infirmae et indigae ac vitiatae et sub peccato venundatae, sed Dei gratia per fidem justificabat; et nunc eadem in apertum jam veniens revelata justificat: anathemet ergo Pelagius scripta sua, ubi contra eam, etsi non per contumaciam, tamen per ignorantiam disputat, possibilitatem defendendo naturae ad vincenda peccata, et implenda mandata; aut si ea sua esse negat, aut scriptis suis ab inimicis suis dicit immissa quae sua esse negat, anathemet ea tamen et damnet paterna exhortatione et auctoritate Sanctimoniae tuae. Si vult ergo, onerosum sibi et perniciosum Ecclesiae discat scandalum auferre; quod scandalum auditores et in perversum dilectores ejus usquequaque spargere non quiescunt. Si enim cognoverint eumdem librum, quem illius vel putant esse vel norunt, episcoporum catholicorum auctoritate, et maxime Sanctitatis tuae, quam apud eum esse majoris ponderis minime dubitamus, ab eodem ipso anathematum atque damnatum, non eos ulterius existimamus ausuros, loquendo contra gratiam Dei, quae revelata est per passionem et resurrectionem Christi, pectora fidelia et simpliciter christiana turbare; sed potius adjuvante misericordia Domini, concertantibus nobiscum charitate ac pietate flagrantibus orationibus tuis, non solum ut in aeternum beati, verum etiam justi et sancti sint, non in sua virtute, sed in eadem gratia confisuros. Unde et ad ipsum scriptam ab uno nostrum epistolam, ad quem per quemdam orientalem diaconum, civem autem Hipponensem, tanquam purgationis suae quaedam scripta transmisit, tuae Beatitudini potius credidimus dirigendam, melius judicantes et petentes ut eam ei mittere ipse digneris: sic enim eam legere potius non dedignabitur, magis in illa eum qui misit, quam qui scripsit attendens.

Illud vero quod dicunt posse hominem esse sine peccato, et mandata Dei facile custodire si velit, quamvis cum hoc per adjutorium gratiae, quae tamen per incarnationem Unigeniti ejus revelata atque donata est, dicitur, tolerabilius dici videatur:

When he says: "it is manifested," he shows that even then it was, but like that rain which Gideon obtained, then as if hidden in the fleece, but now as if in the floor, manifest (Judges VI, 36-40). Since therefore the Law without grace could not have been the death of sin, but its strength; for so it was said: "The sting of death is sin, but the strength of sin is the Law" (I Cor. XV, 56): as many flee from the face of reigning sin to grace as if now open in the floor, so few fled to it then as if latent in the fleece. This distribution of times indeed is referred to the depth of the riches of the wisdom and knowledge of God, of which it is said: "How inscrutable are His judgments, and His ways unsearchable" (Rom. XI, 33)!

Wherefore if both before the time of the Law, and in the time of the Law itself, not the possibility of weak and needy and vitiated nature and sold under sin, but the grace of God through faith justified the just fathers living from faith; and now the same coming into the open, having been revealed, justifies: let Pelagius therefore anathematize his writings, where he disputes against it, even if not through contumacy, yet through ignorance, by defending the possibility of nature for overcoming sins and fulfilling the commandments; or if he denies those things are his, or says that things which he denies are his were put into his writings by his enemies, let him nevertheless anathematize and condemn them by the paternal exhortation and authority of your Holiness. If he wishes, therefore, let him learn to take away a scandal burdensome to himself and pernicious to the Church; which scandal his hearers and perverse lovers do not cease to scatter everywhere. For if they should know that the same book, which they either think to be his or know to be so, by the authority of Catholic bishops, and especially of your Holiness, which we do not at all doubt to be of greater weight with him, has been anathematized and condemned by himself, we do not think they will further dare, by speaking against the grace of God which was revealed through the passion and resurrection of Christ, to disturb faithful and simply Christian hearts; but rather by the help of the mercy of the Lord, your prayers for charity and piety flagrantly contending with us, they will trust, not in their own virtue, but in the same grace, that they may be not only eternally blessed, but also just and holy. Whence also a letter written to him by one of us, to whom he transmitted through a certain oriental deacon, a citizen however of Hippo, certain writings as if of his clearance, we believed should rather be directed to your Beatitude, judging it better and asking that you yourself deign to send it to him: for so he will rather not disdain to read it, attending more in it to him who sent it than to him who wrote it.

But that which they say, that a man can be without sin and easily keep the commandments of God if he wishes, although this is said with the help of grace, which however was revealed and given through the incarnation of His Only-begotten, seems to be said more tolerably:

tamen quoniam non immerito movere potest, ubi et quando per eamdem gratiam id efficiatur in nobis, ut sine ullo prorsus peccato simus; utrum in hac vita quando caro concupiscit adversus spiritum (Galat. V, 17), an vero in illa cum fiet sermo qui scriptus est, Ubi est, mors, victoria tua? ubi est, mors, aculeus tuus? Aculeus enim mortis est peccatum (I Cor. XV, 54-56); diligentius pertractandum propter alios quosdam qui senserunt, atque in suis litteris memoriae mandaverunt, etiam in hac vita esse posse hominem sine peccato, non ab initio nativitatis suae, sed conversione a peccatis ad justitiam, et a vita reproba ad bonam vitam. Sic enim intellexerunt quod de Zacharia et Elisabeth scriptum est, ambulasse eos in omnibus justificationibus Domini sine querela. Hoc quod dictum est, sine querela; sine peccato dictum acceperunt, non quidem negantes, imo etiam, quod aliis locis in litteris eorum invenitur, pie confitentes adjutorium gratiae Domini nostri, non per naturalem spiritum hominis, sed per principalem Spiritum Dei (Ambros. in Luc. I, 6). Qui parum videntur considerasse ipsum Zachariam fuisse utique sacerdotem; omnes autem tunc sacerdotes necesse habebant ex lege Dei primitus pro peccatis suis offerre sacrificium, deinde pro populi (Levit. IX, 7, et Hebr. VII, 27). Sicut ergo nunc per orationis sacrificium convincimur non esse sine peccato, quoniam jussi sumus dicere, Dimitte nobis debita nostra; ita et tunc per sacrificia victimarum animalium convincebantur sacerdotes sine peccato non esse, qui pro suis peccatis jubebantur offerre.

Quod si res ita se habet, ut per gratiam Salvatoris proficiamus quidem in hac vita, deficiente cupiditate, crescente charitate; perficiamur autem in illa vita, cupiditate exstincta, charitate completa: profecto illud quod scriptum est, Qui natus est ex Deo, non peccat (I Joan. III, 9), secundum ipsam charitatem dictum est, quae sola non peccat. Ad nativitatem quippe quae ex Deo est, augenda et perficienda pertinet charitas; non ea quae minuenda est et consumenda cupiditas: quae tamen quamdiu est in membris nostris, lege quadam sua repugnat legi mentis; sed natus ex Deo, nec obediens desideriis ejus, nec exhibens membra sua arma iniquitatis peccato, potest dicere, Jam non ego operor illud, sed illud quod habitat in me peccatum (Rom. VII, 20).

Sed quoquo modo se habeat ista quaestio, quia etsi non invenitur homo in hac vita sine peccato, id tamen dicitur posse fieri per adjutorium gratiae et Spiritus Dei, quod ut fiat conandum atque poscendum est, tolerabiliter in eo quisque fallitur; nec diabolica impietas, sed error humanus est elaboranda et optanda affirmare, etiamsi quod affirmat non possit ostendere: id enim credit fieri posse, quod certe laudabile est velle.

yet since it can not undeservedly move us, where and when by the same grace it is effected in us that we are altogether without any sin; whether in this life, when the flesh lusts against the spirit (Galat. V, 17), or indeed in that life when the word which is written shall come to pass: "Where, O death, is your victory? where, O death, is your sting? For the sting of death is sin" (I Cor. XV, 54-56); it must be more diligently treated because of certain others who have felt, and have committed to memory in their letters, that even in this life a man can be without sin, not from the beginning of his birth, but by conversion from sins to justice, and from a reprobate life to a good life. For so they understood what was written of Zechariah and Elizabeth, that they walked in all the justifications of the Lord without complaint. This which was said, "without complaint," they took as said for "without sin," not indeed denying—nay, even, what is found in other places in their letters, piously confessing—the help of the grace of our Lord, not through the natural spirit of man, but through the principal Spirit of God (Ambrose on Luke I, 6). Who seem to have considered too little that Zechariah himself was certainly a priest; but all the priests then of necessity had to offer sacrifice from the law of God first for their own sins, then for the people's (Levit. IX, 7, and Hebr. VII, 27). As therefore now by the sacrifice of prayer we are convinced that we are not without sin, since we are commanded to say: "Forgive us our debts"; so also then by the sacrifices of animal victims the priests were convinced that they were not without sin, who were commanded to offer for their own sins.

But if the matter is so, that by the grace of the Savior we indeed make progress in this life, cupidity failing, charity increasing; but are perfected in that life, cupidity being extinguished, charity being completed: surely that which is written: "He that is born of God sins not" (I John III, 9), was said according to charity itself, which alone does not sin. For to the birth which is of God, the increasing and perfecting of charity pertains; not that cupidity which is to be diminished and consumed: which nevertheless as long as it is in our members, by a certain law of its own it fights against the law of the mind; but he that is born of God, neither obeying its desires, nor exhibiting his members as arms of iniquity to sin, can say: "Now it is not I that work it, but the sin that dwells in me" (Rom. VII, 20).

But in whatever way that question may hold itself, because even if a man is not found in this life without sin, yet it is said to be able to be done through the help of grace and the Spirit of God, which that it may be done must be striven for and asked, everyone is tolerably deceived in it; nor is it diabolical impiety, but human error to affirm things that must be labored for and hoped for, even if he cannot show what he affirms: for he believes that can be done which certainly it is laudable to will.

Nobis autem sufficit quod nullus in Ecclesia Dei fidelium reperitur in quolibet provectu excellentiaque justitiae, qui sibi audeat dicere non necessariam precationem orationis dominicae, Dimitte nobis debita nostra; et dicat se non habere peccatum, ne seipsum decipiat, et veritas in eo non sit (I Joan. I, 8), quamvis jam sine querela vivat. Non enim qualecumque etiam tentationis humanae, sed grave peccatum est quod in querelam venit.

Caetera quae illi objecta sunt, sicut Gestis defensa perviderit, ita de his procul dubio tua Beatitudo judicabit. Dabit sane nobis veniam suavitas mitissima cordis tui, quod prolixiorem epistolam fortassis quam velles tuae misimus Sanctitati. Non enim rivulum nostrum tuo largo fonti augendo refundimus; sed in hac non tamen parva tentatione temporis, unde nos liberet cui dicimus, Ne nos inferas in tentationem, utrum etiam noster, licet exiguus, ex eodem quo etiam tuus abundans, emanet capite fluentorum, hoc a te probari volumus tuisque rescriptis de communi participatione unius gratiae consolari.

Epistola CLXXVIII.

Augustinus Hilario, de Pelagiana haeresi duobus in Africa conciliis damnata.

Domino beatissimo, et in Christi veritate venerando fratri et consacerdoti HILARIO, AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

Honorabilis filius noster Palladius cum de nostro littore navigaret, beneficium poscendo magis dedit, ut non solum eum Benignitati tuae, verum etiam meipsum tuis orationibus commendarem, domine beatissime, et in Christi charitate venerande frater. Quod cum facio, profecto et Sanctitas tua faciet quod de re ambo praesumimus. Quae autem circa nos sint, quoniam scio dilectionem vestram pro nobis, sicut et nostram pro vobis esse sollicitam, a memorato perlatore audiet Sanctitas tua. Verumtamen quod maxime necessarium est breviter dicam. Nova quaedam haeresis inimica gratiae Christi contra Ecclesiam Christi conatur exsurgere; sed nondum evidenter ab Ecclesia separata est: hominum scilicet qui tantum audent infirmitati humanae tribuere potestatis, ut hoc solum ad Dei gratiam pertinere contendant, quod cum libero arbitrio et non peccandi possibilitate creati sumus, et Dei mandata quae a nobis implerentur accepimus; caeterum ad eadem mandata servanda et implenda nullo divino adjutorio nos egere. Necessariam vero nobis esse remissionem peccatorum, quia ea quae a nobis in praeteritum malefacta sunt, infecta facere non valemus.

But it suffices us that no one of the faithful is found in the Church of God in any progress and excellence of justice, who dares to say to himself that the petition of the Lord's prayer is not necessary: "Forgive us our debts"; and says that he has no sin, lest he deceive himself, and the truth be not in him (I John I, 8), although he already lives without complaint. For not any sort of even human temptation, but a grave sin is that which comes into complaint.

As for the rest which have been objected against him, just as your Beatitude shall see them defended in the Acts, so without doubt will you judge of them. The most mild sweetness of your heart will surely give us pardon, that we have sent perhaps a more prolix letter to your Holiness than you would wish. For we do not pour back our little stream to increase your large fountain; but in this not small temptation of the time, from which may He deliver us to whom we say: "Lead us not into temptation," we wish it to be approved by you whether even ours, although small, flows from the same head of waters as yours also which is abundant, and to be consoled by your response concerning the common participation of one grace.

Letter CLXXVIII.

Augustine to Hilary, concerning the Pelagian heresy condemned by two councils in Africa.

To his most blessed Lord, and venerable brother and fellow-priest in the truth of Christ, HILARY, AUGUSTINE sends greeting in the Lord.

Our honorable son Palladius, when he sailed from our shore, gave rather than asked a benefit, that I might commend not only him to your Kindness, but also myself to your prayers, most blessed lord and venerable brother in the charity of Christ. When I do this, your Holiness will surely do what we both presume concerning the matter. But as to what things are around us, since I know your love to be solicitous for us, as ours is for you, your Holiness will hear from the mentioned bearer. Nevertheless, I will briefly say what is most necessary. A certain new heresy, an enemy to the grace of Christ, is attempting to rise up against the Church of Christ; but it is not yet evidently separated from the Church: namely, of men who dare to attribute so much power to human infirmity, that they contend this alone belongs to the grace of God, that we were created with free choice and the possibility of not sinning, and that we received the commandments of God which were to be fulfilled by us; but for the rest, for keeping and fulfilling the same commandments, we need no divine help. But that the remission of sins is necessary for us, because those things which have been evilly done by us in the past, we are not able to make undone.

Cavendis autem futuris vincendisque peccatis, omnibusque tentationibus virtute superandis, sine ullo deinceps adjutorio gratiae Dei naturali possibilitate humanam sufficere voluntatem. Nec parvulos indigere gratia Salvatoris, qua per ejus baptismum a perditione liberentur, eo quod nullum ex Adam contagium damnationis attraxerint.

Quam sint haec inimica gratiae Dei, quae per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum humano generi indulta est, et quemadmodum totius fidei christianae fundamenta evertere moliantur, pervidet nobiscum Venerabilitas vestra. Neque apud vos tacere debuimus, ut ejusmodi homines, quos quidem sanari in Ecclesia, quam ex illa resecari magis volumus et optamus, cura pastorali caveatis. Jam enim cum ista scriberem, cognoveramus in ecclesia Carthaginensi adversus eos episcopalis concilii conditum fuisse decretum, per epistolam sancto et venerabili Papae Innocentio dirigendum; et nos de concilio Numidiae ad eamdem apostolicam Sedem jam similiter scripseramus.

3. Omnes enim qui spem habemus in Christo, huic pestiferae impietati resistere, eamque concorditer damnare et anathemare debemus: quae contradicit etiam orationibus nostris, concedens quidem ut dicamus, Dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris (Matth. VI, 12); et hoc ita concedens, ut asserat hominem in hoc corruptibili corpore quod aggravat animam, posse suis viribus ad tantam justitiam pervenire, ut neque hoc illi sit dicere necessarium, Dimitte nobis debita nostra. Illud vero quod sequitur, Ne nos inferas in tentationem (Ib. 12, 13), non sic accipiunt tanquam Deus orandus sit quo nos ad superandas tentationes adjuvet peccatorum, sed ne quisquam irruens corporaliter nos humanus casus affligat; quoniam peccatorum tentationes vincere ita sit jam in nostra positum potestate, possibilitate naturae, ut hoc inaniter impetrandum orationibus arbitremur. Non possumus una epistola brevi omnia vel plurima tantae impietatis argumenta colligere, praesertim quia cum ista conscriberem, perlatores navigaturi me immorari diutius non sinebant. Puto autem onerosum me non fuisse sanctis sensibus tuis, quod de tanto malo, omnique vigilantia, Domino adjuvante, vitando, tacere non potui.

EPISTOLA CLXXIX . Augustinus Joanni episcopo Jerosolymitano, retegens Pelagii haeresim contentam in ejus libro, quem ipsi transmittit una cum libro de Natura et Gratia a se contra istum elaborato; petens vicissim ut mittat Gesta ecclesiastica Diospolitanae synodi, quibus Pelagius purgatus esse perhibetur.

Domino beatissimo, ac merito venerabili fratri et coepiscopo JOANNI, AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

But for avoiding future sins and overcoming them, and for surmounting all temptations by virtue, the human will suffices by its natural possibility without any further help of the grace of God. And that infants do not need the grace of the Savior, by which through His baptism they may be delivered from perdition, because they have drawn no contagion of damnation from Adam.

How much these things are enemies to the grace of God, which was granted to the human race through Jesus Christ our Lord, and in what manner they strive to overthrow the foundations of the whole Christian faith, your Veneration sees with us. Nor ought we to have been silent among you, so that you may beware with pastoral care of men of this sort, whom we wish and desire to be healed in the Church rather than cut off from it. For already when I was writing these things, we had known that in the church of Carthage a decree of an episcopal council had been made against them, to be directed by a letter to the holy and venerable Pope Innocent; and we from the council of Numidia had already similarly written to the same Apostolic See.

3. For all of us who have hope in Christ, we ought to resist this pestilential impiety, and concordantly condemn and anathematize it: which even contradicts our prayers, granting indeed that we may say: Forgive us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors (Matth. VI, 12); and granting this in such a way, as to assert that a man in this corruptible body which weighs down the soul, can arrive by his own strength at such great justice, that even to say this is not necessary for him: Forgive us our debts. But that which follows: Lead us not into temptation (Ib. 12, 13), they do not so receive as if God were to be prayed to so that He might help us to overcome the temptations of sins, but lest any human accident, rushing in corporally, should afflict us; since to overcome the temptations of sins is already so placed in our power, by the possibility of nature, that we think this is vainly to be obtained by prayers. We cannot in one brief letter collect all or very many arguments of such great impiety, especially because when I was writing these things, the bearers about to sail did not allow me to stay longer. But I think that I have not been burdensome to your holy senses, because I could not be silent concerning so great an evil, to be avoided with all vigilance, by the Lord's help.

LETTER CLXXIX. Augustine to John, bishop of Jerusalem, revealing the heresy of Pelagius contained in his book, which he transmits to him together with the book concerning Nature and Grace composed by himself against him; asking in turn that he send the ecclesiastical Acts of the synod of Diospolis, by which Pelagius is said to have been cleared.

To his most blessed Lord, and deservedly venerable brother and fellow-bishop JOHN, AUGUSTINE sends greeting in the Lord.

1. Quod tuae Sanctitatis scripta non merui, nihil audeo succensere: melius enim perlatorem credo defuisse, quam me suspicor a tua Veneratione contemptum, domine beatissime, et merito venerabilis frater. Nunc vero quoniam servum Dei Lucam, per quem ista direxi, cito comperi esse rediturum, agam Domino, et tuae benignitati uberes gratias, si me litteris fueris visitare dignatus. Pelagium vero fratrem nostrum, filium tuum, quem audio quod multum diligis, hanc illi suggero exhibeas dilectionem, ut homines qui eum noverunt et diligenter audierunt, non ab eo tuam Sanctitatem existiment falli.

2. Nam quidam ex discipulis ejus adolescentes honestissime nati, et institutis liberalibus eruditi, spem quam habebant in saeculo, ejus exhortatione dimiserunt , et se ad Dei servitium contulerunt. In quibus tamen cum apparuissent quaedam sanae doctrinae adversantia, quae Salvatoris Evangelio continetur, et apostolicis sermonibus declaratur, id est cum invenirentur contra Dei gratiam disputare, propter quam christiani sumus, et in qua spiritu ex fide spem justitiae exspectamus, et admonitionibus nostris inciperent emendari; dederunt mihi librum, quem ejusdem Pelagii esse dixerunt, rogantes ut ei potius responderem: quod posteaquam vidi me facere debere, ut eo modo error ipse nefarius de cordibus eorum perfectius auferretur, legi atque respondi.

3. In hoc libro ille Dei gratiam non appellat nisi naturam, qua libero arbitrio conditi sumus. Illam vero, quam innumerabilibus testimoniis sancta Scriptura commendat, ea nos justificari, hoc est, justos fieri docens, et in omni opere bono, sive agendo, sive perficiendo, Dei misericordia juvari; quod etiam orationes sanctorum apertissime ostendunt, quibus ea petuntur a Domino, quae praecipiuntur a Domino: hanc ergo gratiam non solum tacet, sed ei contraria multa loquitur. Affirmat enim, vehementerque contendit, per solum liberum arbitrium sibi humanam sufficere posse naturam ad operandam justitiam et omnia Dei mandata servanda. Unde quis non videat, cum eumdem libro legerit, quemadmodum oppugnetur gratia Dei, de qua dicit Apostolus, Miser ego homo! quis me liberabit de corpore mortis hujus? Gratia Dei per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum (Rom VII, 24, 25); et nullus locus divino adjutorio relinquatur, propter quod orantes dicere debeamus, Ne nos inferas in tentationem (Matth. VI, 13); sine causa etiam Dominus apostolo Petro dixisse videatur, Rogavi pro te, ne deficiat fides tua (Luc. XXII, 32), si hoc totum in nobis nullo auxilio Dei, sed potestate voluntatis impletur?

1. That I have not deserved the writings of your Holiness, I dare to be angry at nothing: for I believe a bearer was better lacking, than that I suspect myself to be despised by your Veneration, most blessed lord and deservedly venerable brother. But now since I have quickly found that the servant of God Luke, through whom I directed these things, is about to return, I will give rich thanks to the Lord and to your kindness, if you shall have deigned to visit me with letters. Concerning Pelagius our brother, your son, whom I hear that you love much, I suggest this to him that you exhibit such love, that men who have known him and diligently heard him, may not think your Holiness to be deceived by him.

2. For some of his disciples, young men most honorably born and erudite in liberal studies, at his exhortation dismissed the hope which they had in the world, and betook themselves to the service of God. In whom nevertheless, when certain things had appeared opposing sound doctrine, which is contained in the Gospel of the Savior and is declared by apostolic discourses, that is, when they were found to dispute against the grace of God, because of which we are Christians, and in which in spirit from faith we expect the hope of justice, and began to be amended by our admonitions; they gave me a book, which they said was of the same Pelagius, asking that I rather respond to it: which after I saw that I ought to do, so that in that way the nefarious error itself might be more perfectly taken away from their hearts, I read and responded.

3. In this book he calls the grace of God nothing but nature, by which we were created with free will. But that grace which the holy Scripture commends with innumerable testimonies, teaching that we are justified by it, that is, made just, and are helped in every good work, whether in acting or in perfecting, by the mercy of God; which also the prayers of the saints most openly show, by which those things are asked from the Lord which are commanded by the Lord: this grace, therefore, he not only passes over in silence, but speaks many things contrary to it. For he affirms, and vehemently contends, that by free will alone human nature can suffice for itself to work justice and to keep all the commandments of God. Whence who may not see, when he shall have read the same book, in what manner the grace of God is attacked, concerning which the Apostle says: Wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death? The grace of God through our Lord Jesus Christ (Rom VII, 24, 25); and no place is left for divine help, because of which praying we ought to say: Lead us not into temptation (Matth. VI, 13); and the Lord may even seem to have said without cause to the apostle Peter: I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not (Luc. XXII, 32), if all this is fulfilled in us by no help of God, but by the power of the will?

4. His itaque disputationibus perversis et impiis, non solum contradicitur orationibus nostris, quibus a Domino petimus quidquid sanctos petiisse legimus et tenemus; verum etiam benedictionibus nostris resistitur, quando super populum dicimus, optantes eis et poscentes a Domino, ut eos abundare faciat in charitate invicem, et in omnes (I Thess. III, 12), et det eis secundum divitias gloriae suae virtute corroborari per Spiritum ejus (Ephes. III, 16); et impleat eos omni gaudio, et pace in credendo, et abundent in spe, et potentia Spiritus sancti (Rom. XV, 13). Utquid eis ista petimus, quae populis a Domino petiisse Apostolum novimus, si jam natura nostra, creata cum libero arbitrio, omnia haec sibi potest sua voluntate praestare? utquid etiam dicit idem ipse Apostolus, Quotquot enim Spiritu Dei aguntur, hi filii sunt Dei; si spiritu naturae nostrae agimur, ut efficiamur filii Dei? utquid dicit similiter, Spiritus adjuvat infirmitatem nostram (Id. VIII, 14, 26); si natura nostra sic creata est, ut Spiritu ad opera justitiae non indigeat adjuvari? utquid scriptum est, Fidelis autem Deus, qui non permittet vos tentari super id quod potestis, sed faciet cum tentatione etiam exitum, ut possitis sustinere (I Cor. X, 13); si jam ita conditi sumus, ut viribus liberi arbitrii universas tentationes sustinendo superare possimus?

5. Quid pluribus agam apud Sanctitatem vestram? quandoquidem me onerosum sentio; maxime quia per interpretem audis litteras meas. Si diligitis Pelagium, diligat vos etiam ipse, imo magis seipsum; et non vos fallat. Cum enim auditis eum confiteri gratiam Dei et adjutorium Dei, putatis hoc eum dicere quod et vos qui catholica regula sapitis, quoniam quid in libro suo scripserit ignoratis. Propter hoc, ipsum librum misi, et meum quo ei respondi; unde perspiciat Venerabilitas vestra, quam gratiam vel adjutorium Dei dicat, quando illi objicitur quod gratiae Dei et adjutorio contradicat. Proinde ostende illi docendo, et hortando, et pro ejus salute, quae in Christo esse debet, orando, ut eam Dei gratiam confiteatur, quam probantur sancti Dei fuisse confessi, cum a Domino ea ipsi peterent quae illis jubebat ut facerent: quoniam neque juberentur, nisi ut nostra voluntas ostenderetur; neque peterentur, nisi ut voluntatis infirmitas ab illo qui jusserat, juvaretur.

6. Aperte interrogetur utrum ei placeat orandum esse a Domino ne peccemus. Quod si ei displicet, legatur in auribus ejus Apostolus dicens, Oramus autem ad Deum, ne quid faciatis mali (II Cor. XIII, 7): si autem placet, aperte praedicet gratiam qua juvamur, ne ipse faciat multum mali. Hac enim gratia Dei per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum omnes liberantur, quicumque liberantur: quoniam nemo, praeter ipsam, quolibet alio modo liberari potest.

4. By these perverse and impious disputations, therefore, not only are our prayers contradicted, by which we ask from the Lord whatever we read and hold that the saints have asked; but even our blessings are resisted, when we speak over the people, desiring for them and asking from the Lord, that He may make them to abound in charity toward one another and toward all (I Thess. III, 12), and give to them according to the riches of His glory to be strengthened with power through His Spirit (Ephes. III, 16); and fill them with all joy and peace in believing, and that they may abound in hope and the power of the Holy Spirit (Rom. XV, 13). For what purpose do we ask these things for them, which we know the Apostle asked from the Lord for the peoples, if already our nature, created with free will, can provide all these things for itself by its own will? For what purpose also does the same Apostle say: For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, these are the sons of God; if we are led by the spirit of our nature, so that we may be made sons of God? For what purpose does he say similarly: The Spirit helps our infirmity (Id. VIII, 14, 26); if our nature was so created, that it does not need to be helped by the Spirit for the works of justice? For what purpose is it written: But God is faithful, who will not permit you to be tempted above that which you are able, but will make with the temptation also an issue, that you may be able to bear it (I Cor. X, 13); if we were already so created, that by the strength of free will we could overcome all temptations by bearing them?

5. Why should I deal further with your Holiness? since indeed I feel myself burdensome; especially because you hear my letters through an interpreter. If you love Pelagius, let him also love you, or rather more himself; and let him not deceive you. For when you hear him confess the grace of God and the help of God, you think that he says this which you also think who are wise according to the catholic rule, because you are ignorant of what he has written in his book. Because of this, I have sent the book itself, and mine in which I responded to it; whence your Veneration may perceive what grace or help of God he speaks of, when it is objected to him that he contradicts the grace of God and the help of God. Therefore show him by teaching, and by exhorting, and by praying for his salvation, which ought to be in Christ, that he may confess that grace of God, which the saints of God are proved to have confessed, when they themselves asked those things from the Lord which He commanded them that they should do: since they would not be commanded, unless so that our will might be shown; nor would they be asked, unless so that the infirmity of the will might be helped by Him who had commanded.

6. Let him be openly asked whether it pleases him that we ought to pray to the Lord that we may not sin. For if it displeases him, let the Apostle be read in his ears saying: Now we pray to God, that you do no evil (II Cor. XIII, 7): but if it pleases him, let him openly preach the grace by which we are helped, lest he himself do much evil. For by this grace of God through Jesus Christ our Lord all are delivered, whoever are delivered: since no one, besides it, can be delivered in any other way.

Propter hoc scriptum est, Sicut in Adam omnes moriuntur, sic et in Christo omnes vivificabuntur (I Cor. XV, 22): non quia nemo damnabitur; sed quia nemo aliter liberabitur . Quia sicut nulli nisi per Adam filii hominis, ita nulli nisi per Christum filii Dei. Omnes itaque filii hominis nonnisi per Adam, et omnes ex eis filii Dei nonnisi per Christum fieri possunt. Aperte itaque etiam hinc exprimat quid sentiat; utrum placeat ei etiam parvulos qui nondum justitiam possunt velle vel nolle, tamen propter unum hominem, per quem peccatum intravit in mundum, et per peccatum mors, et ita in omnes homines pertransiit, in quo omnes peccaverunt (Rom. V, 12), per Christi gratiam liberari: utrum etiam pro ipsis fusum credat sanguinem Christi propter originale peccatum, qui utique in remissionem fusus est peccatorum (Matth. XVI, 28). De his maxime ab illo volumus nosse quid credat, quid teneat, quid certe confiteatur et praedicet. In aliis autem quae illi objiciuntur, etiamsi errare convincitur, tamen donec corrigatur, tolerabilius sustinetur.

7. Peto etiam nobis transmittere, quibus perhibetur esse purgatus, ecclesiastica Gesta digneris. Quod ex multorum episcoporum desiderio peto, quos mecum de hac re fama incerta perturbat: sed ideo solus hoc scripsi, quia occasionem perlatoris festinantis a nobis, quem cito ad nos audivi posse remeare, praetermittere nolui. Pro quibus Gestis jam nobis misit non quidem ullam partem Gestorum, sed quamdam a se conscriptam velut defensionem suam, qua se dixit objectis respondisse Gallorum . In qua, ut alia omittam, cum ad illud responderet, quod ei objectum est, eum dixisse posse hominem esse sine peccato, et mandata Dei custodire si velit, Diximus, inquit; hanc enim illi Deus possibilitatem dedit. Non diximus, quoniam inveniatur quis ab infantia usque ad senectam, qui nunquam peccaverit; sed quoniam a peccatis conversus labore proprio, et gratia Dei adjutus potest absque peccato esse, nec propter hoc in posterum erit inconvertibilis.

8. In hac Pelagii responsione cernit Reverentia tua hoc eum fuisse confessum, priorem hominis vitam, quae est ab infantia, sine peccato non esse, sed eum ad vitam quae sine peccato sit, labore proprio et adjuto per gratiam Dei posse converti. Cur ergo in hoc libro, cui respondi, vel ita hic vixisse dicit, ut nihil omnino peccaverit? Nam ejus de hac re ista sunt verba: Hoc, inquit, recte dici potest de his quorum neque bonorum, neque malorum Scriptura sit memor: de illis vero quorum justitiae meminit, et peccatorum sine dubio meminisset, si qua eos peccasse sensisset.

For this reason it is written: As in Adam all die, so also in Christ shall all be made alive (I Cor. XV, 22): not because no one will be condemned; but because no one will be delivered otherwise. Because as no sons of man are except through Adam, so no sons of God are except through Christ. All sons of man, therefore, only through Adam, and all from them sons of God only through Christ can be made. Let him openly therefore also here express what he thinks; whether it pleases him that even infants, who are not yet able to will or not will justice, yet because of one man, through whom sin entered into the world, and through sin death, and so passed unto all men, in whom all have sinned (Rom. V, 12), are delivered through the grace of Christ: whether he also believes that the blood of Christ was shed for them because of original sin, which surely was shed for the remission of sins (Matth. XVI, 28). Concerning these things we especially wish to know from him what he believes, what he holds, what he certainly confesses and preaches. But in other things which are objected to him, even if he is convicted of error, yet until he is corrected, he is sustained more tolerably.

7. I ask also that you deign to transmit to us the ecclesiastical Acts, by which he is said to have been cleared. Which I ask from the desire of many bishops, whom uncertain rumor disturbs with me concerning this matter: but therefore I alone wrote this, because I did not wish to pass over the opportunity of the bearer hastening from us, who I heard could return quickly to us. Concerning which Acts he already sent to us not indeed any part of the Acts, but a certain defense composed by himself, as it were, in which he said he had responded to the objections of the Gauls. In which, to omit other things, when he responded to that which was objected to him, that he had said a man can be without sin, and keep the commandments of God if he wishes, "We said," he says; "for God gave to him this possibility. We did not say, that anyone is found from infancy even to old age, who has never sinned; but that converted from sins by his own labor, and helped by the grace of God, he can be without sin, nor because of this will he be inconvertible in the future."

8. In this response of Pelagius your Reverence sees that he confessed this, that the prior life of man, which is from infancy, is not without sin, but that he can be converted to a life which is without sin, by his own labor and helped through the grace of God. Why then in this book, to which I responded, does he say that they lived here even so, that they sinned nothing at all? For these are his words concerning this matter: "This," he says, "can rightly be said of those of whose neither good nor evil deeds Scripture is mindful: but of those whose justice it mentions, it would without doubt also have mentioned their sins, if it had perceived that they had sinned any.

Sed esto, inquit, aliis temporibus turbae numerositate omnium dissimulaverit peccata contexere; in ipso statim mundi primordio, ubi nonnisi quatuor homines erant, quid, inquit, dicimus, cur non omnium voluerit dicta memorare? Utrumne ingentis multitudinis causa, quae nondum erat? an quia illorum tantum, qui commiserant, meminit, illius vero qui nulla commiserat, meminisse non potuit? Certe, inquit, primo in tempore Adam et Eva, ex quibus Cain et Abel nati sunt, quatuor homines tantum fuisse referuntur. Peccavit Eva; Scriptura hoc prodidit: Adam quoque deliquit; eadem Scriptura non tacuit: sed et Cain peccasse ipsa quoque Scriptura testata est. Quorum non modo peccata, verum etiam peccatorum indicat qualitatem. Quod si et Abel peccasset, inquit, et hoc sine dubio Scriptura dixisset: si non dixit, ergo nec ille peccavit.

9. Haec verba de libro ejus decerpsi, quae in ipso quoque volumine tua Sanctitas poterit invenire; ut intelligatis quemadmodum et caetera neganti credere debeatis. Nisi forte dicat ipsum Abel nihil peccasse; sed ideo non fuisse sine peccato, et ideo non posse Domino comparari, qui in carne mortali solus sine peccato fuit, quia erat in Abel originale peccatum, quod de Adam traxerat, non in seipso ipse commiserat: utinam saltem hoc dicat, ut interim ejus de baptismo parvulorum certam sententiam tenere possimus! Aut si forte, quoniam dixit ab infantia usque ad senectutem, ideo dicat Abel non peccasse, quia nec senuisse monstratur. Non hoc indicant verba ejus: ab initio priorem vitam dixit peccatricem; posteriorem vero posse esse sine peccato. Ait enim non se dixisse, quoniam inveniatur quis ab infantia usque ad senectutem, qui non peccaverit; sed quoniam a peccatis conversus labore proprio, et gratia Dei adjutus potest absque peccato esse. Cum enim dicit, a peccatis conversus, ostendit priorem vitam in peccatis agi. Fateatur ergo quod peccaverit Abel, cujus prima vita fuit in saeculo, quam fatetur non carere peccatis, et respiciat librum suum, ubi eum dixisse constat, quod ait in hac defensione, Non diximus.

10. Si autem et hunc librum, vel hunc in eo libro locum esse negaverit suum; ego quidem idoneos testes habeo honestos et fideles viros, et ejus sine dubio dilectores, quibus attestantibus purgare me possum, quod eumdem librum ipsi mihi dederint, et ibi hoc legatur, eumque Pelagii esse dixerint, ut saltem hoc mihi sufficiat, ne dicat a me fuisse sive conscriptum, sive falsatum. Jam inter illos eligat quisque cui credat; meum non est de hac re diutius disputare. Rogamus ut certe transmittas ipsi, si negaverit se ista sentire, quae illi objiciuntur inimica gratiae Christi.

But let it be," he says, "in other times by the numerousness of the crowd it may have dissembled to weave together the sins of all; in the very beginning of the world, where there were only four men, why," he says, "do we say, why would it not have wished to mention the deeds of all? Whether because of the immense multitude, which was not yet? or because it mentioned only those who had committed them, but of him who had committed none, it could not mention? Certainly," he says, "in the first time Adam and Eve, from whom Cain and Abel were born, are reported to have been only four men. Eve sinned; Scripture has produced this: Adam also failed; the same Scripture was not silent: but also Cain sinned, the same Scripture also testified. Whose not only sins, but even the quality of the sins it indicates. But if Abel also had sinned," he says, "without doubt Scripture would also have said this: if it did not say so, therefore neither did he sin."

9. These words I have plucked from his book, which your Holiness will also be able to find in the volume itself; that you may understand in what manner you ought to believe him in other things which he denies. Unless perhaps he says that Abel himself sinned in nothing; but for this reason was not without sin, and for this reason cannot be compared to the Lord, who in mortal flesh alone was without sin, because there was in Abel original sin, which he had drawn from Adam, not that he himself had committed in himself: would that he might at least say this, so that meanwhile we might hold his certain opinion concerning the baptism of infants! Or if perhaps, because he said "from infancy even to old age," he therefore says that Abel did not sin, because he is not shown to have grown old. His words do not indicate this: from the beginning he said the prior life was sinful; but that the latter can be without sin. For he says that he did not say, "that anyone is found from infancy even to old age, who has not sinned; but that converted from sins by his own labor, and helped by the grace of God, he can be without sin." For when he says, "converted from sins," he shows that the prior life is spent in sins. Let him confess therefore that Abel sinned, whose first life was in the world, which he confesses is not lacking in sins, and let him look back at his book, where it is certain that he said what he says in this defense, "We did not say."

10. But if he shall deny that even this book, or this place in that book, is his; I indeed have suitable witnesses, honest and faithful men, and without doubt lovers of him, by whose attestation I can clear myself, that they gave me the same book, and that this is read there, and that they said it was of Pelagius, so that at least this may suffice for me, lest he say it was either composed or falsified by me. Now let each one choose among those whom he may believe; it is not mine to dispute further concerning this matter. We ask that you certainly transmit to him, if he shall deny that he thinks those things which are objected to him as enemies to the grace of Christ.

Tam quippe operta est ejus defensio, ut si vestram sanctam prudentiam, qui ejus alia scripta non nostis, nulla verborum ambiguitate fefellerit, magno gaudio gratulabimur; non multum curantes utrum illa perversa et impia nunquam senserit, an se ab eis aliquando correxerit.

Epistola CLXXX.

Augustinus Oceano, rescribens paucis de animae origine, et de officioso mendacio, petensque ut mittat Hieronymi librum de Resurrectione carnis.

Domino merito charissimo, et in Christi membris honorando fratri OCEANO, AUGUSTINUS, salutem.

1. Duas accepi simul epistolas Dilectionis tuae, quarum in una facis tertiae mentionem, et eam te prius misisse commemoras; quam accepisse non recolo, imo bene mihi recolere videor quod non acceperim. De iis tamen quas accepi, ago uberes gratias benignitati erga nos tuae. Quibus ut non continuo responderem, in alia atque alia diversarum occupationum tempestate direptus sum Unde nunc stillam vacantis temporis nactus, respondere aliquid malui, quam ad tuam sincerissimam charitatem diuturnum habere silentium, et fieri taciturnitate, quam loquacitate importunior.

2. De origine animarum quid sanctus Hieronymus sentiat, jam sciebam, et haec ipsa quae ex libro ejus in epistola tua posuisti verba jam legeram. Verum non hoc quaestionem molestam facit, quod movet quosdam, quomodo Deus adulterinis etiam conceptibus juste animas largiatur; cum bene viventibus, et ad Deum fide ac pietate conversis, ne propria quidem, quanto minus parentum, possint obesse peccata. Sed merito quaeritur, si verum est novas ex nihilo animas singulas singulis nascentibus fieri, quomodo tam innumerabiles animae parvulorum, quas Deo certum est, ante rationales annos, antequam quidquam justum injustumve sapere vel capere possint, sine Baptismo de corporibus exituras, juste in damnationem dentur, ab illo utique apud quem non est iniquitas (Rom. IX, 14). Non opus est de hac re plura dicere, cum scias quid velim, vel potius quid nolim dicere; satis existimo sapienti esse quod dixi. Verumtamen si aliquid hinc, quo ista quaestio solvi queat, vel legisti, vel ex ore ejus audisti, vel tibi ipsi Dominus cogitanti donavit ut noveris; impartire, obsecro, mihi, ut gratias uberiores agam.

For his defense is so covered, that if it shall have deceived your holy prudence, who do not know his other writings, with no ambiguity of words, we shall congratulate with great joy; not caring much whether he never thought those perverse and impious things, or has at some time corrected himself from them.

Letter CLXXX.

Augustine to Oceanus, rescribing in a few words concerning the origin of the soul, and concerning the official lie, and asking that he send Jerome's book concerning the Resurrection of the flesh.

To his lord deservedly most dear, and brother to be honored in the members of Christ OCEANUS, AUGUSTINE sends greeting.

1. I received two letters of your Love at the same time, in one of which you make mention of a third, and record that you sent it before; which I do not recall having received, indeed I seem to myself well to recall that I did not receive it. Nevertheless concerning those which I received, I give rich thanks to your kindness toward us. To which that I might not immediately respond, I was snatched away in one and another tempest of diverse occupations. Whence now having obtained a drop of vacant time, I preferred to respond something, rather than to have long silence toward your most sincere charity, and to become more troublesome by silence than by loquacity.

2. What Saint Jerome thinks concerning the origin of souls, I already knew, and these very words which you placed in your letter from his book I had already read. But this does not make the question troublesome, which moves some, how God justly bestows souls even on adulterous conceptions; since to those living well, and converted to God by faith and piety, not even their own sins, much less those of their parents, can be a hindrance. But it is deservedly asked, if it is true that new souls are made individually from nothing for each one being born, how so innumerable souls of infants, which it is certain to God will exit from bodies without Baptism before rational years, before they can know or grasp anything just or unjust, are justly given into damnation, by Him surely with whom there is no iniquity (Rom. IX, 14). There is no need to say more concerning this matter, since you know what I wish, or rather what I do not wish to say; I think what I have said is enough for a wise man. Nevertheless if you have either read anything from here, by which this question can be solved, or have heard from his mouth, or the Lord has granted to you yourself thinking to know; impart it, I beseech you, to me, that I may give richer thanks.

3. Illud vero de officioso utilique mendacio, quod exemplo Domini de die et hora hujus saeculi finiendi nec Filium scire dicentis (Marc. XIII, 32), putasti esse solvendum; conatu quidem ingenii tui, cum legerem, delectabar, sed nullo modo mihi videtur tropicam locutionem recte dici posse mendacium. Non enim mendacium est, cum diem laetum dicimus, quod laetos faciat; aut tristem lupinum, quod gustantis vultum amaro sapore contristet; sicut Deum scire, cum cognoscentem hominem facit; hoc enim dictum ad Abraham (Gen. XXII, 12) ipse commemorasti. Nequaquam sunt ista mendacia; quod ipse facillime advertis. Proinde beatus Hilarius, cum obscuram quaestionem obscuro hoc genere tropicae locutionis aperuit, ut intelligeremus in eo se nimirum dixisse nescientem, in quo alios facit occultando nescientes, non excusavit mendacium, sed mendacium non esse monstravit; non solum in his usitatioribus tropis, verum in illa etiam, quae appellatur metaphora, quae loquendi consuetudine omnibus nota est (Hilar. de Trinitate, lib. 9). Nam gemmare vites, fluctuare segetes, florere juvenes, contendet quispiam esse mendacium, quod in his rebus nec undas, nec lapides, nec herbas, nec arbores videt, ubi proprie ista verba dicuntur?

4. Porro autem pro tuo ingenio atque eruditione facillime perspicis quantum ab his differat quod ait Apostolus: Cum viderem quia non recte ingrediuntur ad veritatem Evangelii, dixi Petro coram omnibus, Si tu, cum sis Judaeus, gentiliter et non judaice vivis, quemadmodum Gentes cogis judaizare (Galat. II, 14)? Nulla est hic tropica obscuritas, verba sunt propria apertae locutionis. Hoc profecto Doctor Gentium, his quos parturiebat donec Christus formaretur in eis (Id. IV, 19), et quibus sub divina attestatione praedixerat, Quae autem scribo vobis, ecce coram Deo, quia non mentior (Id. I, 20), aut verum dixit, aut falsum: si falsum, quod absit, quae sequantur advertis; et ambo ista exhorrescas admonet veritatis indicium, et in apostolo Petro mirabilis humilitatis exemplum.

5. Sed quid hinc diutius? cum de hac quaestione inter nos, ego et praedictus venerabilis frater Hieronymus satis litteris egerimus; et in hoc opere recentissimo, quod sub nomine Critobuli adversus Pelagium modo edidit (Lib. 1 adversus Pelag.), eamdem de ista re gesta dictisque apostolicis sententiam tenuit, quam beatissimi Cypriani etiam nos secuti sumus (Epist. 71 ad Quintum).

3. But that which you thought was to be solved concerning the official and useful lie, by the example of the Lord saying that neither the Son knows of the day and hour of the end of this world (Marc. XIII, 32); I was delighted indeed with the effort of your genius when I read it, but in no way does it seem to me that a tropical locution can rightly be called a lie. For it is not a lie, when we call a day joyful, because it makes men joyful; or a bitter lupine, because it saddens the face of the one tasting by its bitter flavor; just as God is said to know, when He makes man knowing; for you yourself recorded this being said to Abraham (Gen. XXII, 12). By no means are these things lies; which you yourself most easily notice. Therefore blessed Hilary, when he opened an obscure question by this obscure kind of tropical locution, so that we might understand that he doubtless said he was ignorant in that which he makes others ignorant by hiding it, did not excuse a lie, but showed it not to be a lie; not only in these more common tropes, but even in that which is called metaphor, which is known to all by the custom of speaking (Hilar. de Trinitate, lib. 9). For will anyone contend that it is a lie for vines to bud, for crops to wave, for youths to flower, because in these things he sees neither waves, nor stones, nor herbs, nor trees, where these words are properly said?

4. Furthermore, by your genius and erudition you most easily perceive how much what the Apostle says differs from these: When I saw that they did not walk uprightly according to the truth of the Gospel, I said to Peter before all: If thou, being a Jew, livest after the manner of the Gentiles and not as do the Jews, how compellest thou the Gentiles to judaize? (Galat. II, 14)? There is no tropical obscurity here, the words are proper to open locution. This surely the Teacher of the Gentiles, to those for whom he was in labor until Christ was formed in them (Id. IV, 19), and to whom he had predicted under divine attestation: But the things which I write to you, behold before God, I lie not (Id. I, 20), either said what was true or false: if false, which far be it, you notice what things follow; and the evidence of truth admonishes you to dread both these things, and the example of wonderful humility in the apostle Peter.

5. But why more of this? since we have dealt enough with this question by letters between us, I and the aforesaid venerable brother Jerome; and in this most recent work, which he just published under the name of Critobulus against Pelagius (Lib. 1 against Pelag.), he held the same opinion concerning that deed and the apostolic words, which we also have followed after most blessed Cyprian (Epist. 71 to Quintus).

Illud potius de origine animarum, non propter partus adulterinos, sed propter innocentium, quod absit, damnationem, quod, opinor, non stulte quaeritur; si quid a tali ac tanto didicisti viro, quod recte responderi ambigentibus possit, quaeso nobiscum communicare non abnuas. Ita quippe mihi in epistolis tuis eruditus et suavis apparuisti, ut operae pretium sit tecum litteris colloqui. Nescio sane quem librum ejusdem hominis Dei, quem presbyter Orosius attulit, tuaeque Dilectioni describendum dedit, ubi de resurrectione carnis praeclare disputasse laudatur, jam nobis peto non differas mittere. Ideo quippe non eum cito poposcimus, quia et describendum et emendandum utique cogitavimus; cui utrique operi largissimum jam putamus tempus indultum. Memor nostri Deo vivas.

Epistola CLXXXI.

Innocentius, Carthaginensis concilii Patribus, confirmans ipsorum doctrinam ac sententiam adversus Pelagianos.

INNOCENTIUS, AURELIO, NUMIDIO , RUSTICIANO, RIDENTIANO, EVAGRIO, ANTONIO, PALATINO, ADEODATO, VINCENTIO, PUBLIANO, THEASIO, TUTO, PANNONIO, VICTORI, RESTITUTO, alteri RESTITUTO, RUSTICO, FORTUNATIANO, AMPELIO, AMBIVIO, FELICI, DONATIANO, ADEODATO, OCTAVIO, SEROTINO, MAJORINO, POSTHUMIANO, CRISPULO, VICTORI, alteri VICTORI, LEUCIO, MARIANO, FRUCTUOSO, FAUSTINIANO, QUODVULTDEO, CANDORIO, MAXIMO, MEGASIO, RUSTICO, RUFINIANO, PROCULO, SEVERO, THOMAE, JANUARIO, OCTAVIANO, PRAETEXTATO, SIXTO, QUODVULTDEO, PENTADIO, QUODVULTDEO, CYPRIANO, SERVILIO, PELAGIANO, MARCELLO, VENANTIO, DIDYMO, SATURNINO, BIZACENO, GERMANO, GERMANIANO, INVENTIO, MAJORINO, INVENTIO, CANDIDO, CYPRIANO, ROMANIANO, EMILIANO, AFRICANO, MARCELLINO et caeteris qui in Carthaginensi concilio affuerunt dilectissimis fratribus, in Domino salutem.

1. In requirendo de his rebus, quas omni cum sollicitudine decet a sacerdotibus, maximeque a vero justoque et catholico tractari concilio, antiquae traditionis exempla servantes, et ecclesiasticae memores disciplinae, nostrae religionis vigorem non minus nunc in consulendo, quam antea cum pronuntiaretis, vera ratione firmastis, qui ad nostrum referendum approbastis esse judicium, scientes quid apostolicae Sedi, cum omnes hoc loco positi ipsum sequi desideremus apostolum, debeatur, a quo ipse episcopatus et tota auctoritas nominis hujus emersit.

That other matter rather concerning the origin of souls, not because of adulterous births, but because of the damnation, which far be it, of the innocent, which I think is not foolishly asked; if you have learned anything from such and so great a man, which can be rightly answered to those doubting, I ask that you not refuse to communicate it with us. For so erudite and sweet have you appeared to me in your letters, that it is worth the effort to converse with you by letters. Indeed I ask that you no longer delay to send us a certain book of the same man of God, which the priest Orosius brought, and gave to your Love to be transcribed, where he is praised for having disputed excellently concerning the resurrection of the flesh. For therefore we did not ask for it quickly, because we surely thought it was to be both transcribed and amended; for both of which works we think a most large time has now been granted. Mindful of us, live unto God.

Letter CLXXXI.

Innocent to the Fathers of the Council of Carthage, confirming their doctrine and sentence against the Pelagians.

INNOCENT to AURELIUS, NUMIDIUS, RUSTICIANUS, RIDENTIANUS, EVAGRIUS, ANTONIUS, PALATINUS, ADEODATUS, VINCENTIUS, PUBLIANO, THEASIUS, TUTUS, PANNONIUS, VICTOR, RESTITUTUS, the other RESTITUTUS, RUSTICUS, FORTUNATIANUS, AMPELIUS, AMBIVIUS, FELIX, DONATIANUS, ADEODATUS, OCTAVIUS, SEROTINUS, MAJORINUS, POSTHUMIANO, CRISPULUS, VICTOR, the other VICTOR, LEUCIUS, MARIANUS, FRUCTUOSUS, FAUSTINIANUS, QUODVULTDEUS, CANDORIUS, MAXIMUS, MEGASIUS, RUSTICUS, RUFINIANUS, PROCULUS, SEVERUS, THOMAS, JANUARIUS, OCTAVIANUS, PRAETEXTATUS, SIXTUS, QUODVULTDEUS, PENTADIUS, QUODVULTDEUS, CYPRIANUS, SERVILIUS, PELAGIANUS, MARCELLUS, VENANTIUS, DIDYMUS, SATURNINUS, BIZACENUS, GERMANUS, GERMANIANUS, INVENTIUS, MAJORINUS, INVENTIUS, CANDIDUS, CYPRIANUS, ROMANIANO, EMILIANO, AFRICANUS, MARCELLINO and the rest of the most dear brothers who were present in the Council of Carthage, greeting in the Lord.

1. In inquiring about these things, which it becomes priests to treat with all solicitude, and especially by a true, just, and catholic council, observing the examples of ancient tradition and mindful of ecclesiastical discipline, you have strengthened the vigor of our religion with true reason no less now in consulting than before when you were pronouncing, who have approved that the judgment should be referred to us, knowing what is due to the Apostolic See, since all of us placed in this position desire to follow the apostle himself, from whom the episcopate itself and the whole authority of this name emerged.

Quem sequentes, tam mala damnare novimus quam probare laudanda. Vel id vero quod patrum instituta sacerdotali custodientes officio non censetis esse calcanda, quod illi non humana, sed divina decrevere sententia, ut quidquid quamvis in disjunctis remotisque provinciis ageretur, non prius ducerent finiendum, nisi ad hujus Sedis notitiam perveniret: ut tota hujus auctoritate justa quae fuerit pronuntiatio firmaretur, indeque sumerent caeterae Ecclesiae (velut de natali suo fonte aquae cunctae procederent, et per diversas totius mundi regiones puri latices capitis incorrupti manarent) quid praeciperent, quos abluerent, quos velut coeno inemundabili sordidatos mundis digna corporibus unda vitaret.

2. Gratulor igitur, fratres charissimi, quod per fratrem et coepiscopum nostrum Julium litteras ad nos destinastis, et cum illis curam geritis quibus praesidetis Ecclesiis, sollicitudinem vestram pro omnium utilitate monstratis, et per cunctas totius orbis Ecclesias omnibus una quod prosit decernendum esse deposcitis: ut suis constabilita regulis Ecclesia, et hoc, quo illos caveat, pronuntiationis justae firmata decreto talibus pavere non possit qui perversis instructi, imo destructi verborum argutiis, sub imagine catholicae fidei disputantes, velut pestiferum exhalantes virus, ut hominum recte sentientium in deteriorem partem corda corrumpant, totam veri dogmatis quaerunt evertere disciplinam.

3. Sanandum ergo celerius, ne longius exsecrandus animis morbus irrepat: sicut medicus cum viderit hujus terreni corporis aliquem esse languorem, magnum suae artis aestimat documentum, si cito quis illius interventu desperatus evadat; vel cum putre vulnus aspexerit, adhibet fomenta vel caetera, quibus illud possit quod natum fuerat vulnus obduci; ac si id manens sanari non poterit, ne corpus reliquum sua tabe corrumpat, ferro amputat quod nocebat, quo reliquum integrum servet et intactum. Praecidendum id ergo est, quod velut puro sanoque nimium corpori vulnus obrepsit, ne cum tardius abstergitur, in ipsis pene visceribus hujus mali non exhaurienda post sentina considat.

Following whom, we know as well how to condemn evil things as to approve those to be praised. Or indeed that, guarding the institutes of the fathers with priestly duty, you do not think they are to be trampled upon, which they decreed not by human but by divine sentence, that whatever was being done, even in disjoined and remote provinces, they should not consider to be finished before it reached the notice of this See: so that by the whole authority of this See, that which should be a just pronunciation might be strengthened, and from there the other Churches might take (as if all waters proceeded from their natal fountain, and through the diverse regions of the whole world the pure streams of the uncorrupted head should flow) what they should command, whom they should wash, whom the water worthy of clean bodies should avoid as if soiled with unpurifiable filth.

2. I congratulate you therefore, most dear brothers, that you have directed letters to us through our brother and fellow-bishop Julius, and while you bear the care of those Churches over which you preside, you show your solicitude for the utility of all, and you demand that what may be profitable to all together should be decreed through all the Churches of the whole world: so that the Church, established by its own rules and strengthened by this decree of just pronunciation by which it may beware of those men, may not be able to fear such as those who, instructed, or rather destroyed by the subtleties of perverse words, disputing under the image of the catholic faith, as if exhaling a pestilential virus, so that they may corrupt into a worse part the hearts of men of right feeling, seek to overthrow the whole discipline of true dogma.

3. It must therefore be healed more quickly, lest the execrable disease creep further into minds: just as a physician when he shall see some weakness of this earthly body, thinks it a great proof of his art if someone despaired of quickly escapes by his intervention; or when he has looked upon a putrid wound, applies fomentations or other things, by which that wound which had been born might be closed up; and if it remaining cannot be healed, lest it corrupt the rest of the body with its own decay, he amputates with the iron that which was hurting, so that he may keep the rest whole and untouched. This must therefore be cut away, which has crept as a wound into an otherwise pure and healthy body, lest while it is wiped away too late, the dregs of this evil to be exhausted later should settle almost in the very viscera.

4. Nam quid nos de his posthac rectum mentibus existimemus, qui sibi se putant debere quod boni sunt, nec illum considerant cujus quotidie gratiam consequuntur? Sed jam isti, qui tales sunt, nullam Dei gratiam consequuntur, qui sine illo tantum se assequi posse confidunt, quantum vix illi qui ab illo postulant, accipere promerentur. Quid enim tam iniquum potest esse, tam barbarum, tam totius religionis ignarum, tam christianis mentibus inimicum, quam huic te negare debere quidquid in quotidiana gratia consequeris, cui te ipse confiteris debere quod natus es? Ergo eris tibi in providendo praestantior, quam potest in te esse, qui te ut esses effecit! Et cum te putes ei debere quod vivis, quomodo te non putas illi debere quod quotidianam ejus consequendo gratiam taliter vivis? Et qui nos adjutorio negas indigere divino, quasi ex nostra in totum possibilitate perfectos, quomodo non adjutorium ejus in nos, cum tales a nobis etiam esse possumus, provocamus?

5. Qui enim adjutorium Dei negat, vellem interrogare quid dicat; nos non mereri, an illum hoc non posse praestare? an nihil esse propter quod unusquisque hoc debeat postulare? Posse hoc Deum, opera ipsa testantur; et adjutorio quotidiano nos egere, negare non possumus. Hoc enim seu bene vivimus, provocamus, ut melius sanctiusque vivamus; seu prave sentientes a bonis avertimur, ut ad rectam redeamus viam, ejus auxilio plus egemus. Nam quid tam mortiferum, tam praeceps videatur ad casum, tam expositum ad omnia pericula, si hoc solum nobis putantes posse sufficere, quod liberum arbitrium cum nasceremur accepimus, ultra jam a Domino nihil quaeramus, id est, auctoris nostri obliti, ejus potentiam ut nos ostendamus liberos, abjuremus, quasi jam amplius quod possit dare non habeat, qui te in tuo ortu liberum fecit? nescientes quod nisi magnis precibus in nos Dei gratia implorata descendat, nequaquam terrenae labis et mundani corporis vincere conemur errores, cum pares nos ad resistendum non liberum arbitrium, sed Dei solum facere possit auxilium.

6. Nam si ille clamat adjutorio sibi opus esse divino, qui digne hoc non quaereret, si cui liberum arbitrium plus prodesset; quippe cum vir beatus et jam electus a Domino nihil egeret; tamen ita Deum deprecatur postulans, «Adjutor meus esto; ne derelinquas me, neque despicias me, Deus salutaris meus» (Psal. XXVI, 9): nos nobis liberum arbitrium; ille sibi Deum postulat adjutorem! quod nati sumus posse sufficere nos dicimus, ille Deum ne derelinquatur exorat! Non, rogo, manifeste discimus, quid oremus, cum ille tantopere beatus, ut supra diximus, vir ne despiciatur exoplat?

4. For what should we think rightly hereafter of these minds, who think they owe it to themselves that they are good, and do not consider Him whose grace they daily obtain? But already those, who are such, obtain no grace of God, who trust that they can achieve so much without Him, as those who ask from Him can scarcely deserve to receive. For what can be so unjust, so barbarous, so ignorant of the whole of religion, so hostile to Christian minds, as to deny that you ought to owe to Him whatever you obtain in daily grace, to whom you yourself confess you owe that you were born? Therefore you will be more excellent in providing for yourself than He who made you so that you might be can be in you! And since you think you owe it to Him that you live, how do you not think you owe it to Him that you live in such a way by obtaining His daily grace? And you who deny that we need divine help, as if we were perfect in everything from our own possibility, how do we not provoke His help in us, when we can even be such from ourselves?

5. For I would like to ask him who denies the help of God, what he says: that we do not deserve it, or that He cannot provide this? or that there is nothing for which everyone ought to ask for this? The works themselves testify that God can do this; and we cannot deny that we need daily help. For we provoke this either if we live well, so that we may live better and more holily; or if, feeling perversely, we are turned away from good things, so that we may return to the right way, we need His help more. For what can seem so deadly, so precipitous to a fall, so exposed to all dangers, as if, thinking that this alone can suffice for us, that we received free will when we were born, we should henceforth seek nothing more from the Lord—that is, forgetting our Author, we should abjure His power so that we may show ourselves free, as if He who made you free in your origin no longer has anything more that He can give? Being ignorant that unless the grace of God, implored with great prayers, descends into us, we should by no means attempt to conquer the errors of earthly stain and worldly body, since only the help of God, and not free will, can make us equal to resisting.

6. For if he cries out that he needs divine help, who would not seek this worthily if free will were more profitable to him; especially since a blessed man and one already chosen by the Lord would need nothing; yet he so prays to God, asking, "Be my helper; do not leave me, nor despise me, O God my Savior" (Psalm 26:9): we claim free will for ourselves; he asks for God as a helper for himself! We say that it can suffice that we were born; he implores God that he might not be left! Do we not, I ask, clearly learn what we should pray for, when that man, so greatly blessed as we said above, prays that he might not be despised?

Illi enim necesse est ista arguant, qui illa confirmant. David enim orationis ignarus, et suae naturae nescius accusetur, qui cum sciat tantum in sua inesse natura, adjutorem sibi Deum et assiduum adjutorem, nec illi sufficit assiduum, sed ne aliquando illum despiciat, orationibus pronus exoptat, et per corpus omne Psalterii hoc et praedicat et clamat! Si ergo hoc ille tam magnus sicut assidue dicere, ita necessarium confessus est ut doceret; quemadmodum Pelagius Celestiusque seposita omni responsione Psalmorum, talique abdicata doctrina, suasuros se aliquibus esse confidunt, nos adjutorium Dei nec debere quaerere, nec eo egere; cum omnes sancti nihil se sine hoc agere posse testentur?

7. Liberum enim arbitrium olim ille perpessus, dum suis inconsultius utitur bonis, cadens in praevaricationis profunda demersus est; et nihil quemadmodum exinde surgere posset invenit; suaque in aeternum libertate deceptus hujus ruinae jacuisset oppressu, nisi eum post Christi pro sua gratia relevasset adventus: qui per novae regenerationis purificationem, omne praeteritum vitium sui baptismatis iavacro purgavit, et ejus firmans statum quo rectius stabiliusque procederet, tamen suam gratiam in posterum non negavit. Nam quamvis redemisset hominem a praeteritis ille peccatis, tamen sciens iterum posse peccare, ad reparationem sibi, quemadmodum posset illum et post ista corrigere, multa servavit: quotidiana praestat ille remedia, quibus nisi freti confisique nitamur, nullatenus vincere humanos poterimus errores. Necesse est enim ut quo auxiliante vincimus, eo iterum non adjuvante vincamur. Sed possem plura dicere, nisi vos constaret cuncta dixisse.

8. Quisquis ergo huic assentiens videtur esse sententiae, qua dicat adjutorio nobis non opus esse divino, inimicum se catholicae fidei, et Dei beneficiis profitetur ingratum. Nam nec nostra communione sunt digni, quam praedicando taliter polluerunt. Ipsi enim sua sponte dum sequuntur illa quae dicunt, longius a vera religione refugerunt. Cum enim hoc totum in nostra professione consistat, quotidianisque precibus nihil agamus nisi quemadmodum Dei misericordiam consequamur; quemadmodum ferre possumus ista jactantes?

For those must necessarily refute these things, who confirm those. For David would be accused of being ignorant of prayer and unknowing of his own nature, who, although he knows that so much is in his nature, asks for God as a helper for himself, and a constant helper—nor does a constant one suffice for him, but he prays prostrate that He might not sometimes despise him, and throughout the whole body of the Psalter he both preaches and cries out this! If therefore that man, so great, as he has constantly said this, so has confessed it necessary so that he might teach; how do Pelagius and Celestius, setting aside every response of the Psalms and abdicating such doctrine, trust that they will persuade anyone that we ought neither to seek the help of God nor need it, when all the saints testify that they can do nothing without it?

7. For having once suffered free will, while he used his goods more unadvisedly, falling into the depths of transgression he was submerged; and he found no way by which he could rise from there; and deceived by his own liberty forever, he would have lain oppressed by this ruin, unless the advent of Christ had later raised him up by His grace: who through the purification of a new regeneration, purged every past vice in the font of his baptism, and strengthening his state so that he might proceed more rightly and more firmly, nevertheless did not deny His grace for the future. For although He had redeemed man from past sins, yet knowing that he could sin again, He reserved many things for his restoration, by which He could correct him even after those things: He provides daily remedies, and unless we strive leaning and trusting upon them, we shall by no means be able to conquer human errors. For it is necessary that he by whose help we conquer, by his not helping we should be conquered again. But I could say more, unless it were clear that you have said everything.

8. Whoever therefore, assenting to this, seems to be of the opinion by which he says that we do not need divine help, professes himself an enemy of the catholic faith and ungrateful for God's benefits. For they are not even worthy of our communion, which they have so polluted by preaching. For they themselves, while they follow those things which they say, have fled of their own accord further from the true religion. For since this whole matter consists in our profession, and in our daily prayers we do nothing else than seek how we may obtain God's mercy; how can we bear those boasting such things?

Quis, rogo, tantus illorum pectora error obcaecat, ut, si ipsi nullam Dei gratiam sentiunt, quia nec digni sunt nec merentur, nec de aliis considerent quid quotidie singulis gratia divina largitur? Sunt quidem isti omni caecitate dignissimi, qui nec hoc sibi reliquerunt, ut se auxilio credant revocari ab erroribus posse divino. Negantes enim adjutorium, non aliis, sed sibi hoc penitus abstulerunt; qui avellendi sunt longius, et ab Ecclesiae procul removendi visceribus, ne diu inultus multa occupans, insanabilis post error increscat. Si enim diu sub hac fuerint impunitate versati, necesse est multos in hanc suae pravitatem mentis inducant decipiantque innocentes, vel potius imprudentes, qui fidem catholicam sequuntur. Putabunt enim eos recte sentire, quos adhuc viderint in Ecclesia perdurare.

9. Separetur ergo a sano corpore vulnus insanum, remotoque morbi saevientis afflatu cautius quae sunt sincera perdurent, et grex purior ab hac mali pecoris contagione purgetur. Sit totius corporis illibata perfectio, quam vos sequi et tenere hac in illos pronuntiatione cognovimus, et una vobiscum pari assensione servamus. Qui si tamen aliquod in se Dei adjutorium, quod hucusque negaverunt, provocarint, et opus sibi ejus auxilio esse cognoverint, ut hac labe in quam sui cordis incurvatione corruerant, liberentur, et quasi in lucem de foeda tracti caligine, remotis abdicatisque omnibus, quibus totus, neverum aspicerent, foedabatur et caligabat aspectus, damnent haec quae hucusque senserunt, et aliquando animum rectis disputationibus commodantes, ab hac aliquantulum labe correcti, veris se sanandos consiliis tribuant atque submittant. Quod si fecerint, erit in potestate pontificum, istis aliquatenus subvenire, et talibus aliquam curam praestare vulneribus, quam solet lapsis, cum resipuerint, Ecclesia non negare: ut a suis revocati praecipitiis, intra ovile Domini redigantur; ne foris positi, et tanto praesidio a fide munitionis exclusi, periculis omnibus exponantur, devorandi luporum dentibus atque vexandi, quibus obsistere hac, qua illos in se irritaverant doctrinae perversitate, non possint.

Who, I ask, so great an error blinds their breasts, that, if they themselves feel no grace of God, because they are neither worthy nor deserve it, they do not even consider concerning others what divine grace daily bestows upon each one? These are indeed most worthy of all blindness, who have not even left this to themselves, that they should believe themselves able to be recalled from errors by divine help. For denying the help, they have taken this away entirely, not from others, but from themselves; who are to be plucked away further, and to be removed far from the viscera of the Church, lest the incurable error, occupying much for a long time unpunished, should later increase. For if they have lived for a long time under this impunity, it is necessary that they should lead many into this perversity of their mind and deceive the innocent, or rather the imprudent, who follow the catholic faith. For they will think that those feel rightly, whom they shall see still persevering in the Church.

9. Therefore let the unhealthy wound be separated from the healthy body, and the blast of the raging disease being removed, let those things which are sincere more cautiously endure, and let the purer flock be purged from this contagion of the evil sheep. Let there be an unimpaired perfection of the whole body, which we have known you to follow and hold in this pronunciation against them, and which we observe with you in equal assent. If they nevertheless should provoke some help of God in themselves, which they have hitherto denied, and should know that they have need of His help, so that they may be liberated from this stain into which they had fallen by the bowing of their own heart, and as if drawn into the light from a foul darkness, all things being removed and abdicated by which their whole sight was fouled and darkened so that they did not see the truth, let them condemn these things which they have hitherto felt, and sometimes lending their mind to right discussions, being corrected a little from this stain, let them give and submit themselves to be healed by true counsels. Which if they shall do, it will be in the power of the pontiffs to help them to some extent, and to provide some care for such wounds, which the Church is not accustomed to deny to the fallen when they have repented: so that being recalled from their precipices, they may be brought back within the fold of the Lord; lest being placed outside, and excluded from such protection by the fortification of faith, they should be exposed to all dangers, to be devoured and vexed by the teeth of wolves, whom they could not resist with this perversity of doctrine by which they had irritated them against themselves.

Sed satis vestris monitis, sic abundantibus nostrae legis exemplis, probatur esse responsum; nec quidquam superesse duximus quod dicamus, cum nihil praetermissum a vobis, nihil constet esse suppressum, quo illi refutati et penitus agnoscantur esse convicti. Ideoque a nobis testimonia nulla ponuntur, quia et his plena relatio est, et satis constat tot doctissimos sacerdotes cuncta dixisse, nec decet credere vos aliquid, quod ad causam possit proficere, praeteriisse. Et alia manu: Bene valete, fratres. Et ad latus: Data VI cal. febr. post consulatum Theodosii Augusti VII, et Junii Quarti v. c.

Epistola CLXXXII.

Innocentius Romanus pontifex, Patribus concilii Milevitani, comprobans illorum acta adversus Pelagianos.

INNOCENTIUS, SILVANO seni, VALENTINO, et caeteris qui in Milevitana synodo interfuerunt dilectissimis fratribus, in Domino salutem.

1. Inter caeteras Romanae Ecclesiae curas, et apostolicae Sedis occupationes, quibus diversorum consulta fideli ac modica disceptatione tractamus, frater et coepiscopus noster Julius Dilectionis vestrae litteras, quas ex Milevitano concilio cura fidei propensiore misistis, mihi inopinanter ingessit, Carthaginensis etiam synodi querelae parilis scripta subjungens. Nimirum exsultat Ecclesia tantam sollicitudinem commissis gregibus exhibere pastores, ut non solum neminem ex his patiantur errare, sed si quas magis ovium scaevae delectationis herba seduxit, ac si in errore permanserint, aut segregari penitus velint, aut illicenter dudum petita vitantes, custodiae pristinae circumspectione tutari, in utraque parte videlicet consulentes, ne vel suscipiendo tales simili caeterae seducantur exemplo; vel spernendo redeuntes, luporum morsibus videantur ingestae. Prudens admodum et catholicae fidei plena consultatio . Quis enim aut tolerare possit errantem, aut non recipere se corrigentem? Nam ut durum arbitror conniventiam praebere peccantibus, ita impium judico manum negare conversis.

But enough has been proven to be responded to your admonitions, so abundant with examples of our law; nor did we think that anything remained for us to say, since it is clear that nothing has been passed over by you, nothing has been suppressed, by which they may be refuted and recognized as entirely convicted. And therefore no testimonies are placed by us, because the report is full of these, and it is sufficiently clear that so many most learned priests have said everything, nor is it proper to believe that you have passed over anything which could profit the cause. And in another hand: Farewell, brothers. And at the side: Given on the 6th calends of February, after the 7th consulship of Theodosius Augustus and of Junius Quartus, a most distinguished man.

Letter 182.

Innocent, Roman Pontiff, to the Fathers of the Council of Milevis, approving their acts against the Pelagians.

INNOCENT to SILVANUS the elder, VALENTINUS, and the rest of the most dear brothers who were present in the synod of Milevis, greeting in the Lord.

1. Among the other cares of the Roman Church, and the occupations of the Apostolic See, by which we treat the consultations of various people with faithful and modest discussion, our brother and fellow-bishop Julius has unexpectedly brought to me the letters of your Love, which you sent from the Council of Milevis with a more inclined care for the faith, subjoining the writings of a similar complaint from the synod of Carthage. Truly the Church exults that pastors exhibit such solicitude for the flocks committed to them, so that not only do they allow no one of these to err, but if the grass of a perverse delight has more seduced any of the sheep, and if they should remain in error, they either wish them to be entirely segregated, or, avoiding the things illicitly sought long ago, they wish them to be protected by the circumspection of their former custody, consulting in both parts, namely, lest by receiving such the rest should be seduced by a similar example; or by spurning them as they return, they should seem to be cast into the bites of wolves. A consultation very prudent and full of the catholic faith. For who can either tolerate one erring, or not receive one correcting himself? For as I think it hard to show connivance to those sinning, so I judge it impious to deny a hand to those converted.

2. Diligenter ergo et congrue apostolici consulitis honoris arcana (honoris, inquam, illius quem, praeter illa quae sunt extrinsecus, sollicitudo manet omnium Ecclesiarum [II Cor. XI, 28]) super anxiis rebus, quae sit tenenda sententia, antiquae scilicet regulae formam secuti, quam toto semper ab orbe mecum nostis esse servatam. Verum haec missa facio; neque enim hoc vestram credo tatere prudentiam: qui id enim actione firmastis, nisi scientes quod per omnes provincias de apostolico fonte petentibus responsa semper emanent? praesertim quoties fidei ratio ventilatur, arbitror omnes fratres et coepiscopos nostros, nonnisi ad Petrum, id est, sui nominis et honoris auctorem referre debere, velut nunc retulit vestra Dilectio, quod per totum mundum possit omnibus Ecclesiis in commune prodesse. Fiant enim necesse est cautiores, cum inventores malorum, ad duplicis relationem synodi, sententiae nostrae statutis viderint ab ecclesiastica communione sejunctos.

3. Gemino igitur bono charitas vestra fungetur. Nam et canonum potiemini gratia servatorum, et beneficio vestro totus orbis utetur. Quis enim catholicorum virorum cum adversariis Christi velit ulterius miscere sermonem? quis saltem ipsam lucem vitae communione partiri? Novae haereseos nimirum fugiantur auctores. Quid enim acerbius in Deum fingere potuerunt, quam cum adjutoria divina cassarent, causamque quotidianae precationis auferrent? Hoc est dicere, Quid mihi opus est Deo? Merito in hos dicat Hymnidicus: «Ecce homines, qui non posuerunt Deum adjutorem sibi» (Psal. LI, 9). Negantes ergo auxilium Dei, inquiunt hominem sibi posse sufficere, nec gratia hunc egere divina, qua privatus necesse est diaboli laqueis irretitus occumbat, dum ad omnia vitae perficienda mandata, sola tantummodo libertate contendat. O pravissimarum mentium perversa doctrina! Advertat id tandem quod primum hominem ita libertas ipsa decepit, ut, dum indulgentius frenis ejus utitur, in praevaricationem praesumptione conciderit; nec ex hac potuit erui, nisi providentia regenerationis, statum pristinae libertatis Christi Domini reformasset adventus. Audiat David dicentem, «Adjutorium nostrum in nomine Domini» (Psal. CXXIII, 8); et, «Adjutor meus esto, ne derelinquas me, neque despicias me, Deus salutaris meus» (Psal. XXVI, 9): quae incassum dixerit, si tantum in ejus erat positum voluntate quod a Domino flebili sermone poscebat.

4. Quae cum ita sint, cumque in omnibus divinis paginis voluntati liberae nonnisi adjutorium Dei legamus esse nectendum, eamque nihil posse coelestibus praesidiis destitutam; quonam modo huic soli possibilitatem hanc pertinaciter, ut asseritis, defendentes, sibimet, imo, quod est dignius dolore communi, jam plurimis Pelagius Celestiusque persuadent?

2. Diligently therefore and fittingly do you consult the secrets of the apostolic honor (of that honor, I say, upon which, besides those things which are from without, the solicitude for all the Churches remains [2 Cor. 11:28]) concerning anxious matters, as to what opinion is to be held, following namely the form of the ancient rule, which you know has always been observed with me by the whole world. But I pass these things over; for I do not believe this is hidden from your prudence: for how have you strengthened it by action, unless knowing that answers always emanate through all provinces to those who ask from the apostolic fountain? especially as often as the reason of faith is ventilated, I think all our brothers and fellow-bishops ought to refer to none but Peter, that is, the author of their name and honor, just as your Love has now referred that which can profit all Churches in common throughout the whole world. For they must necessarily become more cautious, when they see the inventors of evils, at the report of a double synod, separated from ecclesiastical communion by the statutes of our sentence.

3. Your charity therefore shall perform a double good. For you shall both obtain the grace of the canons observed, and the whole world shall use your benefit. For who of catholic men would wish further to mix speech with the adversaries of Christ? who would even share the light of life itself in communion? Truly let the authors of the new heresy be avoided. For what more bitter thing could they feign against God, than when they should nullify divine helps, and take away the cause of daily prayer? This is to say, What need have I of God? Worthily might the Hymn-writer say against these: "Behold the men, who did not set God as a helper for themselves" (Psalm 51:9). Denying therefore the help of God, they say that man can suffice for himself, nor does he need divine grace, deprived of which he must necessarily fall, entangled in the snares of the devil, while for the fulfilling of all the mandates of life, he contends with liberty alone. O perverse doctrine of most wicked minds! Let it at length attend to this, that liberty itself so deceived the first man, that while he used its reins too indulgently, he fell into transgression by presumption; nor could he be rescued from this, unless the advent of Christ the Lord had reformed the state of pristine liberty by the providence of regeneration. Let him hear David saying, "Our help is in the name of the Lord" (Psalm 123:8); and, "Be my helper, do not leave me, nor despise me, O God my Savior" (Psalm 26:9): which things he would have said in vain, if that which he asked from the Lord with tearful speech was placed only in his will.

4. Since these things are so, and since in all the divine pages we read that divine help is to be joined to the free will, and that it can do nothing destitute of celestial protections; how do Pelagius and Celestius now persuade very many, defending this possibility for this alone pertinaciously, as you assert, for themselves, or rather, what is more worthy of common grief?

Multifariis equidem ad destruendum tale magisterium uti possemus exemplis, nisi sciremus Sanctitatem vestram ad plenum Scripturas omnes callere divinas; praesertim cum vestra relatio tantis ac talibus testimoniis sit referta, ut his solis valeat praesens dogma rescindi; opusque non esse reconditis, cum et iis quae facile vobis occurrentia posuistis, nec audeant obviare, nec possint. Ergo Dei gratiam conantur auferre, quam necesse est, etiam restituta nobis status pristini libertate, quaeramus: quippe qui nec alias diaboli machinas, nisi eadem possumus juvante vitare.

5. Illud vero quod eos vestra fraternitas asserit praedicare, parvulos aeternae vitae praemiis etiam sine Baptismatis gratia posse donari, perfatuum est. Nisi enim manducaverint carnem Filii hominis, et biberint sanguinem ejus, non habebunt vitam in semetipsis (Joan. VI, 54). Qui autem hanc eis sine regeneratione defendunt, videntur mihi ipsum Baptismum velle cassare, cum praedicant hos habere quod in eos creditur nonnisi Baptismate conferendum. Si ergo nihil volunt officere non renasci, fateantur necesse est nec regenerationis sacra fluenta prodesse. Verum ut superfluorum hominum prava doctrina celeri veritatis possit ratione discindi, proclamat hoc Dominus in Evangelio, dicens: «Sinite infantes venire ad me, et nolite eos prohibere; talium est enim regnum coelorum» (Luc. XVIII, 16).

6. Quare Pelagium Celestiumque, id est inventores vocum novarum, quae, sicut dixit Apostolus, aedificationis nihil, sed magis vanissimas consueverunt parere quaestiones, ecclesiastica communione privari, apostolici vigoris auctoritate censemus, donec resipiscant de diaboli laqueis, a quo captivi tenentur secundum ipsius voluntatem (II Tim. II, 23, 26); eosque interim dominico ovili non recipi, quod ipsi, perversae viae secuti tramitem, deserere voluerunt: abscindendi sunt enim qui vos conturbant, et volunt convertere Evangelium Christi (Galat. I, 7). Simul autem praecipimus ut quicumque id pertinacia simili defensare nituntur, par eos vindicta constringat. Non solum enim qui faciunt, sed etiam qui consentiunt facientibus digni sunt morte (Rom. I, 32); quia non multum interesse arbitror inter committentis animum, et consentientis favorem. Addo et amplius: plerumque dediscit errare, cui nemo consentit.

Indeed, we could use manifold examples to destroy such teaching, unless we knew your Holiness to be fully skilled in all the divine Scriptures; especially since your report is so filled with such and so many testimonies, that by these alone the present dogma may be rescinded; and there is no need for recondite ones, since they neither dare to meet nor can they meet those which you have placed occurring easily to you. Therefore they attempt to take away the grace of God, which we must necessarily seek, even with the liberty of our former state restored to us: since we cannot avoid other machinations of the devil except with the same grace helping.

5. But that which your brotherhood asserts they preach, that infants can be gifted with the rewards of eternal life even without the grace of Baptism, is completely fatuous. For "unless they shall eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, they shall not have life in themselves" (John 6:54). But those who defend this for them without regeneration, seem to me to wish to nullify Baptism itself, when they preach that these have what is believed to be conferred only by Baptism. If therefore they wish it to be of no disadvantage not to be reborn, they must necessarily confess that the sacred streams of regeneration do not profit either. But so that the perverse doctrine of superfluous men may be cut away by the swift reason of truth, the Lord proclaims this in the Gospel, saying: "Suffer the little children to come to me, and do not forbid them; for of such is the kingdom of heaven" (Luke 18:16).

6. Wherefore we decree by the authority of apostolic vigor that Pelagius and Celestius, that is, the inventors of new voices, which, as the Apostle said, are accustomed to produce nothing of edification but rather most vain questions, be deprived of ecclesiastical communion, until they repent from the snares of the devil, by whom they are held captive according to his will (2 Tim. 2:23, 26); and that they meanwhile not be received into the Lord's fold, which they themselves, following the path of a perverse way, wished to desert: for those are to be cut off who trouble you, and wish to pervert the Gospel of Christ (Gal. 1:7). Moreover, we command that whoever attempts to defend this with similar pertinacity, a like vengeance should constrain them. For not only those who do, but also those who consent to those doing, are worthy of death (Rom. 1:32); because I think there is not much difference between the mind of the one committing and the favor of the one consenting. I add even more: for the most part he unlearns erring, whom no one consents to.

Haec igitur, fratres charissimi, in supradictos maneat fixa sententia; absint atriis Domini, careant custodia pastorali, ne duarum ovium dira contagia serpant forsitan per vulgus incautum, rapacique lupus corde laetetur intra ovile dominicum tantas ovium fusas catervas, dum a custodibus dissimulanter habetur vulnus duarum. Prospiciendum est ergo ne permittendo lupos, mercenarii magis videamur esse quam pastores.

7. Jubemus sane, quoniam Christus Dominus propria voce significavit nolle se mortem morientis, tantum ut revertatur et vivat (Matth. IX, 13), si unquam ad sanum, deposito pravi dogmatis errore, resipuerint, damnarintque ea quorum se ipsi praevaricatione damnarunt, eis medicinam solitam, id est receptaculum suum ab Ecclesia non negari: ne dum eos redeuntes forsitan prohibemus, vere extra ovile remanentes et exspectantes, hostis rabidis faucibus glutiantur, quas in semetipsos spiculis malae disputationis armarunt. Bene valete, fratres. Datum sexto calend. februarias, Honorio et Constantio viris clarissimis consulibus.

Epistola CLXXXIII.

Innocentii ad quinque Episcopos rescriptum, improbantis doctrinam Pelagii, eumque, nisi haeresim ejuret, damnandum esse pronuntiantis.

Dilectissimis fratribus AURELIO, ALYPIO, AUGUSTINO, EVODIO et POSSIDIO episcopis, INNOCENTIUS, salutem.

1. Fraternitatis vestrae litteras, plenas fidei, totoque religionis catholicae vigore firmatas, a duobus missas conciliis per fratrem et coepiscopum nostrum Julium pergrato suscepimus animo, quod earum tenor omnisque contextio in consideratione quotidianae gratiae Dei, et in eorum correctione qui contra sentiunt, integra ratione consistit; ut et illis omnem tollere possit errorem, et idoneum, dato quovis nostrae legis exemplo, quem sequi debeant dignum possint praebere doctorem. Sed de his jam satis, ut opinor, supra diximus, cum vestris relationibus respondentes rescripsimus quid vel de illorum perfidia, vel de vestra sententia sentiremus. Sed subinde contra eos subvenit et suppeditat quod dicatur, nec potest aliquando deesse quod vincat, cum tam miserum impiumque sit quod nostrae fidei virtute et ipsa plenius veritate vincatur.

Let this sentence therefore, most dear brothers, remain fixed against the aforementioned; let them be absent from the courts of the Lord, let them lack pastoral custody, lest the dire contagion of two sheep should creep perhaps through the unwary crowd, and the wolf with a rapacious heart should rejoice within the fold of the Lord at so many crowds of sheep being scattered, while the wound of two is held dissemblingly by the custodians. It must therefore be provided lest by permitting wolves, we should seem to be mercenaries rather than pastors.

7. We command indeed, since Christ the Lord signified by His own voice that He does not wish the death of the one dying, only that he should return and live (Matt. 9:13), that if ever they should repent to a sound mind, the error of perverse dogma being laid aside, and should condemn those things by whose transgression they condemned themselves, the accustomed medicine, that is, their receptacle from the Church, should not be denied them: lest while we perhaps prohibit them returning, being truly remaining and waiting outside the fold, they should be swallowed by the rabid jaws of the enemy, which they armed against themselves with the darts of evil discussion. Farewell, brothers. Given on the sixth calends of February, Honorius and Constantius, most distinguished men, being consuls.

Letter 183.

Rescript of Innocent to the five Bishops, disapproving the doctrine of Pelagius, and pronouncing that he must be condemned unless he abjures heresy.

To the most dear brothers AURELIUS, ALYPIUS, AUGUSTINE, EVODIUS, and POSSIDIUS, bishops, INNOCENT, greeting.

1. We have received with a very grateful mind the letters of your brotherhood, full of faith and strengthened with all the vigor of the catholic religion, sent from two councils through our brother and fellow-bishop Julius, because their tenor and whole context consists in sound reason in the consideration of the daily grace of God, and in the correction of those who think contrary; so that it may be able to take away all error from them, and can provide a worthy and suitable teacher, any example of our law being given, whom they ought to follow. But concerning these things I think enough has already been said above, when responding to your reports we wrote back what we felt either concerning their perfidy or concerning your opinion. But periodically something occurs and is supplied to be said against them, nor can something that conquers ever be lacking, since it is so miserable and impious a thing that by the virtue of our faith it is conquered even by the truth itself more fully.

Qui enim omnem vitae spem respuit atque contempsit, inimica damnabilique cor suum disputatione confundens, cum credit nihil esse quod a Deo accipiat, nec aliquid superesse quod petat ad sanandum se; qui sibi hoc abstulit, ulterius quid reliquit?

2. Si ergo sunt aliqui, quos in sui defensionem perversitas tanta devinxit, qui huic se dogmati dedant atque conjungant, sperantes hoc ad catholicam pertinere doctrinam, quod abhorrens longius et penitus approbatur adversum, infecti illorum et monitis et verbis ut laberentur inducti, quatenus ad rectum viae tramitem redeant festinabunt, ne diutius mentem obsidens velut eorum sensibus pastus error invadat. Nam si Pelagius quocumque restitit loco, eorum animos qui facile vel simpliciter crederent disputanti, hac affirmatione decepit: seu hac illi in urbe sint (quos nescientes nec manifestare possumus nec negare, cum et si sunt lateant, nec aliquando audeant vel illum praedicantem ista defendere, vel talia aliquo nostrorum praesente jactare, nec in tanta populi multitudine deprehendi aliquis facile, nec alicubi possit agnosci), sive in quovis terrarum loco degant; Dei nostri misericordia gratiaque credimus quod facile corrigantur, audita ejus damnatione qui fuerit pertinax et resistens hujus dogmatis auctor inventus; nec interest ubi isti fuerint, dum ubicumque inveniri potuerint sint sanandi.

3. Nobis tamen nec persuaderi potest eum esse purgatum, quamvis ad nos a nescio quibus laicis sint Gesta perlata, quibus ille et auditum se crederet et absolutum: quae utrum vera sint dubitamus, quod sub nulla illius concilii prosecutione venerunt, nec eorum aliquas accepimus de hac re litteras, apud quos istius rei iste praestitit causas. Quod si de sua ille potuisset purgatione confidere, hoc magis eredimus quod egisset, quod multo verius esse potuerat, ut illos cogeret epistolis suis, qui dijudicaverunt, indicare. Verum cum sint aliqua in ipsis posita Gestis, quae objecta partim ille vitando suppressit, partim multa in se verba retorquendo tota obscuritate confudit; aliqua magis falsis argumentis quam vera ratione, ut ad tempus poterat videri, purgavit, negando alia, alia falsa interpretatione vertendo.

For he who has rejected and despised all hope of life, confounding his heart with a hostile and damnable discussion, since he believes there is nothing that he may receive from God, nor does anything remain which he may seek for healing himself; he who has taken this away from himself, what has he left for the future?

2. If therefore there are some, whom so great a perversity has bound in their own defense, who give and join themselves to this dogma, hoping that this pertains to catholic doctrine, which is proven to be far abhorrent and entirely adverse, being infected by their admonitions and led by their words so that they should fall, they will hasten as far as possible to return to the right path of the way, lest the error, fed as if on their senses, invading the mind for a longer time, should obsess it. For if Pelagius, in whatever place he stopped, deceived the minds of those who would easily or simply believe him as he discussed, by this affirmation: whether those be in this city (whom being ignorant we can neither manifest nor deny, since even if they are they lie hidden, nor do they ever dare either to defend him preaching these things, or to boast such things in the presence of any of ours, nor can anyone be easily detected or recognized anywhere in so great a multitude of people), or whether they live in any place of the lands; by the mercy and grace of our God we believe that they are easily corrected, hearing the condemnation of him who shall have been found a pertinacious and resisting author of this dogma; nor does it matter where those were, as long as wherever they could be found they are to be healed.

3. To us, nevertheless, it cannot be persuaded that he has been purged, although from some unknown laymen the Acts have been brought to us, by which he might believe himself both heard and absolved: which we doubt whether they are true, because they came under no prosecution of that council, nor have we received any letters from them concerning this matter, in whose presence he offered the causes of this thing. But if he could have trusted in his own purgation, we believe that he would have acted rather in this way, which could have been much truer, that he should compel those who judged him to indicate it by their letters. Truly, since there are some things placed in those same Acts, which being objected he partly suppressed by avoiding them, partly confused with total obscurity by retorting many words upon himself; some things he purged rather by false arguments than by true reason, as could be seen for the time, by denying some, by turning others with a false interpretation.

4. Sed utinam, quod optandum magis est, jam se ille ad veram catholicae fidei viam ab illo sui tramitis errore convertat, ut cupiat velitque purgari, considerans quotidianam Dei gratiam, adjutoriumque cognoscens, ut videatur verum, et approbetur ab omnibus manifesta ratione correctus, non Gestorum indicio, sed ad catholicam fidem corde converso! Unde non possumus illorum nec culpare nec approbare judicium, cum nesciamus utrum vera sint Gesta; aut si vera sunt, illum constet magis subterfugisse, quam se tota veritate purgasse. Qui si confidit novitque non se nostra dignum esse damnatione, quod dicat jam totum hoc se refutasse quod dixerat, non a nobis accersiri, sed ipse debet potius festinare, ut possit absolvi. Nam si adhuc taliter sentit, quando se nostro judicio quibusvis acceptis litteris, cum sciat damnandum se esse, committet? Quod si accersiendus esset, ab iis melius fieret, qui magis proximi et non longo terrarum spatio videntur esse disjuncti. Sed non deerit cura, si medicinae praebeat ille materiam. Potest enim damnare quae senserat, ac, dalis litteris, erroris sui, ut regressum ad nos decet, veniam postulare, fratres charissimi.

5. Librum sane, qui ejus esse diceretur, nobis à vestra Charitate transmissum evolvimus: in quo multa contra Dei gratiam legimus esse conscripta, multa blasphema, nihil quod placeret, et nihil pene quod non penitus displiceret, a quovis damnandum atque calcandum; cujus similia, nisi qui ista scripserat, nemo alter in mentem reciperet atque sentiret. Nam hoc loco latius de lege disputare, velut coram posito repugnanteque Pelagio, necessarium esse non duximus, cum vobiscum totam scientibus parique nobiscum assensione gaudentibus colloquamur. Tunc enim melius haec exempla ponuntur, quando cum iis quos harum constat rerum imprudentes esse, tractamus. Nam de naturae possibilitate, de libero arbitrio, et de omni Dei gratia, et quotidiana gratia, cui non sit recte sentienti uberrimum disputare? Anathematizet ergo ista quae sensit, ut illi qui ejus sermonibus fuerant praeceptisque collapsi, quid tandem habeat fides vera, cognoscant. Facilius enim revocari poterunt, cum ista a suo senserint auctore damnari. Quod si ille pertinaciter in hac voluerit impietate persistere, agendum est quatenus vel iis possit subveniri, quos non suus, sed hujus magis error induxit; ne et illis haec medicina pereat cujus iste talem non admittit nec postulat curam. (Et alia manu): Deus vos incolumes custodiat, fratres charissimi. Data VI calendas februarias, post consulatum gloriosissimi Theodosii Augusti VII, et Junii Quarti Palladii V. C.

4. But would that, which is rather to be hoped for, he would now convert himself to the true way of the catholic faith from that error of his path, so that he may desire and wish to be purged, considering the daily grace of God and recognizing the help, so that he may seem true, and be approved by all corrected by manifest reason, not by the indication of the Acts, but by a heart converted to the catholic faith! Whence we can neither blame nor approve the judgment of those [who heard him], since we do not know whether the Acts are true; or if they are true, it is clear that he rather escaped by subterfuge than purged himself with the whole truth. Who, if he trusts and knows that he is not worthy of our condemnation, because he says he has already refuted all this that he had said, ought not to be summoned by us, but he himself ought rather to hasten, so that he may be able to be absolved. For if he still feels such things, when will he commit himself to our judgment, any letters being received, since he knows he is to be condemned? But if he were to be summoned, it would better be done by those who are more proximate and are seen not to be disjoined by a long space of lands. But care will not be lacking, if he provides the matter for medicine. For he can condemn what he had felt, and, letters being given, seek pardon for his error, as becomes a return to us, most dear brothers.

5. We have indeed unrolled the book, which was said to be his, transmitted to us by your Charity: in which we read many things written against the grace of God, many blasphemous things, nothing that would please, and almost nothing that would not entirely displease, to be condemned and trampled upon by anyone; the like of which no other person would receive into his mind and feel, except he who had written those things. For we did not think it necessary in this place to dispute more broadly about the law, as if in the presence of Pelagius standing against us, since we speak with you who know everything and rejoice in equal assent with us. For then these examples are better placed, when we treat with those who are proven to be imprudent of these things. For concerning the possibility of nature, concerning free will, and concerning all the grace of God, and daily grace, to whom of right feeling would it not be most abundant to dispute? Let him therefore anathematize those things which he felt, so that those who had collapsed by his sermons and precepts may at length know what the true faith holds. For they can more easily be recalled, when they shall feel those things condemned by their own author. But if he should wish to persist pertinaciously in this impiety, it must be acted so that at least those may be helped whom not their own, but rather this man's error led; lest this medicine also perish for them, for whom he does not admit nor ask such care. (And in another hand): May God keep you safe, most dear brothers. Given on the 6th calends of February, after the consulship of the most glorious Theodosius Augustus for the 7th time, and of Junius Quartus Palladius, a most distinguished man.

Epistola CLXXXIV.

INNOCENTIUS, AURELIO et AUGUSTINO episcopis.

Acceptissimi mihi Germani compresbyteri illo recursus vacuus officio nostro esse non debuit. Per charos enim salutare charissimos, naturale quodammodo nobis videtur et consequens. Gaudere ergo in Domino vestram Germanitatem amantissimi cupimus, et pro nobis paria ad Deum vota rependere precamur, quia, ut bene nostis, communibus et alternis plus agimus orationibus, quam singularibus aut privatis.

EPISTOLA CLXXXIV BIS . Laudans Petri et Abrahae studium, Pelagianos obiter notat, probatque parvulos absque baptismo decedentes, utpote concupiscentia seminatos, damnari; infideles vero, quorum multiplex genus est, non Scripturae sacrae auctoritate corrigi, sed supplicibus orationibus converti. Librorum Civitatis Dei institutum ac ordo.

Dominis dilectissimis, et sanctis filiis PETRO et ABRAHAE, AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

CAPUT PRIMUM.

1. Sanctum quidem studium vestrum, quo a me multa putatis esse quaerenda ut contentiosis impietatibus non inermes resistere valeatis, nec debet justitia spernere, nec charitas potest. Sed diligentem ad omnia responsionem una epistola, quamlibet sit prolixa, non capit. Plurimis autem opusculis nostris aut ad omnia, aut pene ad omnia, quae requiritis, jam me respondisse, quantum potui, noveritis. Quae si legatis, quoniam sic vos audio instituisso vitam qua Deo servitis, ut vobis ad legendum vacet, aut omnis vobis patebit instructio, aut non multum existimo defuturum, praesertim quia inest vobis Doctor interior, cujus gratia tales estis. Nam quid hominem ad aliquid discendum adjuvat homo, si non simus docibiles Domini (Joan. VI, 45)? et in hac tamen epistola nequaquam exspectationem vestram, sicut Dominus adjuvat, brevi saltem responsione fraudabo.

2. Dominus ait: Qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit, salvus erit; qui autem non crediderit, condemnabitur (Marc. XVI, 16). Si ergo parvuli cum baptizantur, non inaniter dicitur, sed veraciter agitur, ut inter credentes habeantur, unde etiam nova proles ore Christianorum omnium nuncupantur; profecto si non crediderint, condemnabuntur: ac per hoc, quia nihil ipsi male vivendo addiderunt ad originale peccatum, potest eorum merito dici in illa damnatione minima poena, non tamen nulla.

Letter 184.

INNOCENT to bishops AURELIUS and AUGUSTINE.

The return of Germanus, my most acceptable fellow-presbyter, ought not to have been empty of our office. For to greet most dear ones through dear ones seems to us in a certain way natural and following. Therefore we desire your Brotherhood, most beloved, to rejoice in the Lord, and we pray you to repay like vows to God for us, because, as you well know, we do more by common and alternate prayers than by singular or private ones.

LETTER 184 bis. Praising the study of Peter and Abraham, he notes the Pelagians in passing, and proves that infants dying without baptism, as being sown in concupiscence, are condemned; truly that infidels, of whom there is a manifold kind, are not corrected by the authority of sacred Scripture, but converted by suppliant prayers. The plan and order of the books of the City of God.

To the most beloved lords and holy sons PETER and ABRAHAM, AUGUSTINE, greeting in the Lord.

CHAPTER ONE.

1. Your holy study indeed, by which you think many things are to be asked from me so that you may be able to resist contentious impieties not unarmed, neither ought justice to despise, nor can charity. But a diligent response to everything one letter, however prolix it may be, does not contain. But you should know that in very many of our small works I have already responded, as far as I could, to everything, or almost everything, which you require. Which if you read, since I hear you have so instituted the life by which you serve God that there is leisure for you for reading, either every instruction will lie open to you, or I think not much will be lacking, especially because the interior Teacher is in you, by whose grace you are such. For what does a man help a man to learn anything, if we be not teachable of the Lord (John 6:45)? and yet in this letter I shall by no means defraud your expectation, as the Lord helps, even with a brief response.

2. The Lord says: "He who shall believe and be baptized, shall be saved; but he who shall not believe, shall be condemned" (Mark 16:16). If therefore infants when they are baptized, it is not said in vain, but acted in truth, that they are held among believers, whence also they are called a new offspring by the mouth of all Christians; surely if they shall not believe, they shall be condemned: and through this, because they themselves by living badly added nothing to original sin, it can worthily be said of them that in that condemnation there is a minimum punishment, yet not none.

Quisquis autem putat diversitatem futuram non esse poenarum, legat quod scriptum est: Tolerabilius erit Sodomae in die judicii, quam illi civitati (Matth. X, 15). Non ergo a deceptoribus inter regnum et supplicium medius locus quaeratur infantibus; sed transeant a diabolo ad Christum, hoc est, a morte ad vitam, ne ira Dei maneat super eos: ab hac quippe ira Dei non liberat nisi gratia Dei. Quid est autem ira Dei, nisi a Deo justo poena debita atque vindicta? neque enim Deus aliqua commotione turbatur, sicut irascitur mutabilis animus; sed ea quae dicitur ira Dei, nihil est aliud, quam justa poena peccati, quae non mirum, quod transit in posteros.

3. Concupiscentia quippe carnalis, qua seminantur et concipiuntur, non erat ante peccatum, nec fuisset omnino, nisi hominis inobedientiam poena reciproca etiam suae carnis inobedientia sequeretur. Quo malo quamvis bene utatur nuptiarum bonum, non tamen sine illo fieri potest etiam nuptialis, id est liberorum procurandorum causa licitus honestusque concubitus. Sine illo autem fieri posset, si humana in eo statu in quo condita est, non peccando natura mansisset. Possent enim membra etiam genitalia, sicut caetera, ad opus proprium peragendum nutu voluntatis moveri, non aestu libidinis excitari. Nam quis neget illa Dei verba, Crescite et multiplicamini (Gen. I, 22), non maledictionem peccatorum, sed benedictionem fuisse nuptiarum? Per hanc ergo concupiscentiam quia neque seminatus, neque conceptus est Christus (quoniam se longe aliter habuit Virginis partus); per hanc, inquam, concupiscentiam quidquid hominum seminatur, concipitur, et nascitur, ne puniatur, opus est renascatur. Quia, etsi de renatis parentibus nascitur, non potest huic praestare generatio carnalis, quod illis non praestitit nisi regeneratio spiritualis. Sicut non solum de oleastri, sed etiam de olivae semine non nascitur nisi oleaster, quamvis olea non sit oleaster . Multa de his etiam in aliis nostris litteris diximus, quae volo potius ut legatis quam nos eadem repetere cogatis.

CAPUT II.

4. Infidelibus vero, qui nulla tenentur Christianorum auctoritate Librorum, operosius respondetur. Neque eorum pravitas potest divinae Scripturae pondere corrigi, adversus quos potius ipsa, quae ab eis apertius accusatur, debet utique Scriptura defendi. Quod si et vos Dominus, ut valeatis, adjuverit, parum tamen agitis apud eos, quos cupitis esse christianos, si eorum infidelitatem veracibus disputationibus vincitis; nisi eis et fidem supplicibus orationibus poscatis.

But whoever thinks that there will not be a diversity of punishments, let him read what is written: "It shall be more tolerable for Sodom in the day of judgment, than for that city" (Matt. 10:15). Let not therefore a middle place between the kingdom and punishment be sought for infants by deceivers; but let them pass from the devil to Christ, that is, from death to life, lest the wrath of God remain upon them: from this wrath of God indeed nothing frees except the grace of God. But what is the wrath of God, unless punishment and vengeance due from a just God? for God is not troubled by any commotion, as a mutable mind is angered; but that which is called the wrath of God is nothing other than the just punishment of sin, which it is no wonder that it passes to posterity.

3. For carnal concupiscence, by which they are sown and conceived, was not before sin, nor would it have been at all, unless a reciprocal punishment should also follow the disobedience of man in the disobedience of his own flesh. Which evil although the good of marriage uses well, yet even the licit and honest concubitus for the cause of procuring children, that is, the nuptial one, cannot happen without it. But it could happen without it, if human nature had remained by not sinning in that state in which it was established. For even the genital members, like the others, could be moved by the nod of the will to perform their own work, not excited by the heat of libido. For who would deny those words of God, "Increase and multiply" (Gen. 1:22), were not a curse of sinners, but a blessing of nuptials? Through this concupiscence therefore, because Christ was neither sown nor conceived (since the birth of the Virgin was far otherwise); through this concupiscence, I say, whatever of men is sown, conceived, and born, there is need that it be reborn lest it be punished. Because, even if it is born from reborn parents, carnal generation cannot provide to this what spiritual regeneration did not provide except to them. Just as not only from the seed of the wild olive, but even of the olive, nothing is born but the wild olive, although the olive is not the wild olive. Many things concerning these we have said even in our other letters, which I wish rather that you read than compel us to repeat the same.

CHAPTER II.

4. To infidels indeed, who are held by no authority of the Books of the Christians, it is more laboriously responded. Nor can their perversity be corrected by the weight of divine Scripture, against whom rather the Scripture itself, which is more openly accused by them, ought surely to be defended. Which if the Lord shall also help you so that you may be able, nevertheless you do little among those whom you desire to be Christians, if you conquer their infidelity with truthful discussions; unless you also ask for faith for them with suppliant prayers.

Et ipsa quippe, ut scitis, fides munus est Dei, qui unicuique partitur mensuram fidei et tale munus, quod intellectum necessarium est ut praecedat. Non enim propheta fallitur dicens: Nisi credideritis, non intelligetis (Isai. VII, 9). Et quia nisi ut crederent non pro jam fidelibus, sed adhuc pro infidelibus Judaeis orabat Apostolus, quando dicebat: Fratres, bona voluntas quidem cordis mei, et deprecatio ad Deum fit pro illis in salutem (Rom. X, 1); pro illis scilicet, qui occiderant Christum, qui profecto istum quoque, si potestas daretur, occiderent. Pro qualibus et Dominus, cum pendens irrideretur (Luc. XXIII, 34), et beatus Stephanus, cum lapidaretur (Act. VII, 59), oravit.

CAPUT III.

5. Istorum sane infidelium, quos vel Gentiles, vel jam vulgo usitato vocabulo Paganos appellare consuevimus, quoniam duo sunt genera; unum eorum, qui superstitiones, quas putant, Christianae religioni anteponunt; alterum eorum, qui nullo religionis nomine obstricti sunt; ego in quibusdam libris, quos de Civitate Dei praenotavi, quorum ad vos existimo jam pervenisse notitiam, et quorum adhuc reliquos, si Dominus voluerit, absolvendos in mediis meis occupationibus molior, adversus primum istorum genre, quod Apostolus notat, ubi dicit, Quae immolant gentes, daemoniis, et non Deo immolant (I Cor. X, 20); vel certe, ubi dicit, Coluerunt et servierunt creaturae potius quam Creatori (Rom. I, 25); decem volumina non parva confeci, quorum priora quinque illos redarguunt, qui propter adipiscendam vel retinendam humanarum rerum istam terrenam temporalemque felicitatem, non unius summi et veri, sed multorum deorum cultum necessarium esse contendunt. Posteriora vero alia quinque contra illos sunt, qui se adversus salutarem doctrinam tumidius et inflatius extollentes, ad beatitudinem, quae post hanc vitam speratur, etiam per daemonum multorumque deorum cultum existimant pervenire. Ubi et nobiles eorum philosophi in tribus his quinque, sed ultimis libris, refelluntur a nobis. Caeteri ab undecimo quot esse potuerint, quorum jam tres absolvi, quartum in manibus habeo, ea quae nos de Civitate Dei tenemus et credimus, continebunt; ne aliena tantummodo refutare, non etiam nostra in hoc opere asserere voluisse videamur. Iste autem post decem quartus, idemque totius operis quartus decimus liber, si Dominus voluerit, enodatas habebit omnes, quas mihi proposuistis in vestra epistola, quaestiones.

And faith itself indeed, as you know, is a gift of God, who partitions to each one a measure of faith, and such a gift that it is necessary that it precede understanding. For the prophet is not deceived saying: "Unless you shall believe, you shall not understand" (Isaiah 7:9). And because unless they should believe, the Apostle was praying not for those already faithful, but for the Jews still infidels, when he said: "Brothers, indeed the good will of my heart, and prayer to God is made for them unto salvation" (Rom. 10:1); for those, namely, who had killed Christ, who surely would also kill him, if power were given. For such the Lord also prayed when hanging He was mocked (Luke 23:34), and blessed Stephen when he was stoned (Acts 7:59).

CHAPTER III.

5. Of these infidels indeed, whom we are accustomed to call either Gentiles, or now by a commonly used word Pagans, since there are two kinds; one of those who prefer superstitions, as they think, to the Christian religion; the other of those who are bound by no name of religion; I, in certain books which I have pre-noted concerning the City of God, of which I think the notice has already reached you, and of which I still labor at the remaining ones to be absolved in the midst of my occupations if the Lord shall will, against the first kind of these, which the Apostle notes where he says, "What the nations sacrifice, they sacrifice to demons, and not to God" (1 Cor. 10:20); or certainly where he says, "They worshiped and served the creature rather than the Creator" (Rom. 1:25); I have completed ten not small volumes, of which the first five refute those who, for the sake of obtaining or retaining this earthly and temporal happiness of human things, contend that the worship not of one supreme and true [God], but of many gods is necessary. Truly the other posterior five are against those who, extolling themselves more tumidly and inflately against the salutary doctrine, think they reach to the beatitude which is hoped for after this life even through the worship of demons and many gods. Where also their noble philosophers are refuted by us in these three of the last five books. The others from the eleventh as many as could be, of which I have already absolved three and have the fourth in hands, will contain those things which we hold and believe concerning the City of God; lest we should seem to have wished only to refute the things of others, and not also to assert our own in this work. But that fourteenth book after the ten, and the same also fourteenth of the whole work, if the Lord shall will, will have all the questions which you proposed to me in your letter unknotted.

6. Porro cum altero infidelium genere, qui vel vim nullam esse divinam credunt, vel ad eam res humanas pertinere non credunt, nescio utrum sermo sit habendus de aliqua quaestione pietatis; quamvis non fere quisquam nostris temporibus reperiatur ita stultus, qui vel in corde suo dicere audeat: Non est Deus (Psal. XIII, 1). Illi autem alii stulti non desunt qui dixerint, Non videbit Dominus (Psal. XCIII, 7); id est, providentiam suam in haec terrena non tendit . Verumtamen in his libris, quos volo ut legat Charitas vestra, dum asserit Civitas Dei, non solum esse Deum, quod natura insitum vix ulla unquam exstirpat impietas; sed etiam rerum humanarum curam gerere ab ipsa institutione hominum usque ad beatificandos justos cum Angelis sanctis, et damnandos impios cum angelis malignis, si Deus voluerit, et quibus voluerit credibile fiet.

7. Non itaque ulterius oneranda est haec epistola, dilectissimi. Ubi enim speretis per ministerium nostrum nosse quod vultis, satis diximus; et eosdem libros, si nondum habetis, ut habere possitis, per sanctum fratrem et compresbyterum meum Firmum , qui vos multum diligit, nobisque diligentius intimavit, ut vestrae mutuae dilectioni gratias agat, pro nostrae tenuitatis facultate curavimus.

DE EPISTOLA SUBSEQUENTE. (LIB. II RETRACT., CAP. XLVIII.)

Eodem tempore scripsi etiam librum de Correctione Donatistarum, propter eos qui nolebant illos legibus imperialibus corrigi. Hic liber sic incipit: «Laudo, et gratulor, et admiror.»

DE CORRECTIONE DONATISTARUM LIBER, SEU EPISTOLA CLXXXV.

Augustinus Bonifacio (tribuno ac demum comiti in Africa, ex epist. 220), commonstrans illi Donatistarum haeresim nihil habere commune cum Ariana, et qua moderatione per metum legum imperialium haeretici possunt ad Ecclesiae societatem reduci: nonnulla de Donatistarum et Circumcellionum immanitate, ac postremo de peccato in Spiritum sanctum non remittendo. Idem argumentum tractavit in epistola 93.

CAPUT PRIMUM.

6. Furthermore, with the other kind of infidels, who either believe there is no divine power, or do not believe that human things pertain to it, I know not whether speech is to be had concerning any question of piety; although almost no one is found in our times so foolish as to dare even to say in his heart: "There is no God" (Psalm 13:1). But those other foolish ones are not lacking who have said: "The Lord will not see" (Psalm 93:7); that is, He does not extend His providence into these earthly things. Nevertheless in these books, which I wish your Charity to read, while the City of God asserts not only that God is, which being natural and ingrained almost no impiety ever extirpates; but also that He bears the care of human things from the very institution of men even unto beatifying the just with holy Angels, and condemning the impious with malignant angels, if God shall will, and to whom He shall will, it will become credible.

7. Therefore this letter is not to be burdened further, most beloved. For where you may hope to know what you wish through our ministry, we have said enough; and we have cared, according to the faculty of our tenuity, that you may be able to have the same books if you do not yet have them, through my holy brother and fellow-presbyter Firmus, who loves you much and has more diligently intimated to us, so that he may give thanks to your mutual love.

CONCERNING THE SUBSEQUENT LETTER. (LIB. II RETRACT., CAP. XLVIII.)

At the same time I also wrote a book concerning the Correction of the Donatists, on account of those who did not wish them to be corrected by imperial laws. This book begins thus: "I praise, and congratulate, and admire."

Book C

ONCERNING THE CORRECTION OF THE DONATISTS, OR LETTER 185.

Augustine to Boniface (tribune and at length count in Africa, from Epist. 220), demonstrating to him that the heresy of the Donatists has nothing in common with the Arian, and by what moderation through the fear of imperial laws heretics can be reduced to the society of the Church: some things concerning the immanity of the Donatists and Circumcellions, and finally concerning the sin against the Holy Spirit not to be remitted. He treated the same argument in letter 93.

CHAPTER I.

1. Laudo, et gratulor, et admiror, fili dilectissime Bonifaci, quod inter curas bellorum et armorum, vehementer desideras ea nosse quae Dei sunt. Vere hinc te apparet etiam de ipsa virtute militari, fidei servire quam habes in Christo. Ut ergo breviter insinuem Dilectioni tuae, inter Arianorum et Donatistarum quid intersit errorem; Ariani Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti diversas substantias esse dicunt: Donatistae autem non hoc dicunt, sed unam Trinitatis substantiam confitentur. Et si aliqui ipsorum minorem Filium esse dixerunt quam Pater est; ejusdem tamen substantiae non negarunt: plurimi vero in eis hoc se dicunt omnino credere de Patre et Filio et Spiritu sancto, quod catholica credit Ecclesia. Nec ipsa cum illis vertitur quaestio; sed de sola communione infeliciter litigant, et contra unitatem Christi rebelles inimicitias perversitate sui erroris exercent. Aliquando autem, sicut audivimus, nonnulli ex ipsis volentes sibi Gothos conciliare, quando eos vident aliquid posse, dicunt hoc se credere quod et illi credunt. Sed majorum suorum auctoritate convincuntur; quia nec Donatus ipse sic credidisse asseritur, de cujus parte se esse gloriantur.

2. Non te autem ista conturbent, fili dilectissime. Haereses enim et scandala futura praedicta sunt, ut inter inimicos erudiamur; ac sic et fides et dilectio nostra possit esse probatior: fides utique, ne ab eis decipiamur; dilectio autem, ut etiam ipsis corrigendis, quantum possumus, consulamus; non solum instantes ne infirmis noceant, atque ut ab errore nefario liberentur, sed etiam orantes pro eis, ut aperiat Dominus illis sensum, et intelligant Scripturas. Quia in sanctis Libris ubi manifestatur Dominus Christus, ibi et ejus Ecclesia declaratur: isti autem mirabili caecitate, cum ipsum Christum praeter Scripturas nesciant, ejus tamen Ecclesiam non divinarum Litterarum auctoritate cognoscunt, sed humanarum calumniarum vanitate confingunt.

3. Agnoscunt nobiscum Christum in eo quod legitur, Foderunt manus meas et pedes meos; dinumeraverunt omnia ossa mea. Ipsi vero consideraverunt et conspexerunt me; diviserunt sibi vestimenta mea, et super vestem meam miserunt sortem: et nolunt agnoscere Ecclesiam in eo quod post paululum sequitur, Commemorabuntur et convertentur ad Dominum universi fines terrae; et adorabunt in conspectu ejus universae patriae gentium: quoniam Domini est regnum, et ipse dominabitur gentium (Psal. XXI, 17, 18, 19, 28, 29).

1. I praise, and congratulate, and admire, most beloved son Boniface, that in the midst of the cares of wars and arms, you vehemently desire to know those things which are of God. Truly from this it appears that even from military virtue itself, you serve the faith which you have in Christ. Therefore, that I may briefly insinuate to your Charity what the difference is between the error of the Arians and of the Donatists; the Arians say that the substances of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit are diverse: but the Donatists do not say this, but confess one substance of the Trinity. And if some of them have said that the Son is less than the Father is; yet they have not denied that He is of the same substance: truly the majority among them say that they believe this entirely concerning the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, which the Catholic Church believes. Nor is the question itself turned with them; but they litigate unhappily concerning communion alone, and they exercise rebellious hostilities against the unity of Christ by the perversity of their error. But sometimes, as we have heard, some of them, wishing to conciliate the Goths to themselves, when they see that they have some power, say that they believe this which they also believe. But they are convicted by the authority of their elders; because not even Donatus himself is asserted to have believed thus, of whose party they glory that they are.

2. But let not those things disturb you, most beloved son. For future heresies and scandals have been predicted, so that we might be erudite among enemies; and thus both our faith and our love may be able to be more proved: faith indeed, lest we be deceived by them; but love, so that we may consult even for their correction as much as we can; not only being instant lest they harm the weak, and that they may be liberated from the nefarious error, but also praying for them, so that the Lord may open their sense to them, and they may understand the Scriptures. Because in the holy Books where the Lord Christ is manifested, there also His Church is declared: but these ones, by a wonderful blindness, although they know not Christ Himself except from the Scriptures, yet they do not recognize His Church by the authority of the divine Letters, but feign it by the vanity of human calumnies.

3. They recognize with us Christ in that which is read, They pierced my hands and my feet; they numbered all my bones. They indeed considered and beheld me; they divided my garments among them, and upon my vesture they cast a lot: and they do not wish to recognize the Church in that which follows a little after, All the ends of the earth shall be mindful and shall be converted to the Lord; and all the families of the nations shall adore in his sight: since the kingdom is the Lord's, and he shall rule over the nations (Psalm 21:17, 18, 19, 28, 29).

Agnoscunt nobiscum Christum in eo quod legitur, Dominus dixit ad me, Filius meus es tu, ego hodie genui te: et nolunt agnoscere Ecclesiam in eo quod sequitur, Postula a me, et dabo tibi gentes haereditatem tuam, et possessionem tuam terminos terrae (Psal. II, 7, 8). Agnoscunt nobiscum Christum in eo quod ipse Dominus in Evangelio loquitur, Oportebat Christum pati, et resurgere a mortuis tertia die: et nolunt agnoscere Ecclesiam in eo quod sequitur, et praedicari in nomine ejus poenitentiam et remissionem peccatorum per omnes gentes, incipientibus ab Jerusalem (Luc. XXIV, 46, 47). Et innumerabilia sunt testimonia Librorum sanctorum, quae in hunc librum coarctare non debui. In quibus sicut apparet Dominus Christus, sive secundum divinitatem qua aequalis est Patri, qui in principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum; sive secundum susceptae carnis humilitatem, qua Verbum caro factum est, et habitavit in nobis (Joan. I, 1, 14): sic apparet etiam ejus Ecclesia, non in sola Africa, sicut isti impudentissima vanitate delirant, sed toto orbe terrarum diffusa.

4. Testimoniis enim divinis lites suas praeferunt, quia in causa Caeciliani quondam Ecclesiae Carthaginensis episcopi, cui crimina objecerunt quae nec potuerunt probare nec possunt, se ab Ecclesia catholica, hoc est, ab unitate omnium gentium, diviserunt. Quamvis et si vera essent quae ab eis objecta sunt Caeciliano, et nobis possent aliquando monstrari, ipsum jam mortuum anathematizaremus : sed tamen Ecclesiam Christi, quae non litigiosis opinionibus fingitur, sed divinis attestationibus comprobatur, propter quemlibet hominem relinquere non debemus; quia bonum est confidere in Domino, quam confidere in homine (Psal. CXVII, 8). Neque enim, quod sine injuria innocentiae illius dixerim, si peccavit Caecilianus, ideo haereditatem suam perdidit Christus. Facile est homini, seu vera, seu falsa de altero homine credere; sed sceleratae impudentiae est, propter crimina hominis, quae orbi terrarum non possis ostendere, communionem orbis terrarum velle damnare.

5. Utrum Caecilianus a traditoribus divinorum Codicum fuerit ordinatus, nescio; non vidi, ab inimicis ejus audivi: non mihi de Lege Dei, non de praeconio Prophetarum, non de sanctitate Psalmorum, non de Apostolo Christi, non de Christi eloquio recitatur. Ecclesiam vero toto terrarum orbe diffusam, cui non communicat pars Donati, universarum Scripturarum testimonia consona voce proclamant. In semine tuo benedicentur omnes gentes, Lex Dei dixit (Gen. XXVI, 4).

They recognize with us Christ in that which is read, The Lord said to me, You are my Son, today I have begotten you: and they do not wish to recognize the Church in that which follows, Ask of me, and I will give you the nations as your inheritance, and the ends of the earth as your possession (Psalm 2:7, 8). They recognize with us Christ in that which the Lord Himself speaks in the Gospel, It behooved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead on the third day: and they do not wish to recognize the Church in that which follows, and that penance and remission of sins should be preached in his name through all nations, beginning from Jerusalem (Luke 24:46, 47). And innumerable are the testimonies of the holy Books, which I ought not to coarct into this book. In which just as the Lord Christ appears, whether according to the divinity by which He is equal to the Father, who in the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God; or according to the humility of the assumed flesh, by which the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us (John 1:1, 14): so appears also His Church, not in Africa alone, as these ones rave with most impudent vanity, but diffused throughout the whole world.

4. For they prefer their own litigations to the divine testimonies, because in the cause of Caecilian, formerly bishop of the church of Carthage, against whom they objected crimes which they neither could prove nor can, they divided themselves from the Catholic Church, that is, from the unity of all nations. Although even if the things which were objected by them to Caecilian were true, and could sometimes be shown to us, we would now anathematize him, already dead: but yet we ought not to leave the Church of Christ, which is not feigned by litigious opinions, but is proved by divine attestations, on account of any man whatsoever; because it is good to trust in the Lord, rather than to trust in man (Psalm 117:8). For neither, which I may have said without injury to that innocence of his, if Caecilian sinned, did Christ therefore lose His inheritance. It is easy for a man to believe either true or false things about another man; but it is of wicked impudence, on account of the crimes of a man which you cannot show to the world, to wish to condemn the communion of the world.

5. Whether Caecilian was ordained by traitors of the divine Codices, I know not; I did not see it, I heard it from his enemies: it is not recited to me from the Law of God, not from the preaching of the Prophets, not from the holiness of the Psalms, not from the Apostle of Christ, not from the speech of Christ. Truly the testimonies of all the Scriptures with consonant voice proclaim the Church diffused throughout the whole world, with which the party of Donatus does not communicate. In your seed all nations shall be blessed, the Law of God said (Genesis 26:4).

Ab ortu solis usque ad occasum, sacrificium mundum offertur nomini meo; quoniam glorificatum est nomen meum in gentibus, per Prophetam Dominus dixit (Malach. I, 11). Dominabitur a mari usque ad mare, et a flumine usque ad terminos orbis terrarum, per Psalmum Dominus dixit (Psal. LXXI, 8). Fructificans et crescens in universo mundo, per Apostolum Dominus dixit (Coloss. I, 6). Eritis mihi testes in Jerusalem, et in tota Judaea, et in Samaria, et usque in fines terrae, Filius Dei ore suo dixit (Act. I, 8). Caecilianus Ecclesiae Carthaginensis episcopus humanis litibus accusatur: Ecclesia Christi in omnibus gentibus constituta, divinis vocibus commendatur. Ipsa pietas, veritas, charitas, nos non permittit contra Caecilianum eorum hominum accipere testimonium, quos in Ecclesia non videmus cui Deus perhibet testimonium: qui enim divina testimonia non sequuntur, pondus humani testimonii perdiderunt.

CAPUT II.

6. Addo quod Caeciliani causam, ipsi ad imperatoris Constantini judicium accusando miserunt; imo vero ipsum Caecilianum post episcopalia judicia , ubi eum opprimere non potuerunt, ad supradicti imperatoris examen, pertinacissimis persecutionibus perduxerunt. Et quod in nobis modo reprehendunt, ut decipiant imperitos, dicentes non debere christianos contra inimicos Christi aliquid a christianis imperatoribus postulare, ipsi priores fecerunt. Quod etiam in collatione quam simul apud Carthaginem habuimus, negare non ausi sunt: imo et gloriari ausi sunt quod apud Imperatorem majores eorum criminaliter Caecilianum fuerint insecuti; insuper addentes mendacium, quod eum illic vicerint fecerintque damnari. Quomodo ergo ipsi non sunt persecutores, qui cum accusando persecuti sint Caecilianum, et ab eo fuerint superati, falsam sibi gloriam impudentissimo mendacio arrogare voluerunt; non solum culpam non putantes, verum etiam pro sua laude jactantes, si probarent Caecilianum majoribus suis accusantibus fuisse damnatum? Quemadmodum autem in ipsa collatione modis omnibus victi sint, quoniam valde prolixa sunt Gesta, et tibi aliis rebus Romanae paci necessariis occupato, multum est ut legantur, Breviarium eorum tibi legi forsitan poterit, quod credo habere fratrem et coepiscopum meum Optatum; aut si non habet, potest facillime accipere de Ecclesia Sitifensi : quando quidem etiam liber iste jam sua prolixitate curis tuis forsitan onerosus est.

From the rising of the sun even to its setting, a clean sacrifice is offered to my name; since my name is glorified among the nations, the Lord said through the Prophet (Malachi 1:11). He shall rule from sea even to sea, and from the river even to the ends of the world, the Lord said through the Psalm (Psalm 71:8). Fructifying and growing in the whole world, the Lord said through the Apostle (Colossians 1:6). You shall be witnesses to me in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and even to the ends of the earth, the Son of God said with His own mouth (Acts 1:8). Caecilian, bishop of the church of Carthage, is accused by human litigations: the Church of Christ, constituted in all nations, is commended by divine voices. Piety itself, truth, charity, does not permit us to receive against Caecilian the testimony of those men whom we do not see in the Church to which God gives testimony: for those who do not follow the divine testimonies have lost the weight of human testimony.

CHAPTER II.

6. I add that they themselves, by accusing, sent the cause of Caecilian to the judgment of the Emperor Constantine; nay rather, they brought Caecilian himself after the episcopal judgments, where they could not oppress him, to the examination of the aforesaid Emperor, by most pertinacious persecutions. And what they now reprehend in us, so that they may deceive the unskillful, saying that Christians ought not to demand anything from Christian Emperors against the enemies of Christ, they themselves did first. Which also in the conference which we had together at Carthage, they did not dare to deny: nay, they even dared to glory that their elders had criminally pursued Caecilian before the Emperor; moreover adding a lie, that they conquered him there and caused him to be condemned. How therefore are they not persecutors, who since they pursued Caecilian by accusing, and were overcome by him, wished to arrogate false glory to themselves by a most impudent lie; not only not thinking it a fault, but even boasting for their own praise, if they should prove that Caecilian had been condemned by their accusing elders? But how they were conquered in all ways in that same conference, since the Acts are very prolix, and for you occupied with other things necessary for Roman peace, it is much that they be read, a Breviary of them will perhaps be able to be read to you, which I believe my brother and fellow-bishop Optatus has; or if he does not have it, he can most easily receive it from the Church of Sitifis: since indeed even this book by its own prolixity is perhaps burdensome to your cares.

7. Hoc enim contigit Donatistis, quod accusatoribus sancti Danielis. Sicut enim in illos leones (Dan. VI, 24), sic in istos conversae sunt leges quibus innocentem opprimere voluerunt; nisi quod propter misericordiam Christi, magis pro eis sunt istae leges, quae illis videntur adversae: quoniam multi per illas correcti sunt, et quotidie corriguntur; et se esse correctos, atque ab illa furiosa pernicie liberatos gratias agunt. Et qui oderant diligunt, molestasque sibi fuisse saluberrimas leges, quantum in insania detestabantur, tantum recepta sanitate gratulantur; et in residuos, cum quibus fuerant perituri, jam simili dilectione nobiscum, ut pariter instemus ne illi pereant, excitantur. Molestus est enim et medicus furenti phrenetico, et pater indisciplinato filio; ille ligando, iste caedendo; sed ambo diligendo. Si autem illos negligant, et perire permittant, ista potius mansuetudo falsa crudelis est. Si enim equus et mulus, quibus non est intellectus, morsibus et calcibus resistunt hominibus a quibus eorum curanda vulnera contrectantur; et cum inter dentes eorum et calces saepe homines periclitentur, et aliquando vexentur, non tamen eos deserunt, donec per dolores et molestias medicinales revocent ad salutem: quanto magis homo ab homine, et frater a fratre, ne in aeternum pereat, non est deserendus, qui correctus intelligere potest quantum sibi praestabatur beneficium, quando se persecutionem perpeti querebatur!

8. Sicut ergo Apostolus dicit, Infatigabiles, cum tempus habemus, operemur bonum ad omnes (Galat. VI, 10): qui possunt, catholicorum praedicatorum sermonibus; qui possunt, catholicorum principum legibus; partim per eos qui divinis admonitionibus, partim per eos qui jussis imperialibus parent, omnes ad salutem vocentur, omnes a pernicie revocentur. Quia et imperatores quando pro falsitate contra veritatem constituunt malas leges, probantur bene credentes, et coronantur perseverantes: quando autem pro veritate contra falsitatem constituunt bonas leges, terrentur saevientes, et corriguntur intelligentes. Quicumque ergo legibus imperatorum, quae contra veritatem Dei feruntur, obtemperare non vult, acquirit grande praemium: quicumque autem legibus imperatorum, quae pro Dei veritate feruntur, obtemperare non vult, acquirit grande supplicium. Nam et temporibus Prophetarum omnes reges qui in populo Dei non prohibuerunt nec everterunt quae contra Dei praecepta fuerant instituta, culpantur; et qui prohibuerunt et everterunt, super aliorum merita laudantur.

7. For this happened to the Donatists, which [happened] to the accusers of holy Daniel. For just as against those the lions (Daniel 6:24), so against these were turned the laws by which they wished to oppress the innocent; except that on account of the mercy of Christ, those laws are more for them, which seem adverse to them: since many have been corrected through them, and are corrected daily; and they give thanks that they have been corrected, and liberated from that furious perdition. And those who hated love, and as much as they detested in their insanity that the most salutary laws were troublesome to them, so much they congratulate [themselves] having recovered sanity; and they are excited with us by a similar love against the remaining ones, with whom they were about to perish, so that we may equally insist lest those ones perish. For both a physician is troublesome to a raging madman, and a father to an undisciplined son; the former by binding, the latter by beating; but both by loving. But if they should neglect them, and permit them to perish, this false mildness is rather cruel. For if the horse and the mule, which have no understanding, resist with bites and kicks the men by whom their wounds to be cured are handled; and although men are often endangered and sometimes vexed among their teeth and kicks, yet they do not desert them, until through medicinal pains and troubles they recall them to health: how much more a man by a man, and a brother by a brother, lest he perish for eternity, is not to be deserted, who being corrected can understand how great a benefit was being afforded to him, when he complained that he suffered persecution!

8. Therefore as the Apostle says, Unwearied, while we have time, let us work good to all (Galatians 6:10): let all be called to salvation, let all be recalled from perdition, those who can, by the speeches of Catholic preachers; those who can, by the laws of Catholic princes; partly through those who obey divine admonitions, partly through those who obey imperial commands. Because both emperors, when they constitute bad laws for falsehood against the truth, are proved believing well, and those persevering are crowned: but when they constitute good laws for the truth against falsehood, those raging are terrified, and those understanding are corrected. Whoever therefore does not wish to comply with the laws of emperors which are brought against the truth of God, acquires a great reward: but whoever does not wish to comply with the laws of emperors which are brought for the truth of God, acquires a great punishment. For also in the times of the Prophets all the kings who in the people of God did not prohibit nor overturn those things which had been instituted against the precepts of God, are blamed; and those who prohibited and overturned [them], are praised above the merits of others.

Et rex Nabuchodonozor, cum servus esset idolorum, constituit sacrilegam legem ut simulacrum adoraretur; sed ejus impiae constitutioni qui obedire noluerunt, pie fideliterque fecerunt: idem tamen rex, divino correctus miraculo, piam et laudabilem legem pro veritate constituit, ut quicumque diceret blasphemiam in Deum verum Sidrac, Misac, et Abdenago, cum domo sua penitus interiret (Dan. III, 5, 96). Hanc legem si qui contempserunt, et id quod fuerat constitutum merito perpessi sunt, debuerunt dicere quod isti dicunt, se justos esse, quia ex lege regis persecutionem patiebantur: quod utique dicerent, si ita insanirent, sicuti isti insaniunt qui dividunt membra Christi, et exsufflant Sacramenta Christi, et de persecutione gloriantur; quia prohibentur ista facere legibus imperatorum, quas constituerunt pro unitate Christi; et jactant fallaciter innocentiam suam, et quam non possunt a Domino accipere, ab hominibus quaerunt martyrum gloriam.

9. Veri autem martyres illi sunt, de quibus Dominus ait, Beati qui persecutionem patiuntur propter justitiam (Matth. V, 10). Non ergo qui propter iniquitatem, et propter christianae unitatis impiam divisionem, sed qui propter justitiam persecutionem patiuntur, hi martyres veri sunt. Nam et Agar passa est persecutionem a Sara (Genes. XVI, 6); et illa erat sancta quae faciebat, illa iniqua quae patiebatur. Numquid huic persecutioni quam passa est Agar, comparandus est sanctus David quem persecutus est iniquus Saül (I Reg. XVIII, XIX, et sqq.)? Valde utique distat, non quia patiebatur, sed quia propter justitiam patiebatur. Et ipse Dominus cum latronibus crucifixus est (Luc. XXIII, 33): sed quos passio jungebat, causa separabat. Ideo in Psalmo vox illa intelligenda est verorum martyrum, volentium se discerni a martyribus falsis, Judica me, Deus, et discerne causam meam de gente non sancta (Psal. XLII, 1): non dixit, Discerne poenam meam; sed, discerne causam meam. Potest enim esse impiorum similis poena, sed dissimilis est martyrum causa; quorum et illa vox est, Injuste persecuti sunt me, adjuva me (Psal. CXVIII, 86): ideo se dignum existimavit qui adjuvaretur juste, quia illi persequebantur injuste; nam si juste illi persequerentur, non fuerat adjuvandus, sed corrigendus.

10. Si autem putant, quod nemo possit juste aliquem persequi, sicut in collatione dixerunt, illam esse veram Ecclesiam quae persecutionem patitur, non quae facit; omitto dicere quod superius commemoravi, quia si ita est ut dicunt, Caecilianus ad veram Ecclesiam pertinebat, quando eum majores illorum usque ad Imperatoris judicium accusando persequebantur. Nos enim dicimus ideo illum ad veram Ecclesiam pertinuisse, non quia persecutionem patiebatur, sed quia propter justitiam patiebatur; illos autem ideo fuisse abalienatos ab Ecclesia, non quia persequebantur, sed quia injuste persequebantur: nos itaque hoc dicimus.

And King Nebuchadnezzar, when he was a servant of idols, constituted a sacrilegious law that an image should be adored; but those who refused to obey his impious constitution, did piously and faithfully: yet the same king, corrected by a divine miracle, constituted a pious and laudable law for the truth, that whoever should speak blasphemy against the true God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, should utterly perish with his house (Daniel 3:5, 96). If any contemned this law, and deservedly suffered that which had been constituted, they ought to have said what these ones say, that they are just, because they suffered persecution from the law of the king: which they would certainly say, if they were so insane as these ones are insane who divide the members of Christ, and blow away the Sacraments of Christ, and glory in persecution; because they are prohibited from doing those things by the laws of emperors which they constituted for the unity of Christ; and they boast fallaciously of their innocence, and they seek from men the glory of martyrs which they cannot receive from the Lord.

9. But those are true martyrs of whom the Lord says, Blessed are they who suffer persecution for the sake of justice (Matthew 5:10). Therefore not those who suffer persecution for the sake of iniquity and for the sake of the impious division of Christian unity, but those who suffer for the sake of justice, these are true martyrs. For also Hagar suffered persecution from Sarah (Genesis 16:6); and she was holy who did it, she was iniquitous who suffered it. Is holy David, whom iniquitous Saul persecuted, to be compared to this persecution which Hagar suffered (1 Kings 18, 19, etc.)? Truly it differs greatly, not because he suffered, but because he suffered for the sake of justice. And the Lord Himself was crucified with thieves (Luke 23:33): but the cause separated those whom the passion joined. Therefore that voice of the true martyrs is to be understood in the Psalm, wishing themselves to be discerned from false martyrs, Judge me, O God, and discern my cause from an unholy nation (Psalm 42:1): he did not say, "Discern my punishment"; but, discern my cause. For there can be a similar punishment of the impious, but the cause of the martyrs is dissimilar; whose also is that voice, They have persecuted me unjustly, help me (Psalm 118:86): therefore he thought himself worthy to be helped justly, because those ones were persecuting unjustly; for if those ones were persecuting justly, he was not to be helped, but corrected.

10. But if they think that no one can justly persecute anyone, as they said in the conference, that that is the true Church which suffers persecution, not that which does [it]; I omit to say what I commemorated above, because if it is so as they say, Caecilian pertained to the true Church, when their elders were pursuing him even to the judgment of the Emperor by accusing. For we say that he pertained to the true Church for this reason, not because he was suffering persecution, but because he was suffering for the sake of justice; but that those ones were alienated from the Church for this reason, not because they were persecuting, but because they were persecuting unjustly: we therefore say this.

Illi vero si non quaerunt causas quare quisque faciat persecutionem, vel quare patiatur, sed hoc putant esse signum veri Christiani, si persecutionem non faciat, sed patiatur; sine dubio Caecilianum in ea definitione constituunt, qui non faciebat, sed patiebatur: majores autem suos ab ea definitione foras mittunt, qui faciebant, non patiebantur.

11. Sed hoc, ut dixi, omitto; illud dico: si Ecclesia vera ipsa est quae persecutionem patitur, non quae facit; quaerant ab Apostolo quam Ecclesiam significabat Sara, quando persecutionem faciebat ancillae. Liberam quippe matrem nostram, coelestem Jerusalem, id est veram Dei Ecclesiam, in illa muliere dicit fuisse figuratam, quae affligebat ancillam (Galat. IV, 22-31). Si autem melius discutiamus, magis illa persequebatur Saram superbiendo, quam illam Sara coercendo: illa enim dominae faciebat injuriam, ista imponebat superbae disciplinam. Deinde quaero, si boni et sancti nemini faciunt persecutionem, sed tantummodo patiuntur, cujus putant esse in Psalmo vocem, ubi legitur, Persequar inimicos meos, et comprehendam illos, et non convertar donec deficiant (Psal. XVII, 38). Si ergo verum dicere vel agnoscere volumus, est persecutio injusta, quam faciunt impii Ecclesiae Christi; et est justa persecutio, quam faciunt impiis Ecclesiae Christi. Ista itaque beata est quae persecutionem patitur propter justitiam; illi vero miseri qui persecutionem patiuntur propter injustitiam. Proinde ista persequitur diligendo, illi saeviendo; ista ut corrigat, illi ut evertant; ista ut revocet ab errore, illi ut praecipitent in errorem: denique ista persequitur inimicos et comprehendit, donec deficiant in vanitate, ut in veritate proficiant; illi autem retribuentes mala pro bonis, quia eis consulimus ad aeternam salutem, etiam temporalem nobis conantur auferre, sic amantes homicidia, ut in seipsis ea perficiant, quando in aliis perpetrare non possunt. Sicut enim charitas laborat Ecclesiae sic eos ab illa perditione liberare, ut eorum nemo moriatur; sic eorum laborat furor aut nos occidere, ut suae crudelitatis pascant libidinem, aut etiam seipsos, ne perdidisse videantur occidendorum hominum potestatem.

CAPUT III.

But if they do not seek the causes why each one does persecution, or why he suffers [it], but think this is the sign of a true Christian, if he does not do persecution, but suffers [it]; without doubt they constitute Caecilian in that definition, who was not doing, but suffering [it]: but they send their own elders out from that definition, who were doing, not suffering [it].

11. But this, as I said, I omit; I say that: if the true Church is itself that which suffers persecution, not that which does [it]; let them ask from the Apostle what Church Sarah was signifying, when she was doing persecution to the handmaid. For he says that our free mother, the heavenly Jerusalem, that is, the true Church of God, was figured in that woman who was afflicting the handmaid (Galatians 4:22-31). But if we should discuss it better, that one was persecuting Sarah more by being proud, than Sarah her by coercing: for that one was doing injury to the mistress, this one was imposing discipline on the proud one. Then I ask, if the good and holy do persecution to no one, but only suffer [it], whose voice do they think it is in the Psalm, where it is read: I will pursue my enemies, and will comprehend them, and will not turn back until they fail (Psalm 17:38)? If therefore we wish to speak or to recognize the truth, there is an unjust persecution which the impious do to the Church of Christ; and there is a just persecution which the Church of Christ does to the impious. That [Church] therefore is blessed which suffers persecution for the sake of justice; but those are miserable who suffer persecution for the sake of injustice. Hence this [Church] pursues by loving, those by raging; this so that she may correct, those so that they may overturn; this so that she may recall from error, those so that they may precipitate into error: finally this [Church] pursues enemies and comprehends [them], until they fail in vanity, so that they may profit in truth; but those, retributing evils for goods, because we consult for them unto eternal salvation, try to take away even temporal [salvation] from us, so loving homicides that they fulfill them in themselves when they cannot perpetrate them in others. For just as the charity of the Church labors so to liberate them from that perdition that none of them may die; so their furor labors either to kill us, so that they may feed the lust of their cruelty, or even themselves, lest they should seem to have lost the power of killing men.

CHAPTER III.

12. Qui autem nesciunt consuetudinem illorum, putant eos modo seipsos occidere, quando ab eorum insanissima dominatione, per occasionem legum istarum quae pro unitate sunt constitutae, tanti populi liberantur. Qui autem sciunt et ante ipsas leges quid facere soleant, non eorum mirantur mortes, sed recordantur mores; maxime quando adhuc cultus fuerat idolorum, ad Paganorum celeberrimas solemnitates ingentia turbarum agmina veniebant, non ut idola frangerent, sed ut interficerentur a cultoribus idolorum. Nam illud si accepta legitima potestate facere vellent, si quid eis accidisset, possent habere qualemcumque umbram nominis martyrum; sed ad hoc solum veniebant, ut integris idolis ipsi perimerentur: nam singuli quique valentissimi juvenes cultores idolorum, quis quot occideret ipsis idolis vovere consueverant. Quidam etiam se trucidandos armatis viatoribus ingerebant, percussuros eos se, nisi ab eis perimerentur, terribiliter comminantes. Nonnunquam et a judicibus transeuntibus extorquebant violenter, ut a carnificibus vel ab officio ferirentur. Unde quidam illos sic illusisse perhibetur, ut eos tanquam percutiendos ligari et dimitti juberet, atque ita eorum impetum incruentus et illaesus evaderet. Jamvero per abrupta praecipitia, per aquas et flammas occidere seipsos, quotidianus illis ludus fuit. Haec enim eos tria mortis genera diabolus docuit, ut mori volentes, quando non inveniebant quem terrerent, ut ejus gladio ferirentur, per saxa se mitterent, aut ignibus gurgitibusque donarent. Quis autem illos haec docuisse credendus est, possidens cor eorum, nisi ille qui et Salvatori nostro, ut se de pinna templi praecipitaret, tanquam de Lege suggessit (Luc. IV, 9)? Cujus suggestionem a se utique prohiberent, si magistrum Christum in corde portarent. Sed quia in se diabolo potius dederunt locum, aut sic pereunt quemadmodum grex ille porcorum, quem de monte in mare turba daemonum dejecit (Marc. V, 13); aut illis mortibus erepti, et pio matris Catholicae gremio collecti, ita liberantur, quemadmodum est a Domino liberatus, quem pater ejus a daemonio sanandum obtulit, dicens quod aliquando cadere in aquam, aliquando in ignem soleret (Matth. XVII, 14).

12. But those who know not their custom, think that they kill themselves only now, when so many peoples are liberated from their most insane domination by the occasion of those laws which have been constituted for unity. But those who know even before those same laws what they are accustomed to do, do not wonder at their deaths, but remember their manners; especially when there was still the worship of idols, huge columns of crowds used to come to the most celebrated solemnities of the Pagans, not so that they might break the idols, but so that they might be killed by the worshippers of idols. For if they wished to do that having received legitimate power, if anything had happened to them, they could have some kind of shadow of the name of martyrs; but they used to come to this alone, that they themselves might be destroyed while the idols remained intact: for every single one of the most valiant young worshippers of idols had been accustomed to vow to those same idols how many each would kill. Some also used to cast themselves into the way of armed travelers to be slaughtered, terribly threatening that they would strike them unless they were destroyed by them. Sometimes also they violently extorted from passing judges that they should be struck by the executioners or by the office. Whence a certain one is reported to have mocked them thus, that he ordered them to be bound as if to be struck and then to be dismissed, and thus he escaped their impetus unbloody and unharmed. Now indeed, to kill themselves through abrupt precipices, through waters and flames, was a daily play for them. For the devil taught them these three kinds of death, so that wishing to die, when they did not find someone whom they might terrify so that they might be struck by his sword, they might cast themselves through rocks, or give [themselves] to fires and whirlpools. But who is to be believed to have taught them these things, possessing their heart, except he who also suggested to our Savior, as if from the Law, that He should precipitate Himself from the pinnacle of the temple (Luke 4:9)? Whose suggestion they would certainly prohibit from themselves, if they carried Christ the master in their heart. But because they gave place to the devil in themselves instead, either they perish just as that herd of swine which the crowd of demons cast down from the mountain into the sea (Mark 5:13); or being snatched from those deaths, and gathered into the pious bosom of the Catholic mother, they are thus liberated, just as he was liberated by the Lord whom his father offered to be healed from a demon, saying that he was accustomed sometimes to fall into water, sometimes into fire (Matthew 17:14).

13. Unde magna in eos fit misericordia, cum etiam per istas imperatorum leges, ab illa secta, ubi per doctrinas daemoniorum mendaciloquorum mala ista didicerunt, prius eripiuntur inviti, ut in Catholica postea bonis praeceptis et moribus sanentur assueti. Nam multi eorum quorum jam in unitate Christi, pium fidei fervorem charitatemque miramur, cum magna laetitia Deo gratias agunt quod illo errore caruerunt, ubi mala ista bona putaverunt: quas gratias modo volentes non agerent, nisi prius etiam nolentes ab illa nefaria societate discederent. Quid de illis dicamus, qui nobis quotidie confitentur quod jam olim volebant esse catholici; sed inter eos habitabant, inter quos id quod volebant esse non poterant per infirmitatem timoris, ubi si unum verbum pro Catholica dicerent, et ipsi et domus eorum funditus everterentur? Quis est tam demens, qui neget istis debuisse per jussa imperialia subveniri, ut de tanto eruerentur malo, dum illi quos timebant timere coguntur, et eodem timore aut etiam ipsi corriguntur, aut certe cum se correctos esse confingunt, correctis parcunt, a quibus antea timebantur?

14. Si autem seipsos occidere voluerint, ne illi qui liberandi sunt liberentur, et eo modo liberantium terrere pietatem, ut dum timetur ne quidam perditi pereant, non eruantur perditioni, qui vel jam nolebant perire, vel coerciti poterant non perire; quid hic agit charitas christiana, praesertim cum illi qui suas mortes voluntarias et furiosas minantur, in populorum liberandorum comparatione perpauci sint? Quid agit ergo fraterna dilectio? utrum dum paucis transitorios ignes metuit caminorum, dimittit omnes aeternis ignibus gehennarum; et tam multos vel jam volentes, vel postea non valentes per catholicam pacem ad vitam venire perpetuam, relinquit in interitum sempiternum, cavendo ne quidam voluntario moriantur interitu, qui vivunt ad impedimentum salutis aliorum, quos non permittunt secundum Christi doctrinam vivere, ut eos doceant quocumque tempore secundum consuetudinem doctrinae diabolicae ad eas, quae in illis modo timentur, mortes voluntarias festinare? an potius conservat quos potest, etsi sponte pereant quos conservare non potest? Ut enim omnes vivant, ardenter exoptat; sed omnes ne pereant, plus laborat. Gratias autem Domino, quod et apud nos, non quidem in omnibus, sed valde in pluribus locis, et per alias Africae partes, sine ullis istorum insanorum mortibus, pax catholica cucurrit, et currit. Ibi autem illa funesta contingunt, ubi est tam furiosum et inutile hominum genus, qui et aliis temporibus eadem facere consueverunt.

CAPUT IV.

13. Whence a great mercy is done toward them, when even through these laws of emperors, from that sect where through the doctrines of mendacious demons they learned these evils, they are first snatched unwilling, so that in the Catholic [Church] they may afterwards be healed, having become accustomed to good precepts and manners. For many of them, whose pious fervor of faith and charity we now admire in the unity of Christ, give thanks to God with great joy that they lacked that error where they thought these evils were goods: which thanks they would not now give willingly, unless they first departed from that nefarious society even unwillingly. What shall we say of those who daily confess to us that they already long ago wished to be Catholics; but they were living among those among whom they could not be that which they wished through the infirmity of fear, where if they spoke one word for the Catholic [Church], both they and their houses would be utterly overturned? Who is so demented as to deny that these ought to have been succored through imperial commands, so that they might be rescued from so great an evil, while those whom they were fearing are compelled to fear, and by that same fear either they themselves are also corrected, or certainly when they feign that they have been corrected, they spare the corrected ones, by whom they were previously feared?

14. But if they should wish to kill themselves, lest those who are to be liberated be liberated, and in that way to terrify the piety of those liberating, so that while it is feared lest some lost ones perish, those who either already did not wish to perish, or being coerced were able not to perish, are not rescued from perdition; what does Christian charity do here, especially when those who threaten their voluntary and furious deaths are very few in comparison with the peoples to be liberated? What therefore does fraternal love do? whether, while it fears the transitory fires of furnaces for a few, it dismisses all to the eternal fires of hells; and so many, either already willing, or afterwards not able through Catholic peace to come to perpetual life, it leaves in everlasting destruction, by taking care lest some die by voluntary destruction, who live to the impediment of the salvation of others, whom they do not permit to live according to the doctrine of Christ, so that they may teach them at whatever time according to the custom of the diabolical doctrine to hasten to those voluntary deaths which are now feared in those ones? Or rather does it conserve those whom it can, even if those whom it cannot conserve perish spontaneously? For that all may live, it ardently desires; but that all may not perish, it labors more. But thanks be to the Lord, that even among us, not indeed in all, but in very many places, and through other parts of Africa, without any deaths of these insane ones, Catholic peace has run, and runs. But those fatal things happen there, where there is so furious and useless a kind of men, who also in other times have been accustomed to do the same things.

CHAPTER IV.

15. Et prius quidem quam istae leges a catholicis imperatoribus mitterentur, pacis atque unitatis Christi paulatim doctrina crescebat, et in eam quisque sicut discebat, et volebat, et poterat, ex ipsa parte transibat; cum tamen apud illos perditorum hominum dementissimi greges in diversis causis quietem innocentium perturbarent. Quis non dominus servum suum timere compulsus est, si ad illorum patrocinium confugisset? quis eversori minari saltem audebat ? quis consumptorem apothecarum, quis quemlibet poterat exigere debitorem, auxilium eorum defensionemque poscentem? Timore fustium et incendiorum mortisque praesentis, pessimorum servorum, ut liberi abscederent, tabulae frangebantur. Extorta debitoribus chirographa reddebantur. Quicumque dura illorum verba contempserant, durioribus verberibus, quod jubebant, facere cogebantur. Innocentium qui eos offenderant, domus aut deponebantur ad solum, aut ignibus cremabantur. Quidam patresfamilias honesto loco nati, et generoso cultu educati, vix vivi post eorum caedes ablati sunt, vel vincti ad molam, et eam in gyrum ducere, tanquam jumenta contemptibilia, verbere adacti sunt. Quod enim de legibus auxilium a civilibus potestatibus adversus eos aliquid valuit? quis in praesentia eorum officialis anhelavit? quis, quod illi noluissent, exactor exegit? quis eos qui eorum caedibus exstincti sunt, vindicare tentavit, nisi quod propria de illis poenas poscebat insania, cum alii provocandis in se gladiis hominum, quos, ut ab eis ferirentur, morte terrebant, alii per varia praecipitia, alii per aquas, alii per ignes se in mortes voluntarias usquequaque mittebant, et animas ferales a se sibi illatis suppliciis projiciebant?

16. Horrebant ista plurimi in ipsa superstitione haeretica constituti; et cum innocentiae suae sufficere arbitrarentur quod sibi talia displicerent, dicebatur eis a catholicis: Si innocentiam vestram mala ista non polluunt, quomodo dicitis orbem christianum vel falsis, vel certe ignotis Caeciliani peccatis esse pollutum? quomodo vos nefario scelere, ab unitate catholica, tanquam ab area dominica separatis, quae usque ad tempus ventilationis necesse est ut habeat et frumentum in horreo recondendum, et paleam ignibus consumendam (Matth. III, 12)? Atque ita quibusdam ratio reddebatur, ut aliqui ad unitatem catholicam, etiam inimicitias perditorum parati sustinere, transirent; sed plures, quamvis id vellent, eos tamen homines, quibus tanta fuerat licentia saeviendi, inimicos facere non audebant: nonnulli quippe illos, cum ad nos transissent, crudelissimos passi sunt.

15. And indeed, before those laws were sent by the Catholic emperors, the doctrine of the peace and unity of Christ was gradually growing, and into it each one, as he learned, and wished, and was able, passed from that same party; while nevertheless among them most demented flocks of lost men in various causes disturbed the quiet of the innocent. What master was not compelled to fear his own servant, if he had fled to their patronage? Who dared at least to threaten an overthrower? Who could demand from a consumer of storehouses, who from any debtor whatsoever, the help and defense of those ones? From fear of clubs and fires and of present death, the tablets of the worst servants were broken, so that they might depart free. Chirographs extorted from debtors were returned. Whoever had contemned their hard words were compelled by harder blows to do what they commanded. The houses of the innocent who had offended them were either leveled to the ground or consumed by fires. Certain fathers of families born in an honorable place, and educated in a generous culture, were taken away scarcely alive after their slaughters, or bound to a mill, and driven by the lash to lead it in a circle, like contemptible beasts of burden. For what help from the laws from civil powers availed anything against them? What official panted in their presence? What exactor exacted what they had been unwilling for? Who attempted to vindicate those who were extinguished by their slaughters, except that their own insanity demanded punishments from them, while some by provoking against themselves the swords of men, whom they terrified with death so that they might be struck by them, others through various precipices, others through waters, others through fires, cast themselves everywhere into voluntary deaths, and projected their feral souls from themselves by punishments brought upon themselves?

16. Very many constituted in that same heretical superstition were horrified by those things; and when they thought it sufficient for their innocence that such things displeased them, it was said to them by the Catholics: "If those evils do not pollute your innocence, how do you say that the Christian world is polluted by the false, or certainly unknown, sins of Caecilian? How do you separate yourselves by a nefarious crime from Catholic unity, as if from the Lord's threshing-floor, which until the time of winnowing must of necessity have both the grain to be stored in the barn and the chaff to be consumed by fires (Matth. III, 12)?" And so the reason was rendered to some, that some passed to Catholic unity, being prepared to sustain even the enmities of the lost; but more, although they wished it, nevertheless did not dare to make those men enemies to whom there had been such license for raging: for indeed some suffered most cruel things from them when they had passed over to us.

17. Accidit etiam ut apud Carthaginem quemdam diaconum suum, nomine Maximianum, contra episcopum suum superbientem, quidam episcoporum ejusdem partis, facto schismate et in plebe Carthaginis divisa parte Donati ordinarent episcopum contra episcopum. Quod cum eorum pluribus displiceret, eumdem Maximianum cum aliis duodecim qui ejus ordinationi praesentes affuerant, damnaverunt, caeteris autem ad eamdem societatem schismatis pertinentibus, die constituto, facultatem redeundi dederunt. Sed postea ex ipsis duodecim quosdam, et ex illis quibus dilatio data fuerat, post diem positum redeuntes, propter pacem suam in suis honoribus susceperunt; et quoscumque extra ipsorum communionem damnati baptizaverant, rebaptizare non ausi sunt. Coepit hoc eorum factum contra illos pro Catholica multum valere, ut ora eorum penitus clauderentur. Quae res cum (sicut oportebat) ad sanandos ab schismate animos hominum spargeretur instantius, et quaquaversum poterat, catholicorum sermonibus ac disputationibus monstraretur eos pro pace Donati et damnatos suos in honorem suum integrum suscepisse, et baptismum quem damnati vel etiam dilati, foris ab Ecclesia eorum dederant, non ausos fuisse rescindere; et orbi terrarum contra pacem Christi contaminationem, nescio quorum, objicere peccatorum, et evacuare baptismum in illis quoque Ecclesiis datum, unde in Africam venit ipsum Evangelium: plurimi confundebantur, et manifesta veritate erubescentes corrigebantur, solito crebrius, et multo magis ubicumque ab eorum saevitia respirabat aliquanta libertas.

18. Tum vero illi sic exarserunt, et tantis sunt odiorum stimulis incitati, ut contra eorum insidias atque violentias et apertissima latrocinia, vix ullae nostrae communionis Ecclesiae possent esse securae, vix ulla via tuta qua iter agerent quicumque adversus eorum rabiem pacem catholicam praedicarent, eorumque dementiam perspicua veritate convincerent. Usque adeo prorsus non solum laicis, vel quibuslibet clericis, sed ipsis quoque episcopis catholicis quodammodo proponebatur dura conditio. Aut enim tacenda erat veritas, aut eorum immanitas perferenda. Sed si veritas taceretur, non solum nemo fuerat ejus silentio liberandus, sed multi etiam illorum seductione perdendi: si autem veritatis praedicatione furor eorum ad saeviendum provocaretur, aliquibus liberatis nostrisque firmatis, rursus a sequenda veritate formido impediret infirmos. Cum igitur his angustiis affligeretur Ecclesia, quisquis existimat omnia potius sustinenda, quam Dei auxilium, ut per christianos imperatores ferretur, fuisse poscendum, parum attendit non bonam de hac negligentia reddi potuisse rationem.

CAP. V.

17. It happened also that at Carthage a certain deacon of theirs, named Maximian, acting proudly against his own bishop, certain of the bishops of the same party, a schism having been made and the party of Donatus being divided in the people of Carthage, ordained a bishop against a bishop. Since this displeased more of them, they condemned that same Maximian with twelve others who had been present at his ordination, but to the others pertaining to the same society of the schism, a day having been appointed, they gave the faculty of returning. But afterwards some from those same twelve, and from those to whom a delay had been given, returning after the appointed day, they received into their honors for the sake of their own peace; and whomever the condemned had baptized outside of their communion, they did not dare to rebaptize. This deed of theirs began to avail much against them in favor of the Catholic [Church], so that their mouths were entirely closed. When this matter (as was fitting) was spread more urgently for the healing of the minds of men from the schism, and was shown in whatever direction it could be by the sermons and disputations of the Catholics, that for the sake of the peace of Donatus they had both received their condemned ones back into their integrity of honor, and had not dared to rescind the baptism which the condemned or even those delayed had given outside their Church; and yet they objected to the world against the peace of Christ the contamination of some sins or other, and evacuated the baptism given also in those Churches from which the Gospel itself came to Africa: very many were confounded, and blushing with the manifest truth were corrected, more frequently than usual, and much more wherever some liberty from their cruelty breathed.

18. But then they so took fire, and were incited by such stings of hatred, that against their snares and violences and most open robberies, scarcely any Churches of our communion could be secure, scarcely any way was safe by which whoever preached Catholic peace against their madness and convinced their dementedness with clear truth might make their journey. To such a degree entirely was a hard condition proposed in a certain way not only to laymen, or to any clerics whatsoever, but also to the Catholic bishops themselves. For either the truth had to be kept silent, or their immanity had to be endured. But if the truth were kept silent, not only was no one to be liberated by its silence, but many also of them were to be lost by seduction: but if by the preaching of the truth their fury were provoked to raging, some being liberated and our own being strengthened, again dread would impede the weak from following the truth. Therefore, when the Church was afflicted by these straits, whoever thinks that all things ought rather to have been endured than that the help of God, to be brought through Christian emperors, should have been asked for, pays too little attention that a good account could not have been rendered of this negligence. CHAPTER V.

19. Quod enim dicunt qui contra suas impietates leges justas institui nolunt, non petiisse a regibus terrae Apostolos talia, non considerant aliud fuisse tunc tempus, et omnia suis temporibus agi. Quis enim tunc in Christum crediderat imperator, qui ei pro pietate contra impietatem leges ferendo serviret, quando adhuc illud propheticum complebatur, Quare fremuerunt gentes, et populi meditati sunt inania? Astiterunt reges terrae, et principes convenerunt in unum adversus Dominum, et adversus Christum ejus: nondum autem agebatur, quod paulo post in eodem psalmo dicitur, Et nunc reges intelligite; erudimini qui judicatis terram. Servite Domino in timore, et exsultate ei cum tremore (Psal. II, 1, 2, 10, 11). Quomodo ergo reges Domino serviunt in timore, nisi ea quae contra jussa Domini fiunt, religiosa severitate prohibendo atque plectendo? Aliter enim servit, quia homo est; aliter, quia etiam rex est: quia homo est, ei servit vivendo fideliter; quia vero etiam rex est, servit leges justa praecipientes et contraria prohibentes convenienti vigore sanciendo. Sicut servivit Ezechias, lucos et templa idolorum, et illa excelsa quae contra praecepta Dei fuerant constructa destruendo (IV Reg. XVIII, 4): sicut servivit Josias, talia et ipse faciendo (Ibid., XXIII, 4, 5): sicut servivit rex Ninivitarum, universam civitatem ad placandum Dominum compellendo (Jonae III, 6-9): sicut servivit Darius, idolum frangendum in potestatem Danieli dando, et inimicos ejus leonibus ingerendo (Dan. XIV, 21, 41): sicut servivit Nabuchodonosor, de quo jam diximus, omnes in regno suo positos a blasphemando Deo lege terribili prohibendo (Id. III, 96). In hoc ergo serviunt Domino reges, in quantum sunt reges, cum ea faciunt ad serviendum illi, quae non possunt facere nisi reges.

20. Cum itaque nondum reges Domino servirent temporibus Apostolorum, sed adhuc meditarentur inania adversus Dominum et adversus Christum ejus, ut Prophetarum praedicta omnia complerentur, non utique tunc possent impietates legibus prohiberi, sed potius exerceri. Sic enim ordo temporum volvebatur, ut et Judaei occiderent praedicatores Christi, putantes se officium Deo facere, sicut praedixerat Christus (Joan. XVI, 2), et Gentes fremerent adversus Christianos, et omnes patientia martyrum vinceret. Postea vero quam coepit impleri quod scriptum est, Et adorabunt eum omnes reges terrae; omnes gentes servient illi (Psal. LXXI, 11); quis mente sobrius regibus dicat, Nolite curare in regno vestro a quo teneatur vel oppugnetur Ecclesia Domini vestri; non ad vos pertineat, in regno vestro quis velit esse sive religiosus, sive sacrilegus: quibus dici non potest, Non ad vos pertineat, in regno vestro quis velit pudicus esse, quis impudicus? Cur enim cum datum sit divinitus homini liberum arbitrium, adulteria legibus puniantur, et sacrilegia permittantur?

19. For as to what those say who do not wish just laws to be instituted against their impieties, that the Apostles asked no such things from the kings of the earth, they do not consider that it was another time then, and that all things are done in their own times. For what emperor had then believed in Christ, who might serve Him by bearing laws for piety against impiety, when as yet that prophetic [saying] was being fulfilled: "Why have the nations raged, and the peoples meditated vain things? The kings of the earth stood up, and the princes convened into one against the Lord, and against His Christ"? But that which is said a little after in the same psalm was not yet being acted: "And now, O kings, understand; be instructed, you who judge the earth. Serve the Lord in fear, and exult unto Him with trembling" (Psal. II, 1, 2, 10, 11). How therefore do kings serve the Lord in fear, except by prohibiting and punishing with religious severity those things which are done against the commands of the Lord? For he serves in one way because he is a man; in another, because he is also a king: because he is a man, he serves Him by living faithfully; but because he is also a king, he serves by sanctioning with convenient vigor laws commanding just things and prohibiting the contrary. As Hezekiah served, by destroying the groves and temples of idols, and those high places which had been constructed against the precepts of God (IV Kings XVIII, 4): as Josiah served, by himself doing such things (Ibid., XXIII, 4, 5): as the king of the Ninevites served, by compelling the whole city to appease the Lord (Jonah III, 6-9): as Darius served, by giving the idol to be broken into the power of Daniel, and casting his enemies to the lions (Dan. XIV, 21, 41): as Nebuchadnezzar served, of whom we have already spoken, by prohibiting with a terrible law all those placed in his kingdom from blaspheming God (Id. III, 96). In this therefore do kings serve the Lord, in as much as they are kings, when they do those things for serving Him which none can do except kings.

20. Since therefore kings did not yet serve the Lord in the times of the Apostles, but were still meditating vain things against the Lord and against His Christ, so that all the predictions of the Prophets might be fulfilled, impieties certainly could not then be prohibited by laws, but rather were exercised. For so the order of times revolved, that both the Jews might kill the preachers of Christ, thinking that they were doing a service to God, as Christ had predicted (John XVI, 2), and the Gentiles might rage against the Christians, and the patience of the martyrs might conquer all. But after that began to be fulfilled which is written: "And all the kings of the earth shall adore Him; all nations shall serve Him" (Psal. LXXI, 11); who sober of mind would say to kings: "Do not care in your kingdom by whom the Church of your Lord is held or attacked; let it not pertain to you, who in your kingdom wishes to be either religious or sacrilegious": to whom it cannot be said: "Let it not pertain to you, who in your kingdom wishes to be chaste, who unchaste"? For why, when free will has been divinely given to man, should adulteries be punished by laws, and sacrileges be permitted?

An fidem non servare levius est animam Deo, quam feminam viro? aut si ea quae non contemptu, sed ignorantia religionis committuntur, mitius vindicanda, numquid ideo negligenda sunt?

CAPUT VI.

21. Melius est quidem (quis dubitaverit?) ad Deum colendum doctrina homines duci, quam poenae timore vel dolore compelli: sed non quia isti meliores sunt, ideo illi qui tales non sunt, negligendi sunt. Multis enim profuit (quod experimentis probavimus et probamus) prius timore vel dolore cogi, ut postea possent doceri, aut quod jam verbis didicerant, opere sectari. Proponunt nobis quidam sententiam cujusdam saecularis auctoris, qui dixit: Pudore et liberalitate liberos Retinere, satius esse credo, quam metu. (Terent. in Adelph. act. 1, scen. 1.) Hoc quidem verum est; sed sicut meliores sunt quos dirigit amor, ita plures sunt quos corrigit timor. Nam ut de ipso auctore istis respondeatur, apud illum etiam legunt: Tu nisi malo coactus, recte facere nescis. Porro autem Scriptura divina, et propter illos meliores dixit, Timor non est in charitate; sed perfecta charitas foras mittit timorem (I Joan. IV, 18); et propter hos inferiores, qui plures sunt, ait, Verbis non emendabitur servus durus; si enim et intellexerit, non obediet (Prov. XXIX, 19). Cum dixit, verbis eum non emendari, non eum jussit deseri, sed tacite admonuit unde debeat emendari: alloquin non diceret, Verbis non emendabitur; sed tantummodo diceret, Non emendabitur. Alio quippe loco dicit non solum servum, sed etiam filium indisciplinatum plagis esse coercendum; et magno fructu: nam, Tu quidem, inquit, percutis eum virga; animam vero ejus liberabis a morte (Id. XXIII, 14); et alibi dicit, Qui parcit baculo, odit filium suum (Id. XIII, 24). Da enim qui recta fide veroque intellectu, totis animae suae viribus dicat, Sitivit anima mea ad Deum vivum; quando veniam, et apparebo ante faciem Dei (Psal. XLI, 3)? et huic tali, non solum temporalium poenarum, vel imperialium legum, sed nec gehennarum timor est necessarius, cui tam desiderabile bonum est adhaerere Deo, ut non solum ab illa felicitate alienari, tanquam magnum supplicium perhorrescat, verum etiam differri moleste ferat. Sed tamen antequam dicant boni filii, Concupiscentiam habemus dissolvi, et esse cum Christo (Philipp. I, 23); multi prius, tanquam mali servi et quodammodo improbi fugitivi, ad Dominum suum temporalium flagellorum verbere revocantur.

Is it lighter not to keep faith of the soul to God, than of a woman to a man? Or if those things which are committed not by contempt, but by ignorance of religion, are to be more mildly vindicated, are they therefore to be neglected?

CHAPTER VI.

21. It is indeed better (who would doubt it?) for men to be led to the worship of God by doctrine, than to be compelled by the fear of punishment or by pain: but not because these are better, are those who are not such to be neglected. For it has profited many (which we have proved and are proving by experiences) first to be coerced by fear or pain, so that afterwards they could be taught, or follow in deed what they had already learned in words. Some propose to us the opinion of a certain secular author, who said: "To retain children by shame and liberality, I believe to be better than by fear" (Terent. in Adelph. act. 1, scen. 1). This is indeed true; but just as those whom love directs are better, so those whom fear corrects are more numerous. For so that it may be answered to those from the same author, they read also in him: "Unless compelled by evil, you do not know how to do rightly." Furthermore, divine Scripture both said on account of those better ones: "Fear is not in charity; but perfect charity casts out fear" (I John IV, 18); and on account of these lower ones, who are more numerous, it says: "By words a hard servant will not be emended; for even if he understands, he will not obey" (Prov. XXIX, 19). When it said that he is not emended by words, it did not command him to be deserted, but tacitly admonished from whence he ought to be emended: otherwise it would not say: "By words he will not be emended"; but would only say: "He will not be emended." For in another place it says that not only a servant, but also an undisciplined son is to be coerced by blows; and with great fruit: for, "You indeed," it says, "strike him with a rod; but his soul you shall deliver from death" (Id. XXIII, 14); and elsewhere it says: "He who spares the staff, hates his son" (Id. XIII, 24). For give [me one] who with right faith and true understanding says with all the powers of his soul: "My soul has thirsted for the living God; when shall I come, and appear before the face of God?" (Psal. XLI, 3); and for such a one, not only the fear of temporal punishments, or of imperial laws, but not even of hells is necessary, to whom it is so desirable a good to adhere to God, that he not only dreads to be alienated from that happiness as a great punishment, but even bears it as a burden to be delayed. But nevertheless before the good sons say: "We have a desire to be dissolved, and to be with Christ" (Philipp. I, 23); many first, as bad servants and in a certain way wicked fugitives, are recalled to their Lord by the lash of temporal scourges.

22. Quis enim nos potest amplius amare quam Christus, qui animam suam posuit pro ovibus suis (Joan. X, 15)? Et tamen cum Petrum et alios Apostolos solo verbo vocasset, Paulum prius Saulum, Ecclesiae suae postea magnum aedificatorem, sed horrendum antea vastatorem, non solum voce compescuit, verum etiam potestate prostravit, atque ut infidelitatis tenebris saevientem ad desiderandum lumen cordis urgeret prius corporis caecitate percussit. Si poena illa non esset, non ab ea postmodum sanaretur: et quando apertis oculis nihil videbat, si eos salvos haberet, non ad impositionem manus Ananiae, ut eorum aperiretur obtutus, tanquam squamas, quibus clausus fuerat, inde cecidisse Scriptura narraret (Act. IX, 1-18). Ubi est quod isti clamare consueverunt: Liberum est credere, vel non credere? cui vim Christus intulit? quem coegit? Ecce habent Paulum apostolum; agnoscant in eo prius cogentem Christum, et postea docentem prius ferientem, et postea consolantem. Mirum est autem quomodo ille qui poena corporis ad Evangelium coactus intravit, plus illis omnibus qui solo verbo vocati sunt, in Evangelio laboravit (I Cor. XV, 10); et quem major timor compulit ad charitatem, ejus perfecta charitas foras misit timorem.

23. Cur ergo non cogeret Ecclesia perditos filios ut redirent, si perditi filii coegerunt alios ut perirent? Quamvis etiam illos quos non coegerunt, sed tantummodo seduxerunt, si per terribiles sed salubres leges in ejus gremium revocentur, blandius pia mater amplectitur, et de illis multo amplius quam de his quos nunquam perdiderat, gratulatur. Annon pertinet ad diligentiam pastoralem, etiam illas oves quae non violenter ereptae, sed blande leniterque seductae, a grege aberraverint, et ab alienis coeperint possideri, inventas ad ovile dominicum, si resistere voluerint, flagellorum terroribus, vel etiam doloribus revocare: praesertim quoniam si apud fugitivos servos et praedones fecunditate multiplicentur, plus habet juris quod in eis dominicus character agnoscitur; qui in eis quos suscipimus, nec tamen rebaptizamus, minime violatur? Sic enim error corrigendus est ovis, ut non in ea corrumpatur signaculum Redemptoris. Neque enim, si quisquam regio charactere a signato desertore signetur, et accipiant indulgentiam, atque ille redeat ad militiam, ille autem esse in militia, in qua nondum erat, incipiat; in aliquo eorum character ille rescinditur, ac non potius in ambobus agnoscitur, et honore debito, quoniam regius est, approbatur. Quia ergo non possunt malum esse ostendere quo eoguntur, nec ad bonum se cogi oportere contendunt. Sed a Christo coactum ostendimus Paulum: imitatur itaque Ecclesia in istis cogendis Dominum suum, quae prius ut neminem cogeret exspectavit, ut de fide regum atque gentium praedicatio prophetica compleretur.

22. For who can love us more than Christ, who laid down His soul for His sheep (John X, 15)? And yet when He had called Peter and the other Apostles by a word alone, Paul, previously Saul, afterwards the great builder of His Church, but beforehand a horrendous devastator, He not only checked by His voice, but also prostrated by His power, and so that He might urge him raging in the darkness of infidelity to the desired light of the heart, He first struck him with blindness of body. If that punishment were not there, he would not afterwards be healed from it: and when with eyes opened he saw nothing, if he had them safe, Scripture would not relate that at the imposition of the hand of Ananias, so that their sight might be opened, there fell from them as it were scales, by which he had been closed (Acts IX, 1-18). Where is that which those have been accustomed to cry out: "It is free to believe, or not to believe? to whom did Christ bring force? whom did He compel?" Behold they have the apostle Paul; let them recognize in him Christ first compelling, and afterwards teaching; first striking, and afterwards consoling. It is wonderful, however, how he who entered into the Gospel compelled by punishment of body, labored in the Gospel more than all those who were called by word alone (I Cor. XV, 10); and he whom greater fear compelled to charity, his perfect charity cast out fear.

23. Why therefore should the Church not compel lost sons to return, if lost sons compelled others to perish? Although even those whom they did not compel, but only seduced, if they are recalled into her bosom through terrible but salutary laws, the pious mother embraces them more gently, and rejoices over them much more than over those whom she had never lost. Does it not pertain to pastoral diligence to recall even those sheep which, not snatched away violently, but gently and softly seduced, have wandered from the flock and begun to be possessed by others, when found, to the Lord's sheepfold, if they wish to resist, by the terrors of scourges, or even by pains: especially since if they are multiplied in fecundity among fugitive servants and robbers, that which is recognized in them as the Lord's character has more of right; which in those whom we receive, yet nevertheless do not rebaptize, is in no way violated? For so is the error of the sheep to be corrected, that the seal of the Redeemer is not corrupted in it. For neither, if anyone were marked with the royal character by a marked deserter, and they receive indulgence, and that one returns to the military service, while that other begins to be in the military service in which he was not yet; is that character rescinded in any of them, and not rather recognized in both, and approved with due honor, because it is royal? Because therefore they cannot show that to be evil to which they are compelled, they contend that they ought not to be compelled even to good. But we have shown Paul was compelled by Christ: the Church therefore imitates her Lord in compelling these ones, which first waited that she might compel no one, so that the prophetic preaching concerning the faith of kings and nations might be fulfilled.

24. Etiam hinc enim non absurde intelligitur illa apostolica sententia, ubi Paulus beatus dicit: Parati ulcisci omnem inobedientiam, cum completa fuerit prior obedientia vestra (II Cor. X, 6). Unde et ipse Dominus ad magnam coenam suam prius adduci jubet convivas, postea cogi: nam cum ei servi suo respondissent, Domine, factum est quod jussisti, et adhuc est locus; Exite, inquit, in vias et sepes, et quoscumque inveneritis, cogite intrare (Luc. XIV, 22, 23). In illis ergo qui leniter primo adducti sunt, completa est prior obedientia; in istis autem qui coguntur, inobedientia coercetur: nam quid est, cogite intrare, cum primo dictum esset, adducite, et responsum esset, Factum est quod jussisti, et adhuc est locus? Si miraculorum terroribus cogendos voluisset intelligi; magis ad eos qui prius vocati sunt, divina miracula multa facta sunt, maxime ad Judaeos de quibus dictum est Judaei signa petunt (I Cor. I, 22): in ipsis quoque Gentilibus talia temporibus Apostolorum miracula Evangelium commendaverunt, ut si talibus cogi juberentur, priores, ut dixi, potius convivae coacti esse merito crederentur. Quapropter, si potestate quam per religionem ac fidem regum, tempore quo debuit, divino munere accepit Ecclesia, hi qui inveniuntur in viis et in sepibus, id est in haeresibus et schismatibus, coguntur intrare; non quia coguntur reprehendant, sed quo cogantur, attendant. Convivium Domini, unitas est corporis Christi, non solum in Sacramento altaris, sed etiam in vinculo pacis. De istis sane possumus verissime dicere quod neminem cogant ad bonum: quoscumque enim cogunt, non cogunt nisi ad malum.

CAPUT VII.

25. Verumtamen antequam istae leges quibus ad convivium sanctum coguntur intrare, in Africam mitterentur, nonnullis fratribus videbatur, in quibus et ego eram, quamvis Donatistarum rabies usquequaque saeviret, non esse petendum ab imperatoribus ut ipsam haeresim juberent omnino non esse, poenam constituendo eis qui in illa esse voluissent; sed hoc potius constituerent, ut eorum furiosas violentias non paterentur qui veritatem catholicam vel praedicarent loquendo, vel legerent constituendo. Quod eo modo fieri aliquatenus posse arbitrabamur, si legem piissimae memoriae Theodosii, quam generaliter in omnes haereticos promulgavit, Ut quisquis eorum episcopus vel clericus ubilibet esset inventus, decem libris auri multaretur,

24. For also from here that apostolic sentence is not absurdly understood, where the blessed Paul says: "Being ready to avenge all disobedience, when your prior obedience shall have been completed" (II Cor. X, 6). Whence also the Lord Himself commands guests first to be brought to His great supper, afterwards to be compelled: for when His servants had answered Him: "Lord, it is done as Thou hast commanded, and yet there is room"; "Go out," He said, "into the highways and hedges, and whomever you shall find, compel them to enter" (Luke XIV, 22, 23). In those therefore who were first gently brought in, the prior obedience was completed; but in these who are compelled, disobedience is coerced: for what is "compel them to enter," when it had first been said "bring them," and the answer had been "it is done as Thou hast commanded, and yet there is room"? If He had wished them to be understood as to be compelled by the terrors of miracles; many divine miracles were rather done towards those who were first called, especially towards the Jews of whom it was said: "The Jews seek signs" (I Cor. I, 22): among the Gentiles also in the times of the Apostles such miracles commended the Gospel, that if they were ordered to be compelled by such things, the prior guests, as I said, would rather be deservedly believed to have been compelled. Wherefore, if by the power which the Church received by divine gift through the religion and faith of kings at the time when she ought, those who are found in the highways and in the hedges, that is in heresies and schisms, are compelled to enter; let them not find fault because they are compelled, but let them attend to what they are compelled to. The feast of the Lord is the unity of the body of Christ, not only in the Sacrament of the altar, but also in the bond of peace. Of those ones indeed we can most truly say that they compel no one to good: for whomever they compel, they compel to nothing except evil.

CHAPTER VII.

25. Nevertheless, before those laws by which they are compelled to enter the holy feast were sent to Africa, it seemed to some brethren, among whom I also was, although the madness of the Donatists raged everywhere, that it ought not to be asked from the emperors that they should command that same heresy to be entirely non-existent, by constituting a punishment for those who wished to be in it; but rather they should constitute this, that those who either preached the Catholic truth by speaking, or read it by constituting it, should not suffer their furious violences. Which we thought could be done to some extent in this way, if they should so confirm the law of Theodosius of most pious memory, which he promulgated generally against all heretics, "That whoever of them, bishop or cleric, was found anywhere, should be fined ten pounds of gold,"

expressius in Donatistas, qui se negabant haereticos, ita confirmarent, ut non omnes ea multa ferirentur, sed in quorum regionibus aliquas violentias a clericis, vel a Circumcellionibus, vel populis eorum, Ecclesia catholica pateretur: ut scilicet post protestationem Catholicorum qui fuissent ista perpessi, jam cura ordinum ad persolvendam multam episcopi sive ministri caeteri tenerentur. Ita enim existimabamus eis territis, et nihil tale facere audentibus, posse libere doceri et teneri catholicam veritatem, ut ad eam cogeretur nemo, sed eam qui sine formidine vellet, sequeretur, ne falsos et simulatores catholicos haberemus. Et quamvis aliis fratribus aliud videretur, jam aetate gravioribus, vel multarum civitatum et locorum exempla cernentibus , ubi firmam et veram catholicam videbamus, quae tamen ibi talibus beneficiis Dei constituta esset atque firmata, dum per priorum imperatorum leges ad communionem homines catholicam cogerentur; obtinuimus tamen ut illud potius quod dixi, ab imperatoribus peteretur: decretum est in concilio nostro , legati ad Comitatum missi sunt.

26. Sed Dei major misericordia, qui sciret harum legum terror et quaedam medicinalis molestia quam multorum esset pravis vel frigidis animis necessaria, et illi duritiae quae verbis emendari non potest, sed tamen aliquantula severitate disciplinae potest, id egit ut legati nostri quod susceperant, obtinere non possent. Jam enim nos praevenerant ex aliis locis quaedam episcoporum querelae gravissimae, qui mala fuerant ab ipsis multa perpessi, et a suis sedibus exturbati; praecipue horrenda et incredibilis caedes Maximiani episcopi catholici Ecclesiae Bagaiensis effecit ut nostra legatio jam quid ageret non haberet. Jam enim lex fuerat promulgata, ut tantae immanitatis haeresis Donatistarum, cui crudelius parci videbatur quam ipsa saeviebat, non tantum violenta esse, sed omnino esse non sineretur impune: non tamen supplicio capitali, propter servandam etiam circa indignos mansuetudinem christianam, sed pecuniariis damnis propositis, et in episcopos vel ministros eorum exsilio constituto.

27. Supradictum quippe episcopum Bagaiensem, quoniam apud ordinarium judicem, dicta inter partes sententia, obtinuerat basilicam , quam illi, cum catholica esset, invaserant, stantem ad altare irruentes horrendo impetu et furore crudeli, fustibus et cujuscemodi telis, lignis denique ejusdem altaris effracti immaniter ceciderunt; pugione etiam percusserunt in inguine; quo vulnere sanguis effluens eum exanimem redderet, nisi ei ad vitam major saevitia eorum profuisset.

more expressly against the Donatists, who denied they were heretics, so that not all should be struck by that fine, but [only those] in whose regions the Catholic Church suffered some violences from the clerics, or from the Circumcellions, or from their peoples: so that namely after the protest of the Catholics who had suffered those things, now by the care of the orders the bishops or other ministers should be held to pay the fine. For so we thought, those being terrified, and daring to do no such thing, the Catholic truth could be freely taught and held, so that no one might be compelled to it, but he who wished without dread might follow it, lest we should have false and pretending Catholics. And although it seemed otherwise to other brethren, already more grave in age, or discerning the examples of many cities and places where we saw a firm and true Catholic [faith], which nevertheless had been constituted and strengthened there by such benefits of God, while through the laws of prior emperors men were compelled to the Catholic communion; we nevertheless obtained that that rather which I said should be asked from the emperors: it was decreed in our council, and legates were sent to the Court.

26. But the greater mercy of God, who knew how necessary the terror of these laws and a certain medicinal annoyance was for the depraved or cold minds of many, and for that hardness which cannot be emended by words, but nevertheless can be by some little severity of discipline, brought it about that our legates could not obtain what they had undertaken. For already certain most grave complaints of bishops had preceded us from other places, who had suffered many evils from those same ones, and had been disturbed from their own sees; especially the horrendous and incredible slaughter of Maximian, the Catholic bishop of the Church of Bagai, brought it about that our legation no longer had anything to do. For already a law had been promulgated, that the heresy of the Donatists, of such great immanity, to which it seemed to be more cruelly spared than it itself raged, should not only not be allowed to be violent, but should not be allowed to exist at all with impunity: not however with capital punishment, on account of preserving Christian mildness even towards the unworthy, but with pecuniary losses proposed, and with exile constituted for their bishops or ministers.

27. For the aforementioned bishop of Bagai, since he had obtained the basilica before the ordinary judge, the sentence having been spoken between the parties, which those ones had invaded when it was Catholic; as he was standing at the altar, they rushed in with horrendous impetus and cruel fury, and beat him immanently with clubs and weapons of every kind, and finally with the woods of the broken altar itself; they also struck him with a dagger in the groin; by which wound the blood flowing out would have made him lifeless, unless their greater cruelty had profited him for life.

Nam cum graviter sauciatum per terram insuper traherent, exundanti venae pulvis obstrusus sanguinem abstinuit , cujus effusione ibat in mortem. Deinde cum ab eis tandem relictum, nostri cum psalmis auferre tentarent, illi ira ardentiore succensi, eum de portantium manibus abstulerunt, male multatis fugatisque Catholicis, quos ingenti multitudine superabant, et facile saeviendo terrebant. Inde in quamdam turrem levatum, jam defecisse arbitrantes, cum ille adhuc viveret, abjecerunt. Sed quodam molli aggere exceptus, et a quibusdam nocte transeuntibus per lucernam conspectus, agnitus atque collectus, et ad religiosam domum apportatus, adhibita magna cura, post multos dies ab illa desperatione recreatus est: occisum eum tamen fama scelere Donatistarum etiam trans mare nuntiaverat; quo posteaquam venit, et vita ejus inopinatissima apparuit, cicatricibus, suis tam multis, tam ingentibus, tam recentibus, non frustra famam mortuum se nuntiasse monstravit.

28. Auxilium ergo petivit ab imperatore christiano, non tam sui ulciscendi causa, quam tuendae Ecclesiae sibi creditae. Quod si praetermisisset, non ejus fuisset laudanda patientia, sed negligentia merito culpanda. Neque enim et apostolus Paulus vitae suae transitoriae consulebat, sed Ecclesiae Dei, quando contra illos qui eum occidere conspiraverant, consilium illorum tribuno ut proderetur effecit: unde factum est ut eum ad locum quo fuerat perducendus, deduceret miles armatus, ne illorum pateretur insidias (Act. XXIII, 17-32). Romanas etiam leges implorare minime dubitavit, civem Romanum se esse proclamans, quos tunc affligi verberibus non licebat (Id. XXII, 25): itemque ne Judaeis eum interimere cupientibus traderetur, Caesaris poposcit auxilium (Id. XXV, 11), Romani quidem principis, sed non christiani. Ubi satis ostendit quid facere postea deberent Christi dispensatores, quando imperatores christianos periclitante Ecclesia reperirent. Hinc ergo factum est ut Imperator religioso et pius, perlatis in notitiam suam talibus causis, mallet piissimis legibus illius impietatis errorem omnino corrigere, et eos qui contra Christum Christi signa portarent, ad unitatem catholicam terrendo et coercendo redigere, quam saeviendi tantummodo auferre licentiam, et errandi ac pereundi relinquere.

For when they dragged him, heavily wounded, over the ground, the dust obstructed in the overflowing vein stopped the blood, by the effusion of which he was going towards death. Then when he was finally left by them, and our people attempted to carry him away with psalms, those ones, incensed with a more burning anger, took him away from the hands of those carrying him, the Catholics being badly punished and put to flight, whom they surpassed in a huge multitude and easily terrified by raging. Then having raised him into a certain tower, thinking him to have already failed, while he yet lived, they cast him down. But being received by a certain soft mound, and being seen by some passing by at night by a lamp, he was recognized and collected, and brought to a religious house, and great care being applied, after many days he was recreated from that desperation: fame, however, had announced even across the sea that he was killed by the crime of the Donatists; where after he came, and his most unexpected life appeared, by his scars, so many, so huge, so recent, he showed that fame had not announced him dead in vain.

28. He therefore asked for help from the Christian emperor, not so much for the sake of avenging himself, as for the sake of defending the Church committed to him. If he had omitted which, his patience would not have been to be praised, but his negligence deservedly to be blamed. For neither did the apostle Paul consult for his own transitory life, but for the Church of God, when against those who had conspired to kill him, he brought it about that their counsel was betrayed to the tribune: whence it was done that an armed soldier led him to the place where he was to be conducted, lest he should suffer their snares (Acts XXIII, 17-32). He also did not hesitate in the least to implore the Roman laws, proclaiming himself to be a Roman citizen, whom it was not allowed then to be afflicted with blows (Id. XXII, 25): and likewise lest he should be handed over to the Jews desiring to kill him, he asked the help of Caesar (Id. XXV, 11), a Roman prince indeed, but not a Christian. Where he sufficiently showed what the dispensers of Christ ought to do afterwards, when they should find Christian emperors while the Church was in danger. From here therefore it was done that the religious and pious Emperor, such causes having been brought to his notice, preferred by most pious laws to correct entirely the error of that impiety, and to reduce to Catholic unity by terrifying and coercing those who bore the signs of Christ against Christ, than only to take away the license of raging, and to leave them in erring and perishing.

29. Jamvero cum ipsae leges venissent in Africam, praecipue illi qui quaerebant occasionem, aut saevitiam furentium metuebant, aut suos verecundabantur offendere, ad Ecclesiam continuo transierunt. Multi etiam qui sola illic a parentibus tradita consuetudine tenebantur, qualem vero causam ipsa haeresis haberet nunquam antea cogitaverant, nunquam quaerere et considerare voluerant, mox ubi coeperunt advertere, et nihil in ea dignum invenire propter quod tanta damna paterentur, sine ulla difficultate catholici facti sunt: docuit enim eos sollicitudo, quos negligentes securitas fecerat. Istorum autem omnium praecedentium auctoritatem et persuasionem secuti sunt multi, qui minus idonei erant per seipsos intelligere quid distaret inter Donatistarum errorem, et catholicam veritatem.

30. Ita cum magna agmina populorum vera mater in sinum gaudens reciperet, remanserunt turbae durae, et in illa peste infelici animositate sistentes. Ex his quoque plurimi simulando communicaverunt, alii paucitate latuerunt. Sed illi qui simulabant, paulatim assuescendo et praedicationem veritatis audiendo, maxime post collationem et disputationem quae inter nos et episcopos eorum apud Carthaginem fuit, ex magna parte correcti sunt. In quibusdam vero locis, ubi pertinacior et impacatior praevaluit multitudo, cui resistere non poterant pauciores quorum erat melior de communione sententia, aut turbae auctoritati paucorum potentiorum subditae in malam partem obtemperarunt, aliquanto diutius laboratum est. Ex his sunt in quibus adhuc laboratur, in quo labore multa Catholici, et maxime episcopi et clerici horrenda et dura perpessi sunt, quae commemorare longum est; quando quorumdam et oculi exstincti sunt, et cujusdam episcopi manus et lingua praecisa est; nonnulli etiam trucidati sunt. Taceo crudelissimas caedes, et domorum depraedationes, per nocturnas aggressiones et incendia, non solum privatorum habitaculorum, verum etiam ecclesiarum; in quas flammas non defuerunt qui et Codices dominicos mitterent.

31. Sed nos hujusmodi afflictos malis, consequens consolatus est fructus. Nam ubicumque a perditis ista commissa sunt, ibi ferventius atque perfectius unitas christiana profecit, et uberius laudatur Dominus, qui donare dignatus est ut servi ejus passionibus suis lucrarentur fratres suos, et oves ejus mortifero errore dispersas in pacem salutis aeternae suo sanguine congregarent.

29. Indeed, when the laws themselves had come into Africa, especially those who were seeking an occasion, or feared the cruelty of those raging, or were ashamed to offend their own, passed over immediately to the Church. Many also who were held there by the sole custom handed down from their parents, had never before thought what kind of cause the heresy itself had, nor had they ever wished to seek and consider; soon as they began to notice, and to find nothing in it worthy for which they should suffer such great losses, they became Catholics without any difficulty: for solicitude taught those whom security had made negligent. But the authority and persuasion of all these preceding ones were followed by many who were less fit to understand by themselves what was the difference between the error of the Donatists and the Catholic truth.

30. Thus, while the true mother was joyfully receiving great columns of peoples into her bosom, there remained hard crowds, and those persisting in that plague with unhappy animosity. Of these also very many communicated by pretending, others lay hidden by their small number. But those who were pretending, by gradually becoming accustomed and by hearing the preaching of the truth, especially after the conference and disputation which was between us and their bishops at Carthage, were for a great part corrected. But in certain places, where a more pertinacious and unpeaceable multitude prevailed, which the fewer whose opinion concerning communion was better could not resist, or where the crowds subject to the authority of a few more powerful ones obeyed in a bad part, it was labored for somewhat longer. From these are those in which it is still labored, in which labor the Catholics, and especially the bishops and clerics, have suffered many horrendous and hard things, which it is long to commemorate; when of some even the eyes were extinguished, and of a certain bishop the hand and tongue were cut off; some even were slaughtered. I am silent concerning the most cruel slaughters, and the depredations of houses, through nocturnal aggressions and fires, not only of private habitations, but even of churches; into which flames there were not wanting those who also cast the Lord's Codices.

31. But the consequent fruit consoled us, afflicted with evils of this kind. For wherever those things were committed by the lost, there Christian unity profited more fervently and more perfectly, and more abundantly is the Lord praised, who deigned to grant that His servants by their passions might gain their brothers, and might gather His sheep, dispersed by a deadly error, into the peace of eternal salvation by their own blood.

Potens est Dominus et misericors, quem quotidie rogamus ut etiam caeteris det poenitentiam, et resipiscant de diaboli laqueis, a quo captivi tenentur secundum ipsius voluntatem (II Tim. II, 26): qui non quaerunt nisi unde nobis calumnientur, et retribuant mala pro bonis; quia nec intelligere noverunt, quem circa eos animum dilectionemque servemus, et quomodo eos velimus secundum Domini praeceptum, quod per Ezechielem prophetam pastoribus dedit, revocare errantes, et perditos invenire (Ezech. XXXIV, 4).

CAPUT VIII.

32. Illi autem, quod et alibi aliquando diximus, et quod nobis faciunt, sibi non imputant; et quod sibi faciunt, nobis imputant. Quis enim nostrum velit non solum aliquem illorum perire, verum etiam aliquid perdere? Sed si aliter non meruit pacem habere domus David, nisi Absalon filius ejus in bello quod contra patrem gerebat, fuisset exstinctus, quamvis magna cura mandaverit suis ut eum quantum possent vivum salvumque servarent, ut esset cui poenitenti paternus affectus ignosceret; quid ei restitit, nisi perditum flare, et sui regni pace acquisita suam moestitiam consolari (II Reg. XVIII, XXII). Sic ergo catholica mater, bellantibus adversus eam quibus aliis quam filiis suis, quia utique ex ipsa magna arbore quae ramorum suorum porrectione toto orbe diffunditur, iste in Africa ramusculus fractus est, cum eos charitate parturiat ut redeant ad radicem sine qua veram vitam habere non possunt; si aliquorum perditione caeteros tam multos colligit, praesertim quia isti, non sicut Absalon casu bellico, sed spontaneo magis interitu pereunt, dolorem materni cordis lenit et sanat tantorum liberatione populorum. Quorum si videas in Christi pace laetitias, frequentias, alacritates, et ad hymnos audiendos et canendos, et ad verbum Dei percipiendum celebres hilaresque conventus, multorumque in eis cum dolore magno recordationem praeteriti erroris, et cum gaudio considerationem cognitae veritatis, et cum indignatione et detestatione mendacium magistrorum, quod modo cognoscant de nostris Sacramentis quam falsa jactaverint; multorum etiam in eis confessiones quod olim vellent esse catholici, nec inter homines tanti furoris auderent:

Powerful is the Lord and merciful, whom we daily ask that He may give repentance also to the rest, and that they may recover themselves from the snares of the devil, by whom they are held captive according to his will (II Tim. II, 26): who seek nothing except from whence they may calumniate us, and may distribute evils for goods; because they have not known how to understand what mind and love we preserve towards them, and how we wish to recall the erring and find the lost according to the command of the Lord, which He gave to the shepherds through Ezekiel the prophet (Ezek. XXXIV, 4).

CHAPTER VIII.

32. But those ones, what we also have said elsewhere sometimes, and what they do to us, they do not impute to themselves; and what they do to themselves, they impute to us. For who of us would wish not only anyone of them to perish, but even anything to be lost? But if the house of David did not merit to have peace otherwise, unless Absalom his son had been extinguished in the war which he was waging against his father, although with great care he had commanded his own that they should preserve him alive and safe as much as they could, so that there might be one to whom paternal affection might forgive when repentant; what remained for him, except to weep for the lost one, and his sadness being consoled by the peace of his kingdom having been acquired (II Kings XVIII, XXII)? So therefore the Catholic mother, with those warring against her who are none other than her sons—because certainly from that great tree which by the extension of its branches is diffused through the whole world, this little branch in Africa has been broken—while she travails for them in charity so that they may return to the root without which they cannot have true life; if by the perdition of some she gathers so many others, especially because these ones, not like Absalom by a warlike chance, but rather by a spontaneous destruction perish, she alleviates and heals the pain of her maternal heart by the liberation of so many peoples. If you were to see of these the joys in the peace of Christ, the frequencies, the alacrities, and the celebrated and hilarious assemblies for hearing and singing hymns and for perceiving the word of God, and in many of them the recollection of past error with great pain, and the consideration of known truth with joy, and the indignation and detestation of the lies of their masters, because they now know how false things they boasted concerning our Sacraments; the confessions also of many in them that they formerly wished to be Catholics, nor did they dare among men of such fury:

horum ergo populorum congregationes per plurimas Africae regiones ab illa perditione liberatorum, si sub uno conspectu videres; tunc diceres nimiae fuisse crudelitatis, si dum timeretur ne homines desperati, et istorum innumerabili multitudini nulla aestimatione comparandi, suis et voluntariis ignibus cremarentur, isti in aeternum perdendi et sempiternis ignibus cruciandi relinquerentur.

33. Si enim duo aliqui in una domo habitarent, quam certissime sciremus esse ruituram, nobisque id praenuntiantibus nollent credere, atque in ea manere persisterent; si eos inde possemus eruere vel invitos, quibus imminentem illam ruinam postea demonstraremus, ut redire ulterius sub ejus periculum non auderent, puto nisi faceremus, non immerito crudeles dijudicaremur. Porro si unus illorum nobis diceret, Quando intraveritis eruere nos, meipsum continuo trucidabo; alter autem nec exire quidem inde, nec erui vellet, sed neque necare se auderet; quid eligeremus, utrum ambos ruinae opprimendos relinquere, an uno saltem per misericordem nostram operam liberato, alterum non nostra culpa, sed sua potius interire? Nemo est tam infelix qui non quid fieri in talibus causis oporteat, facillime judicet. Et de duobus hominibus, uno scilicet perdito, et uno liberato similitudinem istam proposui: quid ergo sentiendum est de quibusdam paucis perditis, et innumerabili multitudine populorum liberatorum? Non enim vel tot sunt illi homines qui sua voluntate pereunt, quot liberantur per istas leges ab illa pestifera aeternaque pernicie fundi, pagi, vici, castella, municipia, civitates.

CAPUT IX.

35. Quod autem nobis objiciunt, quod res eorum concupiscamus et auferamus; utinam catholici fiant, et non solum quae dicunt sua, sed etiam nostra, in pace nobiscum et charitate possideant! Usque adeo autem calumniandi cupiditate caecantur, ut non attendant quam sint inter se contraria quae loquuntur. Ipsi certe dicunt, et invidiosissime sibi conqueri videntur quod eos in nostram communionem violento legum imperio coarctamus: hoc utique nullo modo faceremus, si res eorum possidere vellemus. Quis avarus quaerit compossessorem? quis dominandi cupiditate inflammatus, vel fastu dominationis elatus desiderat habere consortem? Ipsos certe attendant quondam suos, jam nostros socios et fraterna nobis dilectione conjunctos, quemadmodum sua teneant, non solum quae habebant, sed etiam nostra que non habebant: quae tamen, si pauperum compauperes sumus, et nostra sunt et illorum; si autem privatim quae nobis sufficiant, possidemus, non sunt illa nostra, sed pauperum quorum procurationem quodammodo gerimus, non proprietatem nobis usurpatione damnabili vindicamus.

if you saw under one view the congregations of these peoples through very many regions of Africa liberated from that perdition; then you would say it had been of excessive cruelty, if while it was feared lest desperate men, and not to be compared by any estimation to the innumerable multitude of these ones, should be consumed by their own and voluntary fires, these ones should be left to be lost eternally and to be tortured in everlasting fires.

33. For if any two lived in one house which we knew most certainly was about to fall, and they would not believe us foretelling it, and persisted in remaining in it; if we could rescue them from there even against their will, to whom we would afterwards demonstrate that imminent ruin, so that they might not dare to return further under its danger, I think unless we did it, we would not undeservedly be judged cruel. Furthermore, if one of them said to us: "When you enter to rescue us, I will immediately kill myself"; while the other neither wished to go out from there, nor to be rescued, but neither dared to kill himself; what would we choose, whether to leave both to be oppressed by the ruin, or, one at least having been liberated through our merciful work, that the other should perish not by our fault, but rather by his own? There is no one so unhappy who does not most easily judge what ought to be done in such causes. And I have proposed this similitude concerning two men, namely one lost and one liberated: what therefore is to be felt concerning some few lost, and an innumerable multitude of liberated peoples? For not even are those men who perish by their own will so many as the estates, villages, hamlets, castles, municipalities, cities which are liberated through these laws from that pestiferous and eternal perdition.

CHAPTER IX.

35. But as to what they object to us, that we covet and take away their things; would that they might become Catholics, and possess in peace and charity with us not only what they call theirs, but also ours! To such an extent, however, are they blinded by the desire of calumniating, that they do not attend how contrary among themselves are the things which they speak. They certainly say, and seem to complain most enviously to themselves, that we coerce them into our communion by the violent command of the laws: this certainly we would in no way do, if we wished to possess their things. What avaricious man seeks a co-possessor? What man inflamed by the desire of dominating, or elated by the pride of domination, desires to have a consort? Let them certainly attend to those formerly theirs, now our associates and joined to us by fraternal love, how they hold their own, not only what they had, but also ours which they did not have: which nevertheless, if we are fellow-poor of the poor, are both ours and theirs; but if we possess privately what may suffice for us, those things are not ours, but the poor's whose procuration we in a certain way manage, not claiming the property for ourselves by a damnable usurpation.

36. Quidquid ergo nomine Ecclesiarum partis Donati possidebatur, christiani imperatores legibus religiosis cum ipsis Ecclesiis ad Catholicam transire jusserunt . Cum ergo nobiscum sint earumdem Ecclesiarum pauperes qui eisdem possessiunculis alebantur, ipsi potius foris positi desinant concupiscere aliena; sed intrent in unitatis societatem, ut pariter gubernemus, non illa tantum quae dicunt sua, verum etiam quae dicuntur et nostra. Scriptum est enim: Omnia vestra sunt; vos autem Christi; Christus autem Dei (I Cor. III, 22, 23). Sub illo capite, in uno ejus corpore unum simus, et de istis talibus rebus faciamus quod scriptum est in Actibus Apostolorum: Erat illis anima una et cor unum; et nemo dicebat aliquid proprium, sed erant illis omnia communia (Act. IV, 32). Amemus quod cantamus, Ecce quam bonum et quam jucundum, habitare fratres in unum (Psal. CXXXII, 1)! ut sic experiantur et sciant quam veraciter ad eos clamet mater Catholica quod scribit beatus Apostolus ad Corinthios, Non quaero quae sunt vestra, sed vos (II Cor. XII, 14).

37. Si autem consideremus quod dictum est in libro Sapientiae, Ideo justi tulerunt spolia impiorum (Sap. X, 19); item quod legitur in Proverbiis, Thecaurizantur autem justis divitiae impiorum (Prov. XIII, 22, sec. LXX); tunc videbimus non esse quaerendum qui habeant res haereticorum, sed qui sint in societate justorum. Scimus quidem illos tantam sibi arrogare justitiam, ut eam se jactent non solum habere, sed etiam aliis hominibus dare. A se quippe dicunt justificari eum quem baptizaverint; ubi nihil eis restat nisi dicere illi qui baptizatur ab eis, ut in baptizatorem suum credat: cur enim non faciat, quando Apostolus dicit, Credenti in eum qui justificat impium, deputatur fides ejus ad justitiam (Rom. IV, 5)? In ipsum ergo credat, si eum ipse justificat, ut deputetur fides ejus ad justitiam. Sed puto quod etiam ipsi seipsos horreant, si tamen ista vel cogitare dignantur. Justus enim et justificans non est, nisi Deus. Potest autem et de istis dici quod dicit Apostolus de Judaeis, quia ignorantes Dei justitiam, et suam volentes constituere, justitiae Dei non sunt subjecti (Rom. X, 3).

36. Whatever therefore was possessed in the name of the Churches of the party of Donatus, the Christian emperors by religious laws commanded to pass to the Catholic [Church] along with the Churches themselves. Since therefore the poor of those same Churches are with us, who were nourished by those same small possessions, let those ones rather who are placed outside cease to covet the things of others; but let them enter into the society of unity, so that we may govern together, not only those things which they call theirs, but even those which are called ours. For it is written: "All things are yours; but you are Christ's; but Christ is God's" (I Cor. III, 22, 23). Under that head, let us be one in His one body, and concerning these such things let us do what is written in the Acts of the Apostles: "There was to them one soul and one heart; and no one said anything was his own, but all things were common to them" (Acts IV, 32). Let us love what we sing: "Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brothers to dwell in one" (Psal. CXXXII, 1)! so that they may thus experience and know how truly the Catholic mother cries to them what the blessed Apostle writes to the Corinthians: "I seek not the things which are yours, but you" (II Cor. XII, 14).

37. But if we consider what was said in the book of Wisdom: "Therefore the just took the spoils of the impious" (Wisd. X, 19); likewise what is read in the Proverbs: "But the riches of the impious are treasured up for the just" (Prov. XIII, 22, sec. LXX); then we shall see that it is not to be asked who have the things of heretics, but who are in the society of the just. We know indeed that those ones arrogate such great justice to themselves, that they boast themselves not only to have it, but even to give it to other men. For they say that he whom they have baptized is justified by them; where nothing remains for them except to say to him who is baptized by them, that he should believe in his baptizer: for why should he not do so, when the Apostle says: "To him believing in Him who justifies the impious, his faith is deputed unto justice" (Rom. IV, 5)? Let him therefore believe in him, if he justifies him himself, so that his faith may be deputed unto justice. But I think that even they themselves would be horrified at themselves, if nevertheless they deign to even think these things. For there is not a just and justifying one, except God. But it can also be said of these ones what the Apostle says of the Jews, that "being ignorant of the justice of God, and wishing to constitute their own, they are not subject to the justice of God" (Rom. X, 3).

38. Absit autem ut quisquam nostrum ita se justum dicat, ut aut suam justitiam velit constituere, id est quasi a seipso sibi datam, cum dicatur ei, Quid enim habes quod non acccepisti (I Cor. IV, 7)? aut sine peccato se esse jactare audeat in hac vita, sicut ipsi in nostra collatione dixerunt in ea se esse Ecclesia quae jam non habet maculam aut rugam aut aliquid hujusmodi (Eph. V, 27): nescientes hoc modo in eis compleri, qui vel post Baptismum continuo, vel dimissis debitis, quae dimittenda in oratione poscuntur, de hoc exeunt corpore; in tota vero Ecclesia tunc futurum, ut sit omnino non habens maculam aut rugam, aut aliquid ejusmodi, quando dicendum erit, Ubi est, mors, victorya tua? ubi est, mors, aculeus tuus? Aculeus enim mortis est peccatum (I Cor. XV, 55, 36).

39. In hac autem vita, ubi corpus quod corrumpitur aggravat animam (Sap. IX, 15), si Ecclesia eorum jam talis est, non ergo dicant Deo, quod Dominus nos orare docuit, Dimitte nobis debita nostra (Matth. VI, 12). Cum enim in Baptismo cuncta dimissa sunt, utquid hoc poscit Ecclesia, si jam etiam in hac vita non habet maculam, aut rugam, aut aliquid hujusmodi? Contemnant et apostolum Joannem clamantem in Epistola sua: Si dixerimus quia peccatum non habemus, nos ipsos decipimus, et veritas in nobis non est. Si autem confessi fuerimus peccata nostra, fidelis est et justus, qui dimittat nobis peccata, et mundet nos ab omni iniquitate (I Joan. I, 8, 9). Propter hanc spem dicit universa Ecclesia, Dimitte nobis debita nostra, ut non superbientes, sed confitentes mundet nos ab omni iniquitate, atque ita sibi Dominus Christus exhibeat in illa die gloriosam Ecclesiam non habentem maculam, aut rugam, aut aliquid ejusmodi; quam modo mundat lavacro aquae in verbo: quia neque aliquid remanet in Baptismo, quod non dimittatur omnium praeteritorum peccatorum (si tamen ipse Baptismus non frustra foris habeatur, sed aut intus detur, aut si jam foris datus est, non foris cum illo remaneatur); et quidquid ab eis qui post acceptum Baptismum hic vivunt, infirmitate humana contrahitur quarumcumque culparum, propter ipsum lavacrum dimittitur. Neque enim aliquid prodest non baptizato dicere, Dimitte nobis debita nostra.

40. Ita modo mundat Ecclesiam suam lavacro aquae in verbo, ut tunc eam sibi exhibeat non habentem maculam aut rugam, aut aliquid ejusmodi, totam scilicet pulchram atque perfectam, quando absorbebitur mors in victoriam (I Cor. XV, 54). Nunc ergo in quantum viget in nobis quod ex Deo nati sumus, ex fide viventes, justi sumus: in quantum autem reliquias mortalitatis ex Adam trahimus, sine peccato non sumus.

38. Far be it, however, that any of us should say that he is just in such a way, that he either wishes to constitute his own justice, that is, as if given to him by himself, when it is said to him: "For what do you have that you did not receive?" (1 Cor. IV, 7); or that he should dare to boast that he is without sin in this life, just as they said in our conference that they are in that Church which already has no spot or wrinkle or any such thing (Eph. V, 27): not knowing that in this way it is fulfilled in those who either immediately after Baptism, or after the debts which are asked to be forgiven in prayer have been dismissed, depart from this body; but in the whole Church it will then come to pass, that it should be altogether not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing, when it shall be said: "Where, O death, is your victory? where, O death, is your sting?" For the sting of death is sin (1 Cor. XV, 55, 56).

39. But in this life, where "the body which is corrupted burdens the soul" (Wisd. IX, 15), if their Church is already such, let them not therefore say to God, what the Lord taught us to pray: "Forgive us our debts" (Matth. VI, 12). For when all things have been forgiven in Baptism, why does the Church ask this, if even in this life it already has no spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing? Let them also despise the apostle John crying out in his Epistle: "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us." But if we have confessed our sins, He is faithful and just, who may forgive us our sins, and cleanse us from all iniquity (1 John I, 8, 9). Because of this hope the universal Church says, "Forgive us our debts," so that not being proud, but confessing, He may cleanse us from all iniquity, and thus the Lord Christ may exhibit to Himself on that day a glorious Church not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing; which He now "cleanses with the washing of water in the word": because neither does anything remain in Baptism which is not forgiven of all past sins (if nevertheless that Baptism itself is not held in vain outside, but is either given within, or if it has already been given outside, one does not remain outside with it); and whatever is contracted of any faults through human infirmity by those who live here after receiving Baptism, is forgiven because of that same washing. For it does not profit one who is not baptized to say, "Forgive us our debts."

40. Thus He now cleanses His Church with the washing of water in the word, that He may then exhibit it to Himself not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing, namely altogether beautiful and perfect, when "death shall be swallowed up in victory" (1 Cor. XV, 54). Now therefore, in as much as what we were born of God thrives in us, living from faith, we are just; but in as much as we draw the remains of mortality from Adam, we are not without sin.

Et illud enim verum est, Qui natus est ex Deo, non peccat (I Joan. III, 9); et illud verum est, Si dixerimus quia peccatum non habemus, nos ipsos decipimus, et veritas in nobis non est (Id. I, 8). Dominus itaque Christus et justus est, et justificans; nos autem justificati gratis per gratiam ipsius (Rom. III, 24). Non autem justificat nisi corpus suum, quod est Ecclesias et ideo si corpus Christi tollit spolia impiorum, et corpori Christi thesaurizantur divitiae impierum, non debent impii foris remanere, ut calumnientur, sed intrare potius ut justificentur.

41. Unde et illud quod de die judicii scriptum est, Tunc stabunt justi in magna constantia adversus eos qui se angustiaverunt, et abstulerunt labores eorum (Sap. V, 1), non utique sic intelligendum est, quia stabit Chananaeus adversus Israel, cum Chananaei abstulerit labores Israel; sed stabit Nabuthaeus adversus Achab, quoniam labores Nabuthaei abstulit Achab: Chananaeus quippe impius, Nabuthaeus justus. Eodem modo, non stabit paganus adversus christianum qui abstulit labores ejus, quando idolorum exspoliata vel diruta sunt templa; sed stabit christianus adversus paganum qui abstulit labores ejus, quando martyrum strata sunt corpora. Sic ergo, non stabit haereticus adversus catholicum qui abstulit labores ejus, quando praevaluerunt leges catholicorum imperatorum; sed stabit catholicus adversus haereticum qui abstulit labores ejus, quando furores praevalebant impiorum Circumcellionum. Ipsa quippe Scriptura solvit quaestionem, quae non ait, Tunc stabunt homines, sed, Tunc stabunt justi: et ideo in magna constantia, quia in bona conscientia.

42. Justus autem hic nemo est justitia sua, id est, tanquam sibi a seipso facta; sed, ut dicit Apostolus, Sicut unicuique Deus partitus est mensuram fidei. Sequitur autem et adjungit: Sicut enim in uno corpore multa membra habemus, omnia autem membra non eumdem actum habent; ita multi unum corpus sumus in Christo (Rom. XII, 3-5). Ac per hoc nemo potest esse justus, quamdiu fuerit ab unitate hujus corporis separatus. Quemadmodum enim membrum si praecidatur ab hominis vivi corpore, non potest tenere spiritum vitae; sic homo qui praeciditur de Christi justi corpore, nullo modo potest spiritum tenere justitiae, etiamsi figuram membri teneat, quam sumpsit in corpore. In hujus ergo compagem corporis veniant, et labores suos non dominandi cupiditate, sed bene utendi pietate possideant. Nos autem voluntatem nostram, ut jam dictum est, ab hujus cupiditatis sordibus, quolibet inimico judicante purgamus, quando eos ipsos quorum labores dicuntur, ut nobiscum et illis et nostris in societate catholica utantur, quantum valemus inquirimus.

CAPUT X.

For both that is true, "He who is born of God does not sin" (1 John III, 9); and that is true, "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us" (Id. I, 8). Therefore the Lord Christ is both just and justifying; but we are "justified freely through His grace" (Rom. III, 24). But He does not justify except His body, which is the Church; and therefore if the body of Christ takes the spoils of the impious, and for the body of Christ the riches of the impious are treasured up, the impious ought not to remain outside, so that they may calumniate, but rather to enter so that they may be justified.

41. Whence also that which is written concerning the day of judgment: "Then the just shall stand in great constancy against those who afflicted them, and took away their labors" (Wisd. V, 1), is certainly not to be understood in such a way, that the Canaanite shall stand against Israel, when Israel took away the labors of the Canaanite; but Naboth shall stand against Ahab, because Ahab took away the labors of Naboth: for the Canaanite was impious, Naboth was just. In the same way, the pagan will not stand against the Christian who took away his labors, when the temples of idols were despoiled or destroyed; but the Christian will stand against the pagan who took away his labors, when the bodies of martyrs were strewn. So therefore, the heretic will not stand against the Catholic who took away his labors, when the laws of the Catholic emperors prevailed; but the Catholic will stand against the heretic who took away his labors, when the furies of the impious Circumcellions were prevailing. For the Scripture itself solves the question, which does not say, "Then men shall stand," but, "Then the just shall stand": and therefore in "great constancy," because in "good conscience."

42. But here no one is just by his own justice, that is, as if made for himself by himself; but, as the Apostle says: "As God has divided to every one the measure of faith." But he follows and joins: "For as in one body we have many members, but all the members have not the same act; so we, being many, are one body in Christ" (Rom. XII, 3-5). And by this no one can be just, as long as he shall have been separated from the unity of this body. For just as a member, if it be cut off from the body of a living man, cannot hold the spirit of life; so the man who is cut off from the body of Christ the Just, can in no way hold the spirit of justice, even if he holds the figure of a member, which he took in the body. Therefore let them come into the framework of this body, and let them possess their labors not with the desire of dominating, but with the piety of using well. But we, as has already been said, purge our will from the filths of this cupidity, with whatever enemy judging, when we seek out those very ones whose labors they are said to be, so that they may use both theirs and ours with us in the Catholic society, as much as we are able.

CHAPTER X.

43. Sed hoc est, inquiunt, quod nos movet: si injusti sumus, quare nos quaeritis? Quibus respondemus: Quaerimus vos injustos, ne permaneatis injusti; quaerimus perditos, ut de inventis gaudere possimus, dicentes, Mortuus erat frater, et revixit; perierat, et inventus est (Luc. XV, 32). Quare ergo me, inquit, non baptizas, ut abluas a peccatis? Respodeo: Quia non facio injuriam characteri imperatoris, cum errorem corrigo desertoris. Quare, inquit, apud te vel poenitentiam non ago? Imo nisi egeris, salvus esse non poteris: quomodo enim gaudebis te esse correctum, nisi doleas fuisse perversum? Quid ergo, inquit, apud vos, cum ad vos transimus, accipimus? Respondeo: Non quidem accipitis Baptismum, qui vobis extra compagem corporis Christi inesse potuit, prodesse non potuit; sed accipitis unitatem spiritus in vinculo pacis (Eph. IV, 3), sine qua nemo poterit videre Deum, et charitatem, quae, sicut scriptum est, cooperit multitudinem peccatorum (I Petr. IV, 8). Quod tam magnum bonum, sine quo nec linguas hominum et Angelorum, nec scientiam omnium sacramentorum, nec prophetiam, nec tantam fidem qua montes transferantur, nec omnia quae possidet homo distributa pauperibus, nec corporis in ignibus passionem prodesse aliquid Apostolus testis est (I Cor. XIII, 1-3): hoc ergo tam magnum bonum, si parvum vel nullum putatis, merito infeliciter erratis; merito si in unitatem catholicam non transitis, peritis.

44. Si ergo, inquiunt, oportet ut nos extra Ecclesiam et adversus Ecclesiam fuisse poeniteat, ut salvi esse possimus; quomodo post istam poenitentiam apud vos clerici, vel etiam episcopi permanemus? Hoc non fieret, quoniam revera, quod fatendum est, fieri non deberet, nisi pacis ipsius compensatione sanaretur. Sed sibi hoc dicant, et multo maxime humiliter doleant, qui in tanta morte praecisionis jacent, ut isto quodam vulnere matris Catholicae reviviscant. Cum enim praecisus ramus inseritur, fit aliud vulnus in arbore, quo possit recipi, ut vivat qui sine vita radicis peribat: sed cum receptus recipienti coaluerit, et vigor consequitur et fructus; si autem non coaluerit, ille quidem arescit, sed vita arboris permanebit. Est enim et tale inserendi genus, ut nullo praeciso ramo qui intus est, ille qui foris est inseratur, non tamen nullo, sed vel levissimo arboris vulnere. Ita ergo et isti cum ad radicem Catholicam veniunt, nec eis quamvis post erroris sui poenitentiam honor clericatus vel episcopatus aufertur, fit quidem aliquid tanquam in cortice arboris matris contra integritatem severitatis: verumtamen quia neque qui plantat est aliquid, neque qui rigat (I Cor. III, 7), ad Dei misericordiam precibus fusis coalescente insitorum pace ramorum, charitas cooperit multitudinem peccatorum.

43. But this is what moves us, they say: if we are unjust, why do you seek us? To whom we respond: We seek you as unjust ones, so that you may not remain unjust; we seek the lost ones, so that we may be able to rejoice over those found, saying: "The brother was dead, and has come to life again; he was lost, and is found" (Luke XV, 32). Why then, he says, do you not baptize me, so that you may wash me from sins? I respond: Because I do not do injury to the character of the emperor, when I correct the error of a deserter. Why, he says, do I not even perform penance among you? Indeed, unless you perform it, you will not be able to be saved: for how will you rejoice that you have been corrected, unless you grieve that you were perverse? What then, he says, do we receive among you, when we pass over to you? I respond: You certainly do not receive Baptism, which could be in you outside the framework of the body of Christ, but could not profit you; but you receive the "unity of the spirit in the bond of peace" (Eph. IV, 3), without which no one will be able to see God, and charity, which, as it is written, "covers a multitude of sins" (1 Pet. IV, 8). Which is so great a good, without which neither the tongues of men and of Angels, nor the knowledge of all sacraments, nor prophecy, nor such great faith that mountains may be moved, nor all the things which a man possesses distributed to the poor, nor the passion of the body in the fires does the Apostle witness to profit anything (1 Cor. XIII, 1-3): this so great a good, therefore, if you think it small or nothing, you deservedly err unhappily; deservedly if you do not pass over into Catholic unity, you perish.

44. If therefore, they say, it is necessary that we should repent that we were outside the Church and against the Church, so that we may be able to be saved; how do we remain clerics, or even bishops among you after this penance? This would not happen, because in truth, what must be confessed, it ought not to happen, unless it were healed by the compensation of peace itself. But let those say this to themselves, and let them grieve much more humbly, who lie in such a death of cutting-off, that they may come to life again through this certain wound of the Catholic mother. For when a cut-off branch is grafted in, another wound is made in the tree, by which it may be received, so that he who was perishing without the life of the root may live: but when having been received it has grown together with the receiver, both vigor and fruit follow; but if it has not grown together, that one indeed withers, but the life of the tree will remain. For there is also such a kind of grafting, that with no branch which is within having been cut off, he who is outside may be grafted in, nevertheless with no wound, but even the lightest wound of the tree. So therefore also these ones, when they come to the Catholic root, and the honor of the clerical or episcopal state is not taken away from them even after the penance for their error, something happens as if in the bark of the mother tree against the integrity of severity: nevertheless because "neither he who plants is anything, nor he who waters" (1 Cor. III, 7), with prayers poured out to the mercy of God while the peace of the grafted branches grows together, "charity covers a multitude of sins."

45. Ut enim constitueretur in Ecclesia, ne quisquam post alicujus criminis poenitentiam clericatum accipiat, vel ad clericatum redeat, vel in clericatu maneat, non desperatione indulgentiae, sed rigore factum est disciplinae: alioquin contra claves datas Ecclesiae disputabitur, de quibus dictum est, Quae solveritis in terra, soluta erunt et in coelo (Matth. XVI, 19). Sed ne forsitan etiam detectis criminibus, spe honoris ecclesiastici animus intumescens superbe ageret poenitentiam, severissime placuit ut post actam de crimine damnabili poenitentiam, nemo sit clericus, ut desperatione temporalis altitudinis medicina major et verior esset humilitatis. Nam et sanctus David de criminibus mortiferis poenitentiam egit, et tamen in honore suo perstitit. Et beatum Petrum, quando amarissimas lacrimas fudit, utique Dominum negasse poenituit, et tamen Apostolus mansit. Sed non ideo supervacua putanda est posteriorum diligentia, qui ubi saluti nihil detrahebatur, humilitati aliquid addiderunt, quo salus tutius muniretur, experti, credo, aliquorum fictas poenitentyas per affectatas honorum potentias. Cogunt enim multas invenire medicinas multorum experimenta morborum. Verum in hujusmodi causis ubi per graves dissensionum scissuras non hujus aut illius hominis est periculum, sed populorum strages jacent, detrahendum est aliquid severitati, ut majoribus malis sanandis charitas sincera subveniat.

46. Habeant ergo isti de praeterito detestabili errore, sicut Petrus habuit de mendaci timore, amarum dolorem, et veniant ad Ecclesiam Christi veram, hoc est matrem Catholicam: sint in illa clerici, sint episcopi utiliter, qui contra illam fuerunt hostiliter. Non invidemus, imo amplectimur, optamus, hortamur, et quos in viis et sepibus invenimus, intrare cogimus; etsi nondum quibusdam persuademus quia non res eorum, sed ipsos quaerimus. Apostolus Petrus quando Salvatorem negavit, et flevit, et apostolus mansit, nondum acceperat promissum Spiritum sanctum: sed multo magis isti eum non acceperunt, ubi a corporis compage divisi, quod solum corpus vivificat Spiritus sanctus, extra Ecclesiam et contra Ecclesiam Ecclesiae Sacramenta tenuerunt, et tanquam civili bello, nostris contra nos erectis signis armisque pugnaverunt. Veniant; fiat pax in virtute Jerusalem, quae virtus charitas est: cui sanctae civitati dictum est, Fiat pax in virtute tua, et abundantia in turribus tuis (Psal. CXXI, 7). Non se extollant adversus maternam sollicitudinem, quam pro ipsis, et pro tantis populis quos decipiunt vel decipiebant, colligendis et habuit et habet: non superbiant, quia sic eos suscipit; non referant ad elationis suae malum quod facit ipsa propter pacis bonum.

45. For that it should be established in the Church, that no one after the penance for any crime should receive the clerical state, or return to the clerical state, or remain in the clerical state, was done not by desperation of indulgence, but by the rigor of discipline: otherwise it will be disputed against the keys given to the Church, concerning which it was said: "Whatsoever you shall loose on earth, shall be loosed also in heaven" (Matth. XVI, 19). But lest perhaps even with discovered crimes, the mind swelling with the hope of ecclesiastical honor should perform penance proudly, it most severely pleased that after having performed penance for a damnable crime, no one should be a cleric, so that by the desperation of temporal height the medicine of humility might be greater and truer. For even holy David performed penance for deadly crimes, and nevertheless persisted in his honor. And it certainly repented blessed Peter, when he shed most bitter tears, to have denied the Lord, and nevertheless he remained an Apostle. But not therefore is the diligence of those later to be thought superfluous, who where nothing was taken away from salvation, added something to humility, by which salvation might be more safely fortified, having experienced, I believe, the feigned penances of some through affected powers of honors. For the experiences of many diseases compel many medicines to be found. Truly in causes of this kind where through grave schisms of dissensions the danger is not of this or that man, but the slaughters of peoples lie there, something must be taken away from severity, so that sincere charity may come to the aid in healing greater evils.

46. Let these ones therefore have for their past detestable error, just as Peter had for his lying fear, a bitter grief, and let them come to the true Church of Christ, that is the Catholic mother: let them be clerics in her, let them be bishops usefully, who were hostile against her. We do not envy, indeed we embrace, we desire, we exhort, and those whom we find in the ways and hedges, we compel to enter; although we do not yet persuade some because we seek not their things, but themselves. The apostle Peter when he denied the Savior, and wept, and remained an apostle, had not yet received the promised Holy Spirit: but much more these ones have not received Him, where divided from the framework of the body, which body alone the Holy Spirit vivifies, they held the Sacraments of the Church outside the Church and against the Church, and fought as if in a civil war, with our signs and arms raised against us. Let them come; let peace be made in the strength of Jerusalem, which strength is charity: to which holy city it was said: "Let peace be in your strength, and abundance in your towers" (Psal. CXXI, 7). Let them not extol themselves against the maternal solicitude, which she had and has for gathering them, and for so many peoples whom they deceive or were deceiving: let them not be proud, because she thus receives them; let them not refer to the evil of their own elation what she herself does because of the good of peace.

47. Sic multitudinibus per schismata et haereses pereuntibus subvenire consuevit. Hoc displicuit Lucifero, quia factum est in eis suscipiendis atque sanandis qui veneno perierant Ariano; et cui displicuit in tenebras cecidit schismatis, amisso lumine charitatis. Hoc erga istos ab initio servavit Africana Catholica ex episcoporum sententia, qui in Ecclesia Romana inter Caecilianum et partem Donati judicaverunt, damnatoque uno quodam Donato qui auctor schismatis fuisse manifestatus est, caeteros correctos, etiamsi extra Ecclesiam ordinati essent, in suis honoribus suscipiendos esse censuerunt: non quod etiam foris ab unitate corporis Christi possent habere Spiritum sanctum; sed maxime propter eos, quos foris positi possent decipere, et a susceptione illius muneris impedire; deinde ut etiam ipsorum infirmitas lenius excepta intus sanabilis fieret, jam nulla pertinacia claudente oculos cordis adversus evidentiam veritatis. Quid autem aliud etiam ipsi cogitaverunt, quando Maximianistas, quos in sacrilego, sicut eorum concilium indicat, schismate damnaverant, et in quorum jam locum alios ordinaverant, posteaquam viderunt ab eis populos non recedere, ne omnes perderent, in suis honoribus receperunt; et Baptismo quem foris ab eis damnati dederant, nullam contradictionem quaestionemque moverunt? Quare ergo mirantur, aut queruntur, aut calumniantur quod eos sic suscipimus pro vera pace Christi, et non recordantur quid ipsi fecerint pro vana, quae contra Christum est, pace Donati? Quod eorum factum si contra eos teneatur et intelligenter asseratur, quid omnino respondeant non habebunt.

CAPUT XI.

48. Quod autem dicunt, Si peccavimus in Spiritum sanctum, quia exsufflavimus baptismum vestrum, ut quid nos quaeritis, cum remitti nobis hoc peccatum omnino non possit, dicente Domino, Qui peccaverit in Spiritum sanctum, non remittetur ei, neque in hoc saeculo, neque in futuro (Matth. XII, 32); non attendunt quia secundum istum sensum nemo liberandus est. Quis enim non loquitur adversus Spiritum sanctum et peccat in eum, sive qui nondum est christianus, sive qui est haereticus Arianus, aut Eunomianus, aut Macedonianus, qui eum dicunt esse creaturam; aut Photinianus, qui ejus omnino negat aliquam esse substantiam, sed unum tantummodo esse Deum Patrem; sive alii haeretici, quos commemorare longum est? Nulli ergo istorum liberandi sunt? aut ipsi Judaei, quibus Dominus hoc objecit, si in eum crederent, non erant baptizandi? non enim ait Salvator, In Baptismo remittetur; sed, non remittetur, inquit, neque in hoc saeculo, neque in futuro.

47. Thus it has been accustomed to come to the aid of multitudes perishing through schisms and heresies. This displeased Lucifer, because it was done in receiving and healing those who had perished by the Arian poison; and he whom it displeased fell into the darkness of schism, having lost the light of charity. The African Catholic Church preserved this towards these ones from the beginning according to the opinion of the bishops, who in the Roman Church judged between Caecilian and the party of Donatus, and with one certain Donatus having been condemned, who was manifested to have been the author of the schism, they judged that the others, being corrected, even if they had been ordained outside the Church, were to be received in their honors: not that they could have the Holy Spirit even outside from the unity of the body of Christ; but especially because of those whom, being placed outside, they might deceive, and hinder from the reception of that gift; then so that even their own infirmity, being more gently received, might become curable within, with no pertinacity now closing the eyes of the heart against the evidence of the truth. But what else did even they themselves think, when they received the Maximianists in their honors, whom they had condemned in a sacrilegious schism, as their council indicates, and in whose place they had already ordained others, after they saw that the peoples did not depart from them, lest they should lose all; and they moved no contradiction or question to the Baptism which those condemned had given outside? Why then do they wonder, or complain, or calumniate that we thus receive them for the true peace of Christ, and they do not remember what they themselves did for the vain peace of Donatus, which is against Christ? Which deed of theirs if it be held against them and intelligently asserted, they will have nothing at all to respond.

CHAPTER XI.

48. But as to what they say: "If we have sinned against the Holy Spirit, because we blew upon your baptism, why do you seek us, since this sin can altogether not be forgiven us, the Lord saying: 'He who shall have sinned against the Holy Spirit, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world nor in the future' (Matth. XII, 32)"; they do not attend that according to that sense no one is to be liberated. For who does not speak against the Holy Spirit and sin against Him, whether he who is not yet a Christian, or he who is an Arian heretic, or a Eunomian, or a Macedonian, who say that He is a creature; or a Photinian, who altogether denies that He has any substance, but that God the Father is only one; or other heretics, whom it is long to commemorate? Are none of these therefore to be liberated? Or the Jews themselves, against whom the Lord object this, if they believed in Him, were they not to be baptized? For the Savior did not say: "In Baptism it shall be forgiven"; but: "it shall not be forgiven," He said, "neither in this world nor in the future."

49. Intelligant ergo non omne, sed aliquod significatum esse peccatum in Spiritum sanctum, quod omnino non remittetur. Sicut enim eum dixisset, Si non venirem, peccatum non haberent (Joan. XV, 22), utique non omne peccatum intelligi voluit, quandoquidem pleni erant multis magnisque peccatis; sed aliquod proprium peccatum, quod si non haberent, possent illis omnia dimitti quae habebant, id est, quod in cum venientem non crediderunt; hoc enim non haberent peccatum, si non veniret: sic etiam eum dixit, Qui peccaverit in Spiritum sanctum, vel, Qui verbum dixerit adversus Spiritum sanctum, non utique omne quod in Spiritum sanctum peccatur facto sive dicto, sed aliquod certum et proprium intelligi voluit. Hoc est autem duritia cordis usque ad finem hujus vitae, qua homo recusat in unitate corporis Christi, quod vivificat Spiritus sanctus, remissionem accipere peccatorum. Cum enim dixisset discipulis, Accipite Spiritum sanctum, continuo subjecit, Si cui dimiseritis peccata, dimittentur ei; si cui tenueritis, tenebuntur (Id. XX, 22, 23). Huic ergo dono gratiae Dei quicumque restiterit et repugnaverit, vel quoquo modo fuerit ab eo alienus usque in finem hujus temporalis vitae, non remittetur ei, neque in hoc saeculo, neque in futuro; hoc scilicet tam grande peccatum, ut eo teneantur cuncta peccata, quod non probatur ab aliquo esse commissum, nisi cum de corpore exierit. Quamdiu vero hic vivit, eum, sicut dicit Apostolus, patientia Dei ad poenitentiam adducit: sed si ipse perseverantissima iniquitate, sicut consequenter adjungit Apostolus, Secundum duritiam cordis sui et cor impoenitens, thesaurizat sibi iram in die irae et revelationis justi judicii Dei (Rom. II, 4, 5), non remittetur ei, neque in hoc saeculo, neque in futuro.

50. Isti autem cum quibus agimus, vel de quibus agimus, non sunt desperandi; adhuc enim sunt in corpore: sed non quaerant Spiritum sanctum, nisi in Christi corpore, cujus habent foris sacramentum, sed rem ipsam non tenent intus cujus est illud sacramentum; et ideo sibi judicium manducant et bibunt (I Cor. XI, 29). Unus enim panis sacramentum est unitatis, quoniam sicut Apostolus dicit, Unus panis, unus corpus multi sumus (Id. X, 17). Proinde Ecclesia catholica sola corpus est Christi, cujus ille caput est Salvator corporis sui (Eph. V, 23). Extra hoc corpus neminem vivificat Spiritus sanctus; quia, sicut ipse dicit Apostolus, Charitas Dei diffusa est in cordibus nostris per Spiritum sanctum qui datus est nobis (Rom. V, 5): non est autem particeps divinae charitatis, qui hostis est unitatis. Non habent itaque Spiritum sanctum, qui sunt extra Ecclesiam: de illis quippe scriptum est, Qui seipsos segregant, animales, Spiritum non habentes (Judae 19). Sed nec ille eum percipit, qui fictus est in Ecclesia, quoniam et inde scriptum est, Sanctus enim Spiritus disciplinae effugiet fictum (Sap. I, 5).

49. Let them understand therefore that not every, but some certain sin against the Holy Spirit was signified, which altogether shall not be forgiven. For just as when He had said: "If I had not come, they would not have sin" (John XV, 22), He certainly did not wish every sin to be understood, since they were full of many and great sins; but some proper sin, which if they did not have, all things which they had could be forgiven them, that is, that they did not believe in Him coming; for they would not have this sin if He did not come: so also when He said: "He who shall have sinned against the Holy Spirit," or: "He who shall have said a word against the Holy Spirit," He certainly did not wish everything that is sinned against the Holy Spirit in deed or word, but some certain and proper thing to be understood. But this is the hardness of heart until the end of this life, by which a man refuses to receive the remission of sins in the unity of the body of Christ, which the Holy Spirit vivifies. For when He had said to the disciples: "Receive the Holy Spirit," He immediately added: "If you shall forgive anyone's sins, they are forgiven him; if you shall retain anyone's, they are retained" (Id. XX, 22, 23). Whoever therefore shall have resisted and fought against this gift of the grace of God, or in whatever way shall have been alienated from it until the end of this temporal life, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world nor in the future; namely this so great a sin, that by it all sins are retained, which is not proved to have been committed by anyone, except when he shall have departed from the body. Truly as long as he lives here, as the Apostle says, "the patience of God leads him to penance": but if he himself by most persevering iniquity, as the Apostle consequently adds, "According to the hardness of his heart and an impenitent heart, treasures up for himself wrath in the day of wrath and of the revelation of the just judgment of God" (Rom. II, 4, 5), it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world nor in the future.

50. But these ones with whom we deal, or concerning whom we deal, are not to be despaired of; for they are still in the body: but let them not seek the Holy Spirit except in the body of Christ, of which they have the sacrament outside, but they do not hold the reality itself inside, of which that is the sacrament; and therefore they eat and drink judgment to themselves (1 Cor. XI, 29). For "one bread" is the sacrament of unity, because as the Apostle says: "We, being many, are one bread, one body" (Id. X, 17). Accordingly, the Catholic Church alone is the body of Christ, of which He is the head, the Savior of His body (Eph. V, 23). Outside this body the Holy Spirit vivifies no one; because, as the Apostle himself says: "The charity of God is poured out in our hearts through the Holy Spirit who was given to us" (Rom. V, 5): but he is not a partaker of divine charity, who is an enemy of unity. Therefore they do not have the Holy Spirit who are outside the Church: for concerning those it is written: "Who segregate themselves, being animal, not having the Spirit" (Jude 19). But neither does he perceive Him who is feigned in the Church, since from there also it is written: "For the Holy Spirit of discipline will flee the feigned one" (Wisd. I, 5).

Qui ergo vult habere Spiritum sanctum, caveat foris ab Ecclesia remanere, caveat in eam simulatus intrare: aut si jam talis intravit, caveat in eadem simulatione persistere, ut veraciter coalescat arbori vitae.

51. Prolixum tibi librum direxi, et tuis fortasse occupationibus onerosum. Si ergo potuerit tibi vel partibus legi, dabit tibi Dominus intellectum, ut habeas quid respondeas eis corrigendis atque sanandis, quos etiam tibi ipsi tanquam fideli filio mater Ecclesia, ubi potueris, et quomodo potueris, sive ipse loquendo et respondendo, sive ad doctores Ecclesiae perducendo, in adjutorio Domini corrigendos sanandosque commendat.

Epistola CLXXXVI.

Alypius et Augustinus Paulino episcopo, ipsum plenius instituentes adversus Pelagii haeresim.

Domino beatissimo et in Christi visceribus germanitus amplectendo, plus quam dici potest desiderabili fratri et coepiscopo PAULINO , ALYPIUS et AUGUSTINUS.

CAPUT PRIMUM.

1. Tandem aliquando providit Deus nobis litterarum fidelissimum perlatorem, omnium nostrum merito charissimum fratrem Januarium; per quem, etiamsi non scriberemus, omnia quae circa nos sunt possit Sinceritas tua tanquam per viventem atque intelligentem epistolam noscere. Pelagium, quem credimus, ut ab illo distingueretur qui Pelagius Tarenti dicitur, Britonem fuisse cognominatum, quod ut servum Dei dilexeris, novimus: nunc autem quemadmodum diligas, ignoramus. Nam et nos non solum dileximus, verum etiam diligimus eum; sed aliter nunc diligimus, aliter aliquando dileximus: tunc enim, quia nobis rectae fidei videbatur; nunc autem, ut ab iis quae inimica et adversa gratiae Dei sentire dicitur, illius misericordia liberetur. Nam cum hoc de illo aliquandiu fama jactaret, non utique facile credendum fuit; solet quippe fama mentiri: sed propius ut crederemus, accessit quod librum quemdam ejus, ea prorsus persuadere molientem quae gratiam Dei per unum mediatorem Dei et hominum hominem Jesum Christum generi humano impertitam, de fidelium cordibus creditam deleant, legimus, traditum nobis a famulis Christi, qui eum talia docentem studosissime audierant, fuerantque sectati. Cui quidem libro, eisdem rogantibus, quia id fieri oportere videbamus, tacito nomine auctoris, ne offensus insanabilior redderetur, unius nostrum disputatione responsum est.

He therefore who wishes to have the Holy Spirit, let him beware of remaining outside the Church, let him beware of entering into it feignedly: or if he has already entered such, let him beware of persisting in the same simulation, so that he may truly grow together with the tree of life.

51. I have directed to you a lengthy book, and perhaps burdensome to your occupations. If therefore it could be read by you even in parts, the Lord will give you understanding, so that you may have what you may respond for correcting and healing them, whom mother Church commends even to you yourself, as to a faithful son, where you can, and how you can, whether by speaking and responding yourself, or by leading them to the doctors of the Church, to be corrected and healed in the help of the Lord.

Letter CLXXXVI.

Alypius and Augustine to bishop Paulinus, instructing him more fully against the heresy of Pelagius.

To the most blessed Lord and to be embraced like a brother in the bowels of Christ, a brother and fellow-bishop more desirable than can be said, PAULINUS, ALYPIUS and AUGUSTINE.

CHAPTER ONE.

1. At last, God has provided us with a most faithful bearer of letters, our brother Januarius, who is deservedly most dear to all of us; through him, even if we did not write, your Sincerity could learn all that concerns us as if through a living and understanding letter. We know that you loved Pelagius as a servant of God—who we believe was surnamed the Briton, to distinguish him from the one called Pelagius of Tarentum—but how you love him now, we do not know. For we also not only loved him, but indeed we still love him; yet we love him differently now than we once did: for then, he seemed to us to be of the right faith; but now, we love him so that he may be liberated by God's mercy from those things which he is said to feel, which are inimical and adverse to the grace of God. For although rumor had tossed this about concerning him for some time, it was certainly not easy to believe; for rumor is accustomed to lie: but it came closer to our belief when we read a certain book of his, which strived to persuade of things that would erase from the hearts of the faithful the belief in the grace of God imparted to the human race through the one mediator between God and men, the man Jesus Christ; this book was handed to us by servants of Christ who had most studiously heard him teaching such things and had followed him. To this book, at the request of those same servants and because we saw it was necessary to do so, a response was given in a disputation by one of us, with the author's name kept silent, lest being offended he should be rendered more incurable.

Quo libro id continetur, et multipliciter atque abundanter asseritur, quod etiam quibusdam litteris agit ad tuam Venerationem datis, ubi dicit se non debere existimari sine gratia Dei defendere liberum arbitrium, cum possibilitatem volendi atque operandi, sine qua nihil boni velle atque agere valeremus, a Creatore nobis insitam diceret: ut videlicet haec intelligatur doctore ipso gratia Dei, quae Paganis atque Christianis, impiis et piis, fidelibus atque infidelibus communis est.

2. Haec mala quibus Salvatoris evacuaretur adventus, ubi hoc possumus dicere quod de Lege dicit Apostolus, Si per naturam justitia, ergo Christus gratis mortuus est (Galat. II, 21), refellebamus, ut poteramus, in cordibus eorum, qui ista sentirent, ut his cognitis, etiam ille, si fieri posset, non lacessitus ista emendaret; atque ita et pernicies destrueretur erroris, et hominis verecundiae parceretur. Sed posteaquam ad nos litterae de Oriente venerunt, eamdem causam apertissime ventilantes, nullo modo jam qua licumque episcopali auctoritate deesse Ecclesiae debueramus. Missae sunt itaque de hac re ex duobus conciliis, Cathaginensi et Milevitano, relationes ad apostolicam Sedem, antequam Gesta ecclesiastica, quibus apud episcopos provinciae Palaestinae Pelagius perhibetur esse purgatus, vel in manus nostras, vel in Africam pervenissent. Scripsimus etiam ad beatae memoriae Papam Innocentium, praeter conciliorum relationes, litteras familiares, ubi de ipsa causa aliquanto diutius egimus. Ad omnia nobis ille rescripsit eo modo, quo fas erat atque oportebat apostolicae Sedis antistitem.

3. Quae omnia modo legere poteris, si eorum forte ad te vel nulla vel non cuncta pervenerant: ubi videbis, servata erga hominem moderatione quae debuit, ne damnaretur si prava damnaret, ipsum tamen novellum et perniciosum errorem sic ecclesiastica auctoritate compressum, ut multum miremur esse adhuc quosdam qui per quemlibet errorem gratiae Dei conentur obsistere; si tamen haec gesta esse didicerunt quae gratia Dei per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum (quod fides vera et catholica tenet semper Ecclesia) pusillos cum magnis a morte primi hominis ad vitam secundi hominis transfert; non solum peccata dolendo, verum etiam ad non peccandum recteque vivendum, eos qui jam uti possunt voluntatis arbitrio sic adjuvando, ut nisi adjuvet, nihil pietatis atque justitiae, sive in opere, sive etiam in ipsa voluntate habere possimus: Deus quippe operatur in nobis et velle, et operari, pro bona voluntate (Philip. II, 13).

CAPUT II.

In that book it is contained, and asserted in many and abundant ways, what he also argues in certain letters given to your Veneration, where he says he should not be thought to defend free will (liberum arbitrium) without the grace of God, since he said the possibility of willing and acting, without which we would be able to will or do nothing good, was implanted in us by the Creator: so that, clearly, this grace of God is understood by the teacher himself as that which is common to Pagans and Christians, the impious and the pious, the faithful and the unfaithful.

2. These evils, by which the coming of the Savior would be made void, where we can say what the Apostle says of the Law, "If justice is through nature, then Christ died in vain" (Galat. II, 21), we refuted as best we could in the hearts of those who felt such things, so that once these were known, even he himself, if possible, might correct these things without being provoked; and thus both the destruction of the error might be achieved and the man's shame might be spared. But after letters came to us from the East, ventilating the same cause most openly, we could no longer, by any episcopal authority, fail the Church. Therefore, reports (relationes) on this matter were sent from two councils, those of Carthage and Milevis, to the Apostolic See, before the ecclesiastical Acts (Gesta), by which Pelagius is said to have been cleared before the bishops of the province of Palestine, had reached either our hands or Africa. We also wrote to Pope Innocent of blessed memory, besides the reports of the councils, familiar letters where we dealt with the cause itself at somewhat greater length. He wrote back to us on all points in the manner that was right and proper for the prelate of the Apostolic See.

3. All of which you will now be able to read, if perhaps none or not all of them had reached you: where you will see, while maintaining the moderation toward the man that was due, lest he be condemned if he condemned what was wrong, that the new and pernicious error itself was so compressed by ecclesiastical authority that we marvel greatly that there are still some who attempt to resist the grace of God through any error; if indeed they have learned that these things have been done which the grace of God through Jesus Christ our Lord (which the true and Catholic faith the Church always holds) transfers the little ones with the great from the death of the first man to the life of the second man; not only by grieving for sins, but also for not sinning and living rightly, by so helping those who can already use the choice of their will (voluntatis arbitrio) that unless He helps, we can have nothing of piety and justice, whether in work or even in the will itself: for God works in us both to will and to work, according to His good will (Philip. II, 13).

CHAPTER II.

4. Nam quis nos, nisi qui venit quaerere et salvare quod perierat, ab illa perditionis massa et concretione discernit? Unde Apostolus interrogat dicens, Quis enim te discernit? ubi si dixerit homo, Fides mea, voluntas mea, bonum opus meum; respondetur ei, Quid enim habes quod non accepisti? Si autem accepisti, quid gloriaris quasi non acceperis (I Cor. IV, 7)? Hoc utique totum ideo, non ut homo non glorietur, sed ut qui gloriatur, in Domino glorietur (Id. I, 31); non ex operibus, ne forte quis extollatur (Eph. II, 9): non quia bona opera frustrantur, cum Deus reddat unicuique secundum opera ejus, sitque gloria et honor et pax omni operanti bonum (Rom. II, 6, 10); sed quia opera ex gratia, non ex oporibus gratia; quoniam fides quae per dilectionem operatur (Galat. V, 6), nihil operaretur nisi ipsa dilectio Dei diffunderetur in cordibus nostris per Spiritum sanctum qui datus est nobis (Rom. V, 5). Nec ipsa fides esset in nobis, nisi Deus unicuique partiretur mensuram fidei (Id. XII, 3).

5. Bonum est igitur homini ut cum totis viribus liberi arbitrii sui veraciter dicat, Fortitudinem meam ad te custodiam (Psal. LVIII, 10): quia ille qui putavit sine ipsius adjutorio se posse custodire quod dedit, profectus in longinquam regionem, et vivens prodige, cuncta consumpsit, et miseria durae servitutis attritus, reversusque in semetipsum dixit, Surgam, et ibo ad patrem meum (Luc. XV, 12-18): quam cogitationem bonam quando haberet, nisi et ipsam illi in occulto pater misericordissimus inspirasset? Quod intelligens minister ille Novi Testamenti, Non quia idonei sumus, inquit, cogitare aliquid a nobis quasi ex nobismetipsis; sed sufficientia nostra ex Deo est. Unde et ille cum dixisset, Fortitudinem meam ad te custodiam (II Cor. III, 5); ne vel hoc ipsum quia custodit, suis viribus arrogaret, tanquam ei venisset in mentem quia nisi Dominus custodierit civitatem, in vanum vigilant qui custodiunt eam (Psal. CXXVI, 1); et non dormit neque dormitat qui custodit Israel (Psal. CXX, 4); adjunxit causam unde fiat idoneus custodire, vel quo potius custode servetur, Quoniam, Deus, inquit, susceptor meus es.

6. Recolat igitur iste si potest merita sua, unde factum sit ut Deus dignaretur ejus esse susceptor, ac si Deus esset susceptus. Recolat utrum quaesierit, an quaesitus sit, ab illo scilicet qui venit quaerere et salvare quod perierat (Luc. XIX, 10). Nam si quaerere voluerit ante gratiam quid meruerit ut acciperet eam, mala sua poterit homo invenire, non bona, etiamsi eum unius diei vitam habentem super terram gratia Salvatoris invenerit. Quia si aliquid boni operatur homo ut gratiam mereatur, non ei merces imputatur secundum gratiam, sed secundum debitum.

4. For who discerns us from that mass and concretion of perdition, except He who came to seek and save what was lost? Whence the Apostle asks, saying: "For who discerns you?" To which if a man says, "My faith, my will, my good work," it is answered to him, "For what have you that you did not receive?" But if you received it, why do you boast as if you had not received it?" (1 Cor. IV, 7). All of this is said, certainly, not so that a man may not boast, but so that he who boasts may boast in the Lord (Id. I, 31); not of works, lest perhaps anyone be extolled (Eph. II, 9): not because good works are frustrated, since God renders to each according to his works, and there is glory and honor and peace for everyone who works good (Rom. II, 6, 10); but because works are from grace, not grace from works; since faith which works through love (Galat. V, 6) would work nothing unless the love of God itself were poured out in our hearts through the Holy Spirit who has been given to us (Rom. V, 5). Nor would faith itself be in us unless God shared to each the measure of faith (Id. XII, 3).

5. It is good, therefore, for a man that with all the strength of his free will (liberi arbitrii) he should truly say, "I will keep my strength for you" (Psal. LVIII, 10): because he who thought he could keep what he was given without His help, having gone into a far country and living prodigally, consumed everything, and worn down by the misery of hard servitude, returned to himself and said, "I will arise and go to my father" (Luc. XV, 12-18): when would he have had this good thought unless the most merciful Father had also inspired it in him in secret? Understanding which, that minister of the New Testament (Novi Testamenti) says: "Not that we are sufficient to think anything from ourselves as if from ourselves; but our sufficiency is from God." Whence also that man, when he had said, "I will keep my strength for you" (2 Cor. III, 5); lest even this itself, that he keeps it, he should arrogate to his own strength—as if it had come to his mind that unless the Lord keeps the city, those who keep it watch in vain (Psal. CXXVI, 1); and He who keeps Israel neither sleeps nor slumbers (Psal. CXX, 4)—added the cause by which he is made fit to keep, or rather by what guardian he is preserved: "Since, O God," he says, "you are my sustainer (susceptor)."

6. Let that man, then, recall his merits if he can, from which it came about that God deigned to be his sustainer, as if God were the one sustained. Let him recall whether he sought or was sought—by Him, that is, who came to seek and save what was lost (Luc. XIX, 10). For if he wishes to ask what he merited before grace so that he might receive it, a man will be able to find his evils, not his goods, even if the grace of the Savior (Salvatoris) found him having only one day of life upon the earth. Because if a man works anything good so that he may merit grace, the reward is not imputed to him according to grace, but according to debt.

Si autem credit in eum qui justificat impium, ut deputetur fides ejus ad justitiam (Rom. IV, 4, 5) (justus enim ex fide vivit [Habac. II, 4]), profecto antequam gratia justificetur, id est justus efficiatur, impius quid est, nisi impius? quem si debitum sequeretur, quid ejus merito nisi supplicium redderetur? Si ergo gratia, jam non ex operibus est; alioquin gratia jam non est gratia (Rom. XI, 6). Operibus enim debitum redditur, gratia gratis datur; unde etiam nuncupatur.

CAPUT III.

7. Si quis autem dixerit quod gratiam bene operandi fides mereatur; negare non possumus, imo vero gratissime confitemur. Hanc enim fidem volumus habeant, qua impetrent charitatem quae sola vere bene operatur, isti fratres nostri qui multum de suis operibus gloriantur: charitas autem usque adeo donum Dei est, ut Deus dicatur (I Joan. IV, 8). Qui ergo habent fidem qua impetrent justificationem, per Dei gratiam pervenerunt ad legem justitiae: unde dicitur, Tempore acceptabili exaudivi te, et in die salutis adjuvi te (Isai. XLIX, 8). Proinde in iis qui per electionem gratiae salvi fiunt, adjutor Deus operatur et velle, et operari, pro bona voluntate; quoniam diligentibus Deum omnia cooperantur in bonum (Rom. VIII, 28): si omnia, utique et ipsam dilectionem quam fide impetramus, ut eum qui nos prior dilexit ut in illum crederemus, per ejus gratiam diligamus, et diligamur qui operati non sumus.

8. Qui vero suis meritis praemia tanquam debita exspectant, nec ipsa merita Dei gratiae tribuunt, sed viribus propriae voluntatis, sicut dictum est de carnali Israel, persequentes legem justitiae, in legem justitiae non perveniunt: quare? Quia non ex fide, sed tanquam ex operibus. Ipsa est enim justitia ex fide, quam Gentes apprehenderunt, de quibus dictum est: Quid ergo dicemus? Quia Gentes, quae non cognoverunt justitiam, apprehenderunt justitiam; justitiam autem quae ex fide est. Israel autem persequens legem justitiae, in legem justitiae non pervenit: quare? Quia non ex fide, sed tanquam ex operibus. Offenderunt enim in lapidem offensionis, sicut scriptum est, Ecce pono in Sion lapidem offensionis, et petram scandali; et qui crediderit in eum non confundetur (Rom. IX, 30-33). Ipsa est justitia ex fide, qua credimus nos justificari, hoc est, justos fieri gratia Dei per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum, ut inveniamur in illo, non habentes nostram justitiam quae ex Lege est, sed eam quae est per fidem Christi. Quae ex Deo justitia (Philipp. III, 9) in fide, in fide utique est, qua credimus nobis justitiam divinitus dari, non a nobis in nobis nostris viribus fieri.

But if he believes in Him who justifies the impious, so that his faith is credited as justice (Rom. IV, 4, 5) (for the just man lives by faith [Habac. II, 4]), surely before he is justified by grace—that is, made just—what is the impious man but impious? If debt followed him, what would be rendered for his merit but punishment? If, therefore, it is grace, it is no longer of works; otherwise, grace is no longer grace (Rom. XI, 6). For for works debt is rendered, but grace is given freely (gratis); whence it also receives its name.

CHAPTER III.

7. But if anyone should say that faith merits the grace of working well, we cannot deny it; indeed, we most gratefully confess it. For we wish these brothers of ours, who boast much of their own works, to have this faith by which they may obtain charity (charitatem), which alone truly works well: for charity is so much a gift of God that it is said to be God (I Joan. IV, 8). Therefore, those who have the faith by which they obtain justification have arrived at the law of justice through the grace of God: whence it is said, "In an acceptable time I heard you, and in the day of salvation I helped you" (Isai. XLIX, 8). Accordingly, in those who are saved through the election of grace, God as a helper works both to will and to work, according to His good will; since for those who love God all things work together for good (Rom. VIII, 28): if all things, then certainly even that very love which we obtain by faith, so that we may love Him who first loved us so that we might believe in Him, through His grace, and we who have not worked may be loved.

8. But those who expect rewards for their merits as if they were debts, and do not attribute those same merits to the grace of God but to the strengths of their own will, as was said of carnal Israel, pursuing the law of justice, do not arrive at the law of justice: why? Because not from faith, but as if from works. For that is the justice from faith, which the Gentiles apprehended, of whom it was said: "What then shall we say? That the Gentiles, who did not know justice, have apprehended justice; but the justice which is from faith." But Israel, pursuing the law of justice, did not arrive at the law of justice: why? Because not from faith, but as if from works. For they stumbled at the stumbling stone, as it is written: Behold, I place in Sion a stumbling stone and a rock of scandal; and he who believes in him shall not be confounded" (Rom. IX, 30-33). That is the justice from faith, by which we believe we are justified, that is, made just by the grace of God through Jesus Christ our Lord, so that we may be found in Him, not having our own justice which is from the Law, but that which is through the faith of Christ. Which justice from God (Philipp. III, 9) is in faith, in faith certainly, by which we believe that justice is given to us divinely, not made by us in ourselves by our own strengths.

9. Nam cur illam justitiam quae ex Lege est, suam dixit Apostolus, non ex Deo? quasi Lex non sit ex Deo? Quis hoc nisi impius senserit? Sed quia Lex per litteram jubet, non per Spiritum juvat, quicumque sic audit litteram Legis ut ei sufficere videatur cognovisse quid jubeat aut prohibeat, quo id se arbitrii sui virtute impleturum esse confidat, nec fide confugiat adjuvandus ad Spiritum vivificantem, ne reum factum littera occidat; is profecto zelum Dei habet, sed non secundum scientiam. Ignorans enim Dei justitiam, id est, eam quae datur ex Deo, et suam volens constituere, ut tantummodo ex Lege sit, justitiae Dei non est subjectus: Finis enim legis Christus ad justitiam omni credenti (Rom. X, 2-4), sicut idem apostolus dicit, ut nos simus justitia Dei in ipso (II Cor. V, 21). Justificati igitur ex fide, pacem habemus ad Deum per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum (Rom. V, 1): justificati autem gratis per gratiam ipsius (Id. III, 24), ne fides ipsa superba sit.

10. Nec dicat sibi, Si ex fide, quomodo gratis? quod enim fides meretur, cur non potius redditur, quam donatur? Non dicat ista homo fidelis, quia cum dixerit, Ut merear justificationem, habeo fidem; respondetur ei, Quid enim habes quod non accepisti (I Cor. IV, 7)? Cum ergo fides impetrat justificationem, sicut unicuique Deus partitus est etiam ipsius mensuram fidei, non gratiam Dei aliquid meriti praecedit humani, sed ipsa gratia meretur augeri, ut aucta mereatur perfici, comitante, non ducente, pedissequa, non praevia voluntate. Unde ille qui dixit, Fortitudinem meam ad te custodiam, causamque reddidit dicens, Quoniam Deus susceptor meus es; tanquam requirens quibus id meritis fuerit consecutus, nihilque in se inveniens ante gratiam Dei, Deus meus, inquit, misericordia ejus praeveniet me. Quantumcumque, inquit, cogitavero antecedentia merita mea, misericordia ejus praeveniet me. Proinde ab illo attributam fortitudinem suam ad illum custodiens, eodem servatore non perdidit, quo largitore suscepit. Nec ob aliud meretur ampliora, nisi pie fideliterque sciendo a quo sibi bona sunt omnia, et hoc sciendo non ex seipso, ne vel hoc sit in eo quod non sit ex Deo. Unde optime Apostolus: Nos, inquit, non spiritum hujus mundi accepimus, sed Spiritum qui ex Deo est; ut sciamus quae a Deo donata sunt nobis (I Cor. II, 12). Ac per hoc et ipsum hominis meritum donum est gratuitum: nec a Patre luminum, a quo descendit omne datum optimum (Jacobi I, 17), boni aliquid accipere quisquam meretur, nisi accipiendo quod non meretur.

9. For why did the Apostle call that justice which is from the Law his own, and not from God? As if the Law were not from God? Who but an impious man would feel this? But because the Law commands through the letter (per litteram), and does not help through the Spirit (per Spiritum), whoever so hears the letter of the Law that it seems sufficient to him to have known what it commands or forbids, by which he trusts that he will fulfill it by the virtue of his own choice (arbitrii sui), and does not flee by faith to the life-giving Spirit to be helped, lest the letter kill him having been made guilty; he certainly has a zeal for God, but not according to knowledge. For ignoring the justice of God—that is, that which is given from God—and wishing to establish his own, so that it may be only from the Law, he is not subject to the justice of God: "For the end of the law is Christ unto justice for everyone who believes" (Rom. X, 2-4), as the same Apostle says, "that we might be the justice of God in him" (II Cor. V, 21). Justified, therefore, by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ (Rom. V, 1): justified, moreover, freely (gratis) through His grace (Id. III, 24), lest faith itself be proud.

10. Nor let anyone say to himself: "If it is by faith, how is it free? For why is that which faith merits repaid rather than given?" Let not a faithful man say these things, because when he says, "To merit justification, I have faith," it is answered to him: "For what have you that you did not receive?" (1 Cor. IV, 7). When, therefore, faith obtains justification, just as God has shared to each the measure of faith itself, no human merit precedes the grace of God; rather, grace itself merits to be increased, so that having been increased it may merit to be perfected, with the will accompanying, not leading —as a follower, not a precursor. Whence that man who said, "I will keep my strength for you," and gave the reason saying, "Since, O God, you are my sustainer (susceptor)"; as if asking by what merits he had attained this, and finding nothing in himself before the grace of God, said: "My God, His mercy shall prevent (precede) me." However much, he says, I shall have thought of my antecedent merits, "His mercy shall prevent me." Accordingly, keeping for Him the strength attributed by Him, he did not lose it under the same guardian by whose bounty he received it. Nor does he merit greater things for any other reason than by piously and faithfully knowing from whom all his goods come, and knowing this not from himself, lest even this should be in him which is not from God. Whence the Apostle says excellently: "We," he says, "have received not the spirit of this world, but the Spirit (Spiritum) who is from God; that we may know the things that have been given to us by God" (1 Cor. II, 12). And by this, the merit of man itself is a free gift (donum gratuitum): nor does anyone merit to receive anything good from the Father of lights (Patre luminum), from whom descends every best gift (Jacobi I, 17), except by receiving what he does not merit.

CAPUT IV.

11. Multum est autem indulgentius, et sine ulla dubitatione magis gratuitum, quod Dei gratia per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum praestatur infantibus, ut eis non obsit ex Adam generatio, et prosit in Christo regeneratio, in quibus et ipsum accipiendi sensum tanto ante misericordia Dei praevenit: qui certe si in hac parvula aetate de corpore exierint, vitam aeternam regnumque coelorum scientes accipiunt, ejus muneris merito quod hic, cum utique profuit, nescierunt. Certe in iis post priorum doctrinam, ista nonnisi priora sunt dona, in quibus donandis Dei gratia sic operatur, ut nec voluntas accipientium vel praemittatur, vel adjungatur, vel subsequatur: quandoquidem tantum beneficium non solum non libentibus, verum etiam reluctantibus datur; quod eis ad magnum imputaretur sacrilegium, si jam in iis aliquid valeret voluntatis arbitrium.

12. Hoc diximus propter eos qui non valentes in causa gratiae inscrutabilia Dei judicia perscrutari, cur ex Adam massa quae profecto ex uno in condemnationem tota collapsa est, illud vas faciat in honorem, illud in contumeliam; tamen audent parvulos reos propriorum constituere peccatorum, ut qui bona malave cogitare non possunt, putentur per liberum arbitrium vel poenam mereri posse vel gratiam: cum potius apostolica veritas dicendo, Ex uno omnes in condemnationem (Rom. V, 16), satis ostendat quod nascantur in poena, ut non merito, sed misericordia renascantur in gratia. Alioquin gratia jam non est gratia, si non divinis operibus gratis datur, sed humanis meritis redditur. Quae sola sic discernit a poena, ut cum poena sit ex Adam omnibus debita, gratia vero per unum Jesum Christum nulli debita, sed gratuita, ut vere sit gratia, inscrutabilia judicia Dei, tanquam Deus, esse possint, cum parvulos ipse discernat, quos merita nulla discernunt; sed iniqua esse non possint, quia universae viae Domini misericordia et veritas (Psal. XXIV, 10). Unde cum praebetur alteri misericordiae gratia, non habet quod de humano merito glorietur; quoniam non ex operibus, ne forte quis extollatur. Cum vero alteri vindictae redditur veritas, non habet cur juste queratur: id enim redditur quod peccato jure debetur; quoniam unus in quo omnes peccaverunt, utique etiam in singulis quibusque punitur. In quorum poena clarius ostenditur quid vasis misericordiae per non debitam, sed veram gratiam, hoc est gratuitam, conferatur.

CAPUT V.

CHAPTER IV.

11. It is moreover much more indulgent, and without any doubt more free, what the grace of God through Jesus Christ our Lord provides to infants, so that the generation from Adam may not harm them, and the regeneration in Christ may benefit them, in whom the mercy of God precedes even the sense of receiving by so much: who certainly, if they depart from the body at this tiny age, receive eternal life and the kingdom of heaven knowingly, by the merit of that gift which here, when it was certainly of benefit, they did not know. Certainly in them, after the doctrine of the earlier points, these are nothing but earlier gifts, in the giving of which the grace of God so works that the will of the recipients is neither sent before, nor added, nor followed after: since so great a benefit is given not only to those who are unwilling, but even to those who are resisting; which would be imputed to them as a great sacrilege if the choice of the will (voluntatis arbitrio) already had any power in them.

12. This we have said because of those who, not being able in the cause of grace to scrutinize the inscrutable judgments of God as to why, from the mass of Adam which has certainly fallen as a whole from one into condemnation, He makes one vessel unto honor and another unto dishonor; yet they dare to establish that infants are guilty of their own sins, so that they who cannot think good or evil things are thought to be able to merit either punishment or grace through free will (liberum arbitrium): whereas rather the apostolic truth, by saying, "From one all into condemnation" (Rom. V, 16), sufficiently shows that they are born in punishment, so that they may be reborn in grace not by merit, but by mercy. Otherwise grace is no longer grace, if it is not given freely by divine works, but repaid for human merits. Which alone so discerns from punishment that since punishment is from Adam due to all, but grace through the one Jesus Christ is due to no one, but free, so that it may truly be grace, the inscrutable judgments of God, as God, can be, since He himself discerns the infants whom no merits discern; but they cannot be iniquitous, because all the ways of the Lord are mercy and truth (Psal. XXIV, 10). Whence, when the grace of mercy is provided to one, he has nothing to boast of concerning human merit; since it is not of works, lest perhaps anyone be extolled. But when truth is rendered to another in vengeance, he has no reason to complain justly: for that is rendered which is justly due for sin; since the one in whom all sinned is certainly punished even in each individual. In whose punishment it is more clearly shown what is conferred upon the vessels of mercy (vasis misericordiae) through grace that is not due, but true, that is, free (gratuitam).

CHAPTER V.

13. Unde autem argumententur adversus Apostolum apertissime dicentem, Per unum hominem peccatum intravit in mundum, et per peccatum mors, et ita in omnes homines pertransiit, in quo omnes peccaverunt (Rom. V, 12), dicentes etiam parvulos propria per liberum arbitrium habere peccata, taedet attendere, pigetque proferre, sed magis compellimur dicere. Quod enim potuerunt magna et acuta ingenia cogitare, aut inopiae est tacendo vitare, aut arrogantiae contemnendo praeterire. Ecce, inquiunt, Esau et Jacob intra viscera materna luctantur, et dum nascuntur, alter supplantatur ab altero, atque in pede praecedentis manu consequentis et tenentis inventa, perseverans quodammodo lucta convincitur. Quomodo ergo in infantibus haec agentibus, nullum est vel ad bonum vel ad malum propriae voluntatis arbitrium, unde praemia sive supplicia meritis praecedentibus subsequantur?

14. Ad hoc nos dicimus, ideo motus illos et tanquam litigium parvulorum signum rerum fuisse magnarum, quia non fuit arbitrium, sed prodigium. Neque enim daturi sumus et asinis liberum arbitrium voluntatis, quoniam hujus generis jumentum, sicut scriptum est, subjugale sine voce, hominis voce respondens vetuit prophetae dementiam (II Petr. II, 16). Hi autem qui tales non prodigiosos motus, sed voluntarios actus, nec de parvulis, sed a parvulis factos esse contendunt, quid Apostolo responsuri sunt, qui cum et hos geminos ad documentum gratuitae gratiae commemorandos videret, Nondum enim natis, inquit, nec aliquid agentibus boni aut mali, ut secundum electionem propositum Dei maneret, non ex operibus sed ex vocante dictum est, Quia major serviet minori (Rom. IX, 11-13)? deinde adjungens testimonium prophetae longe post quidem ista dicentis, sed tamen de hac re antiquum Dei consilium declarantis, Sicut scriptum est, inquit, Jacob dilexi, Esau autem odio habui (Malach. I, 2, 3).

15. Nempe Doctor Gentium in fide et veritate istos geminos nondum natos nihil boni aut mali egisse testatur, ut gratia commendetur; ut quod dictum est, Major serviet minori, non ex operibus, sed ex vocante dictum intelligatur, ut secundum electionem propositum Dei maneret, non meritum hominis anteiret. Non enim dicit electionem voluntatis humanae sive naturae, cum par esset in utroque mortis damnationisque conditio; sed electionem procul dubio gratiae, quae non invenit eligendos, sed facit, de qua et in consequentibus ejusdem Epistolae loquens ait: Sic ergo et in hoc tempore, reliquiae per electionem gratiae salvae factae sunt. Si autem gratia, jam non ex operibus; alioquin gratia jam non est gratia (Rom. XI, 5, 6). Cui loco satis locus iste concordat, ubi commemoratur, non ex operibus, sed ex vocante dictum esse, Major serviet minori.

13. Whence, moreover, they argue against the Apostle most openly saying, "Through one man sin entered into the world, and through sin death, and so it passed into all men, in whom all have sinned" (Rom. V, 12), saying that even infants have their own sins through free will (liberum arbitrium), it is wearisome to attend to, and it grieves me to bring it forth, yet we are more compelled to speak. For what great and acute minds were able to think of, it is either a sign of poverty to avoid by silence, or of arrogance to pass over with contempt. "Behold," they say, "Esau and Jacob struggle within their mother's womb, and while they are being born, one is supplanted by the other, and with the hand of the following one found on the foot of the preceding one and holding it, a persevering struggle is somehow proven. How then in infants doing these things is there no choice of their own will (voluntatis arbitrium) toward good or evil, whence rewards or punishments follow preceding merits?"

14. To this we say, that those movements and as it were the litigation of the infants were a sign of great things for this reason: because it was not choice (arbitrium), but a prodigy (prodigium). For neither are we going to give free will of the will to asses, since a beast of burden of this kind, as it is written, "a beast of burden without a voice, responding with a human voice, forbade the madness of the prophet" (II Petr. II, 16). But these who contend that such things were not prodigious movements, but voluntary acts, and not concerning infants but done by infants, what will they answer to the Apostle, who when he saw that these twins were to be commemorated as a document of free grace, said: "For when they were not yet born, nor had done anything good or evil, so that the purpose of God according to election might remain, not of works but of Him who calls, it was said: Because the elder shall serve the younger" (Rom. IX, 11-13)? then adding the testimony of the prophet saying these things indeed long after, but yet declaring the ancient counsel of God concerning this matter: "As it is written," he says, "Jacob I loved, but Esau I hated" (Malach. I, 2, 3).

15. Surely the Teacher of the Gentiles (Doctor Gentium) in faith and truth testifies that those twins not yet born had done nothing good or evil, so that grace might be commended; so that what was said, "The elder shall serve the younger," may be understood as said not from works, but from Him who calls, so that the purpose of God according to election might remain, not that the merit of man should precede. For he does not say the election of the human will or of nature, since the condition of death and damnation was equal in both; but the election without doubt of grace, which does not find those to be chosen, but makes them, of which also speaking in the following parts of the same Epistle he says: "So then also at this time, a remnant is saved through the election of grace. But if it is grace, it is no longer of works; otherwise grace is no longer grace" (Rom. XI, 5, 6). With which passage this place sufficiently agrees, where it is commemorated that it was said, not of works but of Him who calls, "The elder shall serve the younger."

Utquid ergo praeclarissimo gratiae commendatori de infantum libero arbitrio et nondum natorum actibus tam impudenter resistitur? cur meritis praeveniri gratia perhibetur; quae gratia non esset, si secundum meritum imputaretur? Cur contra salutem quae missa est perditis, quae venit indignis, quamlibet acuta, quamlibet copiosa et ornata, mirum tamen si christiana disputatione contenditur?

CAPUT VI.

16. Sed quomodo, inquiunt, non est iniquitas apud Deum, si diligendo discernit quos merita operum nulla discernunt? Ita nobis hoc dicitur tanquam id Apostolus ipse non viderit, non proposuerit, non responderit. Vidit utique quid iis auditis humana posset infirmitas vel ignorantia cogitare, et eamdem quaestionem sibi ipse proponens, Quid ergo dicemus? inquit, numquid iniquitas apud Deum? Continuo respondit, Absit. Rationemque reddens cur absit, id est; cur non sit iniquitas apud Deum, non ait, Merita enim vel opera judicat etiam parvulorum, etiamsi adhuc sint in materno utero constituti: quomodo enim hoc diceret, qui jam dixerat de nondum natis, et de iis qui nihil adhuc egerant boni vel mali, quod non ex operibus, sed ex vocante dictum sit, Major serviet minori? sed cum vellet ostendere cur in iis non sit iniquitas apud Deum, ait, Moysi enim inquit, Miserebor cui misertus ero, et misericordiam praestabo cui misericors fuero. Quid nos hic docuit, nisi ex illa massa primi hominis, cui merito mors debetur, non ad merita hominum, sed ad Dei misericordiam pertinere quod quisque liberatur: atque ita non esse iniquitatem apud Deum; quia neque remittendo, neque exigendo quod debetur, injustus est? Ibi enim gratia est indulgentia, ubi justa posset esse vindicta. Et hinc evidentius apparet, a poena debita liberato et gratis justificato quantum beneficii conferatur, quod alter aequaliter reus sine punientis iniquitate punitur.

17. Denique subjungit et dicit, Igitur non volentis neque currentis, sed miserentis est Dei: hoc propter eos dictum est, qui per gratiam liberati justificantur. Propter eos autem super quos ira Dei manet, quia et ipsis Deus bene utitur ad docendos alios quos liberare dignatur, subjunxit atque ait: Dicit enim Scriptura Pharaoni, Quia ad hoc te excitavi, ut ostendam in te potentiam meam, et ut annuntietur nomen meum in universa terra. Deinde ad utrumque concludens, Ergo, inquit, cujus vult miseretur, et quem vult obdurat; profecto neutrum aliqua iniquitate, sed utrumque misericordia et veritate.

Why then is the most illustrious commender of grace resisted so impudently concerning the free will of infants and the acts of those not yet born? why is grace asserted to be preceded by merits; which would not be grace if it were imputed according to merit? Why against the salvation which was sent to the lost, which came to the unworthy—however acute, however copious and adorned the argument—is it yet a wonder if it is contended in a Christian disputation?

CHAPTER VI.

But "how," they say, "is there no iniquity with God, if by loving He discerns those whom no merits of works discern?" This is said to us as if the Apostle himself had not seen it, not proposed it, not answered it. He certainly saw what human weakness or ignorance could think upon hearing these things, and proposing the same question to himself, he said: "What then shall we say? Is there iniquity with God?" He immediately answered: "Far be it." And giving the reason why "it is far be it"—that is, why there is no iniquity with God—he did not say: "For He judges the merits or works even of infants, even if they are still situated in their mother's womb"; for how could he say this, who had already said of those not yet born, and of those who had yet done nothing good or evil, that "not of works, but of Him who calls, it was said: The elder shall serve the younger"? but when he wished to show why in these things there is no iniquity with God, he said: "For He says to Moses: I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy, and I will show mercy to whom I will have shown mercy." What has he taught us here, except that from that mass of the first man, to which death is deservedly due, it pertains not to the merits of men but to the mercy of God that anyone is liberated: and thus there is no iniquity with God; because neither in remitting nor in exacting what is due is He unjust? For there grace is indulgence, where just vengeance could be. And from this it appears more evidently, how much benefit is conferred upon one liberated from due punishment and justified freely, because another equally guilty is punished without iniquity of the one punishing.

17. Finally, he subjoins and says: "Therefore it is not of him who wills nor of him who runs, but of God who has mercy": this was said on account of those who, being liberated through grace, are justified. But on account of those upon whom the wrath of God remains, because God makes good use even of them to teach others whom He deigns to liberate, he subjoined and said: "For the Scripture says to Pharaoh: For this very purpose I have raised you up, that I might show my power in you, and that my name might be announced in all the earth." Then concluding concerning both, he says: "Therefore He has mercy on whom He wills, and whom He wills He hardens"; surely neither by any iniquity, but both by mercy and truth.

Et adhuc tamen audax movetur infirmitas, eorum scilicet qui secundum conjecturas cordis humani inscrutabilem altitudinem judiciorum Dei cogitare conantur!

18. Hanc quaestionem sibi ex adverso opponens Apostolus ait: Dicis itaque mihi, Quid adhuc conqueritur? nam voluntati ejus quis resistit? Nobis hoc dictum putemus. Quid ergo aliud quam quod respondit Apostolus, respondere debemus? aut si et nos talia movent, quia et nos homines sumus, simul oportet omnes audiamus dicentem, O homo, tu quis es qui respondeas Deo? Numquid dicit figmentum ei qui se finxit, Quare me fecisti sic? Annon habet potestatem figulus luti, ex eadem massa facere aliud vas in honorem, aliud in contumeliam (Id. IX, 14-21)? Haec massa si esset ita media, ut quemadmodum nihil boni ita nec mali aliquid mereretur, non frustra videretur iniquitas, ut ex ea fierent vasa in contumeliam: cum vero per liberum arbitrium primi hominis in condemnationem universa defluxerit, procul dubio quod ex ea fiunt vasa in honorem, non ipsius justitiae, quae gratiam nulla praecessit, sed Dei misericordiae; quod vero in contumeliam, non iniquitati Dei, quae absit ut sit apud Deum, sed judicio deputandum est. Hoc quisquis cum Ecclesia catholica sapit, non contra gratiam pro meritis disputat, sed misericordiam et judicium Domino cantat, ut nec misericordiam recuset ingratus, nec judicium accuset injustus.

19. Alia est namque illa consparsio de qua idem dicit Apostolus: Si autem delibatio sancta est, et consparsio; et si radix sancta est, et rami (Rom. XI, 16). Illa est ex Abraham, non ex Adam, id est ex communione sacramenti et similitudine fidei, non ex propagine mortali: ista vero vel consparsio, vel sicut in plerisque codicibus legitur, massa, quoniam tota mortis est, cum per unum hominem peccatum intravit in mundum, et per peccatum mors, et ita in omnes homines pertransiit, in quo omnes peccaverunt; misericordia ex illa fit aliud vas in honorem, judicio autem aliud in contumeliam. Neque ibi praecedunt merita gratiam liberantis; neque hic effugiunt peccata justitiam punientis. Quod quidem in aetatibus majoribus adversus contensiosos non tam evidenter apparet, ubi pro meritis hominum qualicumque velut protecti obscuritate confugiunt: sed ideo contra eorum contentionem illos invehit Apostolus, in quibus nondum natis, neque agentibus aliquid boni aut mali, non ex operibus, sed ex vocante dictum est, Major serviet minori.

And yet bold weakness is still moved—that of those, clearly, who according to the conjectures of the human heart attempt to think upon the inscrutable height of the judgments of God!

18. Opposing this question to himself from the other side, the Apostle says: "You say then to me: Why does He still complain? for who resists His will?" Let us think this is said to us. What else then should we answer than what the Apostle answered? or if such things also move us, because we also are men, it is proper that we all hear him saying: "O man, who are you who answers back to God?" Does the thing formed say to him who formed it: Why did you make me thus? Does not the potter of the clay have power, from the same mass to make one vessel for honor, another for dishonor" (Id. IX, 14-21)? If this mass were so neutral that just as it merited nothing good, so it merited nothing evil, it would not seem iniquitous without cause that vessels for dishonor should be made from it: but since through the free will (liberum arbitrium) of the first man the whole mass flowed into condemnation, without doubt that vessels for honor are made from it is not of justice itself, which did not precede grace, but of the mercy of God; but that they are made for dishonor is to be imputed not to the iniquity of God—which far be it from being with God—but to judgment. Whoever is wise in this with the Catholic Church does not dispute for merits against grace, but sings of mercy and judgment to the Lord, so that he may not as an ungrateful man refuse mercy, nor as an unjust man accuse judgment.

19. For that lump (consparsio) is different of which the same Apostle speaks: "But if the firstfruit is holy, so is the lump (consparsio); and if the root is holy, so are the branches" (Rom. XI, 16). That one is from Abraham, not from Adam—that is, from the communion of the sacrament and the likeness of faith, not from the mortal offspring: but this lump (consparsio), or as it is read in most codices, mass (massa), since it is entirely of death, since through one man sin entered into the world, and through sin death, and so it passed into all men, in whom all have sinned; through mercy one vessel is made from it for honor, but through judgment another for dishonor. Neither do merits precede the grace of the one liberating there; nor do sins escape the justice of the one punishing here. This indeed does not appear so evidently in those of older ages against the contentious, where they take refuge behind the merits of men as if protected by some obscurity: but for this reason the Apostle brings forward those in whom, being not yet born nor having done anything good or evil, "not of works but of Him who calls, it was said: The elder shall serve the younger."

20. Qua in re quoniam nimis alta et inscrutabilia sunt judicia Dei, et investigabiles viae ejus (Ibid. 33), interim teneat homo non esse iniquitatem apud Deum; sed qua aequitate cujus vult miseretur, et quem vult obdurat, se tanquam hominem ignorare fateatur: ita sane ut propter illud quod inconcussum tenet, non esse iniquitatem apud Deum, quamvis nemo ab illo justificetur meritis praecedentibus, neminem tamen obdurari, nisi merito, noverit. Pie namque et veraciter creditur Deus nocentes atque impios justificando a poenis debitis liberare: quemquam vero immeritum et nulli obnoxium peccato si Deus damnare creditur, alienus ab iniquitate non creditur. Ubi ergo liberatur indignus, tanto debetur major actio gratiarum, quanto poena justior debebatur: ubi autem damnatur indignus, nec misericordia nec veritas obtinetur.

21. Quomodo, inquiunt, Esau non damnatur indignus, si «non ex operibus, sed ex vocante dictum est, Quia major serviet minori?» Sicut enim illius nulla praecesserant opera bona, ut ad gratiam pertineret, sic nec hujus mala ut ad poenam pertinere deberet. Nulla plane in utroque opera vel bona vel mala, sed propria: uterque autem illi uni obnoxius erat, in quo omnes peccaverunt, ut omnes in illo morerentur: quicumque enim ex illo uno multi in seipsis futuri erant, tunc in illo unus erant. Proinde illud peccatum solius esset, si ex illo nullus exiisset: porro autem in quo erat natura communis, ab ejus vitio est nullus immunis. Si ambo qui nondum propria vel bona vel mala operabantur, rei tamen ex origine nascebantur; laudet misericordiam qui liberatur, non culpet judicium qui punitur.

CAPUT VII.

22. Hic si dixerimus, Quanto melius ambo liberarentur; nihil nobis convenientius dicetur, quam, O homo, tu quis es qui respondeas Deo? Novit quippe ille quid agat, et quantus numerus esse debeat primitus omnium hominum, deinde sanctorum, sicut siderum, sicut Angelorum; atque, ut de terranis loquamur, sicut pecorum, piscium, volatilium, sicut arborum et herbarum, sicut denique foliorum capillorumque nostrorum. Nam nos humana cogitatione adhuc possumus dicere, Quoniam bona sunt cuncta ista quae fecit, quanto melius illa duplicasset, et multiplicasset, ut multo essent plura quam sunt: si enim non ea caperet mundus, numquid non posset etiam ipsum facere quantum vellet ampliorem? Et tamen quantumcumque faceret vel illa plura, vel istum capaciorem atque majorem, nihilominus eadem de multiplicandis eis dici possent, et nullus essent immoderatus modus.

20. In which matter, since the judgments of God are too deep and inscrutable, and His ways unsearchable (Ibid. 33), let man meanwhile hold that there is no iniquity with God; but by what equity He has mercy on whom He wills and hardens whom He wills, let him confess that he as a man is ignorant: so indeed that on account of that which he holds unshaken, that there is no iniquity with God, although no one is justified by Him through preceding merits, he may know that no one is hardened except by merit. For it is piously and truly believed that God, by justifying the guilty and the impious, liberates them from due punishments: but if God is believed to condemn anyone undeserving and subject to no sin, He is not believed to be alien from iniquity. Where, therefore, the unworthy is liberated, so much greater a thanksgiving is due, by as much as a more just punishment was owed: but where the unworthy is condemned, neither mercy nor truth is obtained.

21. "How," they say, "is Esau not condemned unworthily (indignus), if 'not of works, but of Him who calls, it was said: Because the elder shall serve the younger'?" For just as no good works of the one had preceded so that he should pertain to grace, so neither had the evil works of the other preceded so that he should pertain to punishment. There were clearly no works in either, whether good or evil, but their own (propria): yet both were subject to that one in whom all sinned, so that all should die in him: for whoever of those many were to be in themselves from that one, were then one in him. Accordingly, that sin would belong to him alone if no one had come out of him: but since the nature was common, no one is immune from its vice. If both who were not yet working their own good or evil things were nevertheless born guilty from their origin; let him who is liberated praise mercy, let him who is punished not blame judgment.

CHAPTER VII.

Here if we should say, "How much better if both were liberated"; nothing will be said to us more appropriately than, "O man, who are you who answers back to God?" For He knows what He does, and what the number should be first of all men, then of the saints, just as of the stars, as of the Angels; and, to speak of earthly things, as of the cattle, fish, birds, as of trees and herbs, as finally of our leaves and hairs. For we by human thought can still say: "Since all these things which He made are good, how much better if He had doubled them, and multiplied them, so that they were much more numerous than they are: for if the world did not contain them, could He not also make the world itself as much larger as He willed?" And yet, however many more He made of those, or however much more capacious and greater He made this world, nonetheless the same things could be said about multiplying them, and there would be no immoderate limit.

23. Etenim etiam illud dici potest, sive sit gratia qua justificantur injusti, de qua nobis dubitare fas non est, sive, ut quidam volunt, semper praecedat liberum arbitrium, cujus meritum sequatur vel poena vel praemium, cur omnino creati sunt quod Deus ita peccaturos, ut aeterno essent igne damnandi, sine dubitatione praescivit? Quamvis enim peccata non fecerit, naturas tamen ipsas, quae per seipsas sine dubio bonae sunt, quibus tamen ex arbitrio voluntatis futura essent vitia peccatorum, et in multis talia quibus esset aeterna poena reddenda, quis nisi Deus creavit? Quare, nisi quia voluit? quare autem voluerit, o homo, tu quis es qui respondeas Deo? Numquid dicit figmentum eum ei qui se finxit, Quare sic me fecisti? Annon habet potestatem figulus luti, ex eadem consparsione facere aliud quidem vas in honorem, aliud autem in contumeliam?

24. Atque utinam discamus quod sequitur: Si autem volens Deus ostendere iram, et demonstrare potentiam suam, pertulit in multa patientia vasa irae, quae perfecta sunt in perditionem, ut notas faceret divitias gloriae suae in vasa misericordiae. Ecce jam ratio reddita est homini, quanta debuit homini; si tamen vel istam capit, qui pro sui arbitrii libertate in tantae infirmitatis servitute contendit: ecce dictae sunt causae. Tu ergo, quis es qui respondeas Deo; si volens Deus ostendere iram, et demonstrare potentiam suam, quod et malis bene uti optimus possit, malis duntaxat non conditione divina, sed vitiata voluntatis iniquitate natura, quae a Deo conditore condita est bona, pertulit in multa patientia vasa irae aptata in interitum: non quod illi essent necessaria, sive angelica sive humana peccata, cui nec justitia creaturae cujusquam est necessaria; sed ut notas faceret divitias gloriae suae in vasa misericordiae, ne se in bonis operibus tanquam de propriis extollerent viribus, sed humiliter intelligerent, nisi illis Dei gratia non debita, sed gratuita subveniret, id fuisse reddendum meritis suis, quod aliis in eadem massa redditum cernerent?

25. Certus est ergo Dei praescientiae definitus numerus, et multitudo sanctorum, quibus diligentibus Deum, quod eis donavit per diffusum in cordibus eorum Spiritum sanctum, omnia cooperantur in bonum, iis qui secundum propositum vocati sunt. Quoniam quos ante praescivit, et praedestinavit conformes fieri imaginis Filii sui, ut sit ipse primogenitus in multis fratribus. Quos autem praedestinavit, illos et vocavit: hic subaudire debemus, secundum propositum. Sunt enim et alii vocati, sed non electi; ac per hoc non secundum propositum vocati.

For indeed that can also be said, whether it be the grace by which the unjust are justified—about which it is not lawful for us to doubt—or, as some wish, that free will (liberum arbitrium) always precedes, whose merit either punishment or reward follows: why were they created at all whom God without doubt foreknew would so sin that they were to be damned with eternal fire? For although He did not make the sins, yet who but God created the natures themselves, which through themselves are without doubt good, but in which nevertheless there were to be vices of sins from the choice of the will, and in many such things for which eternal punishment was to be rendered? Why, except because He willed it? But why He willed it, "O man, who are you who answers back to God?" Does the thing formed say to him who formed it: Why did you make me thus? Does not the potter of the clay have power, from the same lump (consparsione) to make one vessel for honor, but another for dishonor?"

And would that we might learn what follows: "What if God, willing to show His wrath and to demonstrate His power, endured with much patience the vessels of wrath (vasa irae), which are perfected for perdition, that He might make known the riches of His glory upon the vessels of mercy (vasa misericordiae)." Behold, now the reason has been rendered to man, as much as was due to man; if indeed even this reason he can grasp, who contends for the freedom of his own choice in the servitude of such great weakness: behold, the causes have been stated. You then, who are you to answer back to God; if God, willing to show His wrath and to demonstrate His power—because the Best One can use even evil things well—at least evil things not by divine condition, but by a nature vitiated by the iniquity of the will, which was created good by God the Creator—He endured with much patience the vessels of wrath fitted for destruction: not that sins, whether angelic or human, were necessary to Him, to whom even the justice of any creature is not necessary; but that He might make known the riches of His glory upon the vessels of mercy, lest they should extol themselves in good works as if from their own strengths, but should humbly understand that, unless the grace of God, not due but free, had come to their aid, that would have had to be rendered to their own merits which they saw rendered to others in the same mass (massa).

25. Therefore, the defined number in the foreknowledge (praescientia) of God is certain, and the multitude of the saints, for whom—as they love God, because of what He has given them through the Holy Spirit (Spiritum sanctum) poured out in their hearts—all things work together for good, for those who are called according to His purpose. For those whom He foreknew, He also predestined to be conformed to the image of His Son, that He might be the firstborn among many brothers. Moreover, those whom He predestined, those He also called: here we ought to understand, "according to His purpose." For there are also others who are called, but not chosen (electi); and for this reason they are not called according to His purpose.

Quos autem vocavit (hoc est secundum propositum) illos et justificavit: quos autem justificavit, illos et glorificavit (Rom. VIII, 28-30). Hi sunt filii promissionis, hi sunt electi qui per electionem gratiae salvi fiunt, ubi dictum est: Si autem gratia, jam non ex operibus; alioquin gratia jam non est gratia. Haec sunt vasa misericordiae, in quibus Deus etiam per vasa irae notas facit divitias gloriae suae. Horum fit per Spiritum sanctum cor unum et anima una (Act. IV, 32), quae benedicit Deum, et non obliviscitur omnes retributiones ejus, qui propitius fit omnibus iniquitatibus ejus; qui sanat omnes languores ejus; qui redimit de corruptione vitam ejus; qui coronat eam in misericordia (Psal. CII, 2, 2), quia non volentis neque currentis, sed miserentis est Dei.

26. Caeteri autem homines ad istam societatem non pertinentes, quorum tamen et animam et corpus Dei bonitas operata est, et quidquid habet ipsa natura praeter vitium, quod eidem inflixit superbientis voluntatis audacia, propter hoc a Deo praesciente creati sunt, ut in his ostenderet liberum desertoris arbitrium sine sua gratia quid valeret; and in eorum justis et debitis poenis vasa misericordiae, quae non suorum operum meritis, sed gratuita Dei gratia sunt ab illa concretione discreta, quid sibi collatum esset addiscerent; ut omne os obstruatur (Rom III, 19), et qui gloriatur, in Domino glorietur (I Cor I, 31).

CAPUT VIII.

27. Quisquis aliter docet, et non acquiescit sanis sermonibus Domini nostri Jesu Christi qui dixit, Venit Filius hominis quaerere et salvare quod perierat (Luc. XIX, 10): non enim ait, Quod periturum fuerat, sed quod perierat; quid ostendens, nisi peccato primi hominis universi generis humani periisse naturam? qui ergo aliter docet, et non acquiescens ei quae secundum pietatem est doctrinae (II Tim. VI, 3), contra gratiam Salvatoris, et contra sanguinem Redemptoris tanquam salvam et liberam naturam defendit humanam, et christiano tamen censeri vocabulo affectat; quid de parvulorum discretione dicturus est, cur alius in vitam secundi hominis assumatur, alius in morte primi hominis relinquatur? Si dixerit liberi arbitrii merita praecessisse; respondet Apostolus quae supra diximus de nondum natis neque aliquid agentibus boni aut mali.

But those whom He called (that is, according to His purpose), those He also justified: moreover, those whom He justified, those He also glorified (Rom. VIII, 28-30). These are the children of the promise; these are the chosen who are saved through the election of grace (per electionem gratiae), where it was said: "But if it is grace, it is no longer of works; otherwise grace is no longer grace." These are the vessels of mercy (vasa misericordiae), in whom God, even through the vessels of wrath (vasa irae), makes known the riches of His glory. Of these there is made through the Holy Spirit one heart and one soul (Act. IV, 32), which blesses God and does not forget all His rewards, who becomes propitious to all its iniquities; who heals all its diseases; who redeems its life from corruption; who crowns it in mercy (Psal. CII, 2, 2), because it is not of him who wills nor of him who runs, but of God who has mercy.

26. But other men not pertaining to this society—whose soul and body nevertheless the goodness of God has worked, as well as whatever nature itself has besides the vice which the audacity of a proud will inflicted upon it—were created by the foreknowing God for this reason: that in them He might show what the deserter's free will (liberum arbitrium) could avail without His grace; and that in their just and due punishments the vessels of mercy, which were discerned from that concretion not by the merits of their own works but by the free grace of God, might learn what had been conferred upon them; so that every mouth may be stopped (Rom III, 19), and he who boasts, let him boast in the Lord (I Cor I, 31).

CHAPTER VIII.

27. Anyone who teaches otherwise, and does not acquiesce to the sound words of our Lord Jesus Christ who said, "The Son of Man came to seek and to save what was lost" (Luke 19:10): for He did not say, "What was going to be lost," but "what was lost"; showing what else, except that by the sin of the first man the nature of the entire human race has perished? He, therefore, who teaches otherwise, and does not acquiesce to that doctrine which is according to piety (1 Tim 6:3), defends human nature as if it were sound and free against the grace of the Savior and against the blood of the Redeemer, yet still affects to be called by the Christian name; what is he going to say about the distinction of infants, why one is assumed into the life of the second man, while another is left in the death of the first man? If he says that merits of free will preceded; the Apostle responds with what we said above about those not yet born nor having done anything good or evil.

Si autem dixerit quod adhuc in libris quos nuperrime Pelagius perhibetur edidisse, defenditur; quamvis jam videatur anathematizasse in episcopali judicio Palaestino eos qui dicunt quod peccatum Adae ipsum solum laeserit, et non genus humanum: si dixeris ambo sine judicio natos, nec aliquid de primi hominis damnatione traxisse; profecto quoniam negare non audet in regnum coelorum adoptari eum qui fuerit regeneratus in Christo; respondeat quid de illo futurum sit, qui nulla sua culpa non baptizatus, ista fuerit temporali morte praeventus. Si non putamus esse dicturum quod innocentem Deus, nec habentem originale peccatum ante annos quibus habere poterat proprium, aeterna morte damnabit; cogitur itaque respondere quod Pelagius in ecclesiastico judicio, ut aliquo modo catholicus pronuntiaretur, anathematizare compulsus est, infantes, etiamsi non babtizentur, habere vitam aeternam: hac enim negata, quid nisi mors aeterna remanebit?

28. Ac per hoc contra sententiam Domini disputabit dicentis, Patres vestri manducaverunt manna in deserto, et mortui sunt: hic est panis qui de coelo descendit, ut si quis ex ipso manducaverit non moriatur; non enim de ista morte loquebatur, quam necesse est patiantur etiam qui de ipso pane manducant: et paulo post, Amen, amen dico vobis, Nisi manducaveritis carnem filii hominis, et biberitis ejus sanguinem, non habebitis vitam in vobis (Joan. VI, 49, 50, 54); utique illam quae post hanc mortem futura est: and contra apostolicae Sedis auctoritatem, ubi de hac ipsa re cum ageretur, hoc testimonium adhibitum est evangelicum, ne parvuli non baptizati vitam posse habere credantur (Innocent. in Epist. 182, n. 5): and contra ipsius Pelagii verba apud episcopos a quibus audiebatur, expressa, ubi anathematizavit eos qui dicerent infantes non baptizatos habere vitam aeternam.

29. Quod propterea commemoravimus, quoniam quidem apud vos, vel in vestra potius civitate, si tamen verum est quod audivimus, tanta pro isto errore quidam obstinatione nituntur, ut dicant facilius esse ut etiam Pelagium deserant atque contemnant, qui haec sentientes anathematizavit, quam ab hujus sententiae, sicut eis videtur, veritate discedant. Si autem cedunt Sedi apostolicae, vel potius ipsi magistro et domino Apostolorum, qui dicit non habituros vitam in semetipsis, nisi manducaverint carnem filii hominis, et biberint sanguinem, quod nisi baptizati non utique possunt; nempe aliquando fatebuntur parvulos non baptizatos vitam habere non posse, ac per hoc, quamlibet tolerabilius omnibus qui etiam propria peccata committunt, tamen aeterna morte multari.

But if he says what is still defended in the books which Pelagius is reported to have very recently published; although he already seems to have anathematized in the episcopal judgment of Palestine those who say that the sin of Adam harmed him alone, and not the human race: if you say both were born without judgment, and drew nothing from the condemnation of the first man; certainly since he does not dare to deny that he who has been regenerated in Christ is adopted into the kingdom of heaven; let him answer what will become of him who, through no fault of his own, not being baptized, was prevented by this temporal death. If we do not think he will say that God will condemn with eternal death an innocent person, having no original sin before the years in which he could have his own; he is therefore compelled to answer what Pelagius, in the ecclesiastical judgment, was compelled to anathematize in order to be pronounced a Catholic in some way: that infants, even if they are not baptized, have eternal life: for if this is denied, what will remain but eternal death?

28. And by this he will dispute against the sentence of the Lord saying, "Your fathers ate manna in the desert, and they died: this is the bread which comes down from heaven, so that if anyone eats of it he may not die"; for He was not speaking of that death which even those who eat of that bread must necessarily suffer: and a little after, "Amen, amen I say to you, Unless you eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink His blood, you will not have life in you" (John 6:49, 50, 54); surely that life which is to be after this death: and against the authority of the Apostolic See, where, when this very matter was being dealt with, this evangelical testimony was applied, lest unbaptized infants be believed to be able to have life (Innocent in Epist. 182, n. 5): and against the words of Pelagius himself expressed before the bishops by whom he was heard, where he anathematized those who said that unbaptized infants have eternal life.

29. Which we have commemorated for this reason, since indeed among you, or rather in your city, if indeed what we have heard is true, some strive with such obstinacy for that error, that they say it is easier for them even to desert and despise Pelagius, who anathematized those holding these views, than to depart from the truth of this opinion, as it seems to them. But if they yield to the Apostolic See, or rather to the Teacher and Lord of the Apostles himself, who says they will not have life in themselves unless they eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink His blood, which they certainly cannot do unless baptized; surely they will eventually confess that unbaptized infants cannot have life, and by this, however more tolerably than all who also commit their own sins, yet they are punished with eternal death.

30. Quae cum ita sint, audeant disputare, et quibus possunt persuadere contendant, Deum justum, apud quem non est iniquitas, parvulos a peccatis propriis innocentes, si nec illo ex Adam obligati et obstricti sunt, morte perpetua damnaturum. Quod si absurdissimum est et a justitia Dei penitus alienum, et tamen nullus qui se meminit catholicae fidei christianum, negat aut dubitat parvulos non accepta gratia regenerationis in Christo, sine cibo carnis ejus et sanguinis potu, non habere in se vitam, ac per hoc poenae sempiternae obnoxios; profecto restat ut quia ipsi non egerunt aliquid boni aut mali, ideo mortis eorum justa sit poena, quia in illo moriuntur, in quo omnes peccaverunt; unde in isto solo justificantur, a quo peccatum nec originale trahi potuit, nec proprium perpetrari.

31. Ipse vocavit nos non solum ex Judaeis, verum etiam ex Gentibus; quoniam et illius Jerusalem filios, quae interfecit Prophetas, et lapidavit missos ad se, quamvis ipsa nolente collegit ipse quos voluit (Matth. XXIII, 37), et ante incarnationem suam, sicut ipsos Prophetas, et posteaquam Verbum caro factum est, sicut Apostolos et hominum millia qui et pretia rerum suarum ante pedes Apostolorum posuerunt (Act. II, 41, et IV, 4, 34, 35). Omnes quippe illi filii sunt Jerusalem nolentis ut colligerentur, qui tamen illa nolente collecti sunt; de quibus dicit: Si ego in Beelzebub ejicio daemonia, filii vestri in quo ejiciunt? Ideo ipsi judices vestri erunt (Matth. XII, 27). De iis praedictum erat: Si fuerint filii Israel sicut arena maris, reliquiae salvae fient (Isai, X, 22; Osee I, 10; Rom. IX, 24-27). Non potest excidere verbum Dei, nec repulit plebem suam quam praescivit, quae tamen reliquiae per electionem gratiae salvae factae sunt. Si autem gratia, quod saepe dicendum est, jam non ex operibus; alioquin gratia jam non est gratia: non haec utique nostra, sed Apostoli verba sunt (Rom. XI, 2, 5, 6). Quod ergo ad Jerusalem nolentem colligi filios suos ille clamabat, hoc nos clamamus adversus eos qui filios volentes Ecclesiae colligi nolunt: nec saltem post judicium quod de ipso Pelagio in Palaestina factum est, corriguntur; de quo damnatus exisset, nisi objecta sibi contra gratiam Dei, dicta quae obscurare non potuit, ipse damnasset.

CAPUT IX.

30. Since these things are so, let them dare to dispute, and let them strive to persuade whomever they can, that God—who is just, with whom there is no iniquity—would condemn to perpetual death infants innocent of their own sins, if they were not also bound and constrained by that sin from Adam. But if this is most absurd and utterly alien to the justice of God, and yet no one who remembers himself to be a Christian of the Catholic faith denies or doubts that infants who have not received the grace of regeneration in Christ, without the food of His flesh and the drink of His blood, do not have life in themselves, and are therefore liable to everlasting punishment; surely it remains that, because they themselves have done nothing good or evil, the punishment of their death is just for this reason: that they die in him in whom all have sinned; hence they are justified in Him alone, from whom neither original sin could be drawn, nor any sin of one's own perpetrated.

31. He Himself called us not only from among the Jews, but also from among the Gentiles; since He Himself collected whom He willed (Matt 23:37)—even the children of that Jerusalem which killed the Prophets and stoned those sent to her, although she herself was unwilling—both before His incarnation, like the Prophets themselves, and after the Word was made flesh, like the Apostles and the thousands of men who also laid the prices of their goods before the feet of the Apostles (Acts 2:41, and 4:4, 34, 35). For all those are children of the unwilling Jerusalem that they should be collected, who nevertheless were collected against her will; of whom He says: "If I by Beelzebub cast out devils, by whom do your children cast them out? Therefore they shall be your judges" (Matt 12:27). Of these it was foretold: "If the children of Israel were as the sand of the sea, a remnant shall be saved" (Isa 10:22; Hos 1:10; Rom 9:24-27). The word of God cannot fail, nor has He rejected His people whom He foreknew, which remnant nevertheless has been saved through the election of grace. "And if by grace," which must often be said, "then it is no longer by works; otherwise grace is no longer grace": these are certainly not our words, but the words of the Apostle (Rom 11:2, 5, 6). What therefore He cried out to the Jerusalem unwilling to have her children collected, this we cry out against those who do not want the children willing to be collected by the Church: nor are they corrected even after the judgment concerning Pelagius himself which took place in Palestine; from which he would have gone out condemned, unless he himself had condemned those things which were objected against him, said against the grace of God, which he could not obscure.

CHAPTER IX.

32. Praeter illa enim quae, quo modo potuit, ausus est qualicumque ratione defendere, objecta quaedam sunt, quae nisi remota omni tergiversatione anathematizasset, ipse anathematizatus exisset. Objectum est enim eum dicere: Quia Adam sive peccaret, sive non peccaret, moriturus esset: and quod peccatum ejus ipsum solum laeserit, et non genus humanum: and quod infantes nuper nati in illo statu sint, in quo Adam fuit ante praevaricationem: and quod neque per mortem vel per praevaricationem Adae omne genus humanum moriatur, neque per resurrectionem Christi omne genus humanum resurgat: and infantes, etiamsi non baptizentur, habere vitam aeternam: and divites baptizatos, nisi omnibus renuntient, si quid boni visi fuerint facere, non reputari illis, nec eos habere posse regnum Dei: and gratiam Dei atque adjutorium non ad singulos actus dari, sed in libero arbitrio esse vel in lege atque doctrina: and quod Dei gratiam secundum merita nostra dari: and filios Dei non posse vocari, nisi omnino absque peccato fuerint effecti: and non esse liberum arbitrium, si Dei indiget auxilio; quoniam in propria voluntate habet unusquisque facere aliquid, vel non facere: and victoriam nostram non ex Dei adjutorio esse, sed ex libero arbitrio: and quod poenitentibus venia non detur secundum gratiam et misericordiam Dei, sed secundum meritum et laborem eorum qui per poenitentiam digni fuerint misericordia.

33. Haec omnia Pelagius sic anathematizavit, quod satis Gesta ipsa testantur, ut nihil ad ea quoquo modo defendenda disputationis attulerit; unde fit consequens ut quisquis sequitur illius episcopalis auctoritatem judicii, et ipsius Pelagii confessionem, haec tenere debeat, quae semper tenuit catholica Ecclesia: Adam, nisi peccasset, non fuisse moriturum: quod peccatum ejus non ipsum solum laeserit, sed et genus humanum: and quod infantes nuper nati non sint in illo statu, in quo Adam fuit ante praevaricationem, ut ad ipsos pertineat etiam quod breviter ait Apostolus, Per unum hominem mors, et per unum hominem resurrectio mortuorum. Sicut enim in Adam omnes moriuntur, ita et in Christo omnes vivificabuntur (I Cor. XV, 21, 22). Unde fit ut infantes non baptizati, non solum regnum coelorum, verum etiam vitam aeternam habere non possint. Confiteatur etiam, divites baptizatos, etiamsi divitiis suis non careant, et sint tales quales ad Timotheum describit Apostolus dicens, Praecipe divitibus hujus mundi non superbe sapere, neque sperare in incerto divitiarum, sed in Deo vivo, qui praestat omnia abundanter ad fruendum; divites sint in operibus bonis, facile tribuant, communicent, thesaurizent sibi fundamentum bonum in futurum, ut apprehendant veram vitam (I Tim. VI, 17-19), non eos regno Dei posse privari.

32. For besides those things which, as best he could, he dared to defend by whatever reason, certain things were objected which, unless he had anathematized them without any evasion, he himself would have gone out anathematized. For it was objected that he said: That Adam, whether he sinned or did not sin, would have died: and that his sin harmed him alone, and not the human race: and that newly born infants are in that state in which Adam was before his transgression: and that neither through the death or through the transgression of Adam does the entire human race die, nor through the resurrection of Christ does the entire human race rise: and that infants, even if they are not baptized, have eternal life: and that baptized rich people, unless they renounce all things, if they should be seen to do anything good, it is not imputed to them, nor can they have the kingdom of God: and that the grace of God and help is not given for individual acts, but is in free will or in the law and doctrine: and that the grace of God is given according to our merits: and that they cannot be called children of God, unless they have been made entirely without sin: and that there is no free will if it needs the help of God; since each one has in his own will to do something, or not to do it: and that our victory is not from the help of God, but from free will: and that pardon is not given to penitents according to the grace and mercy of God, but according to the merit and labor of those who through penance have been worthy of mercy.

33. All these things Pelagius so anathematized, as the Acts themselves sufficiently testify, that he brought forward no part of a discussion to defend them in any way; whence it follows that whoever follows the authority of that episcopal judgment, and the confession of Pelagius himself, ought to hold these things, which the Catholic Church has always held: That Adam, unless he had sinned, would not have died: that his sin harmed not himself alone, but also the human race: and that newly born infants are not in that state in which Adam was before his transgression, so that to them also pertains what the Apostle says briefly, "Through one man death, and through one man the resurrection of the dead. For as in Adam all die, so also in Christ all shall be made alive" (1 Cor 15:21, 22). Whence it happens that unbaptized infants cannot have not only the kingdom of heaven, but also eternal life. Let him also confess that baptized rich people, even if they do not lack their riches, and are such as the Apostle describes to Timothy saying, "Command the rich of this world not to be proud in their wisdom, nor to hope in the uncertainty of riches, but in the living God, who provides all things abundantly for enjoyment; let them be rich in good works, give easily, communicate, treasure up for themselves a good foundation for the future, so that they may apprehend true life" (1 Tim 6:17-19), cannot be denied the kingdom of God.

Fateatur gratiam Dei et adjutorium etiam ad singulos actus dari; eamque non dari secundum merita nostra, ut vera sit gratia, id est gratis data per ejus misericordiam qui dixit, Miserebor cui misertus ero, et misericordiam praestabo cui misericors fuero (Exod. XXXIII, 19). Fateatur filios Dei vocari posse illos qui quotidie dicunt, Dimitte nobis debita nostra (Matth. VI, 12): quod utique veraciter non dicerent, si essent omnimodo sine peccato. Fateatur esse liberum arbitrium, etiam si divino indiget adjutorio. Fateatur quando contra tentationes concupiscentiasque illicitas dimicamus, quamvis et illic habeamus propriam voluntatem, non tamen ex illa, sed ex adjutorio Dei nostram provenire victoriam. Non enim aliter verum erit quod Apostolus ait: Non volentis neque currentis, sed miserentis est Dei. Fateatur secundum gratiam et misericordiam Dei veniam poenitentibus dari, non secundum merita eorum; quandoquidem etiam ipsam poenitentiam donum Dei dixit Apostolus, ubi ait de quibusdam: Ne forte det illis Deus poenitentiam (II Tim. II, 25). Haec omnia simpliciter sine ullis fateatur ambagibus, si quis in auctoritatem catholicam et in ipsius Pelagii expressa ecclesiasticis Gestis verba consentit. Neque enim illa quae his sunt contraria, veraciter anathematizata esse credendum est, nisi haec quibus sunt contraria, fideli corde teneantur, et aperta confessione promantur.

CAPUT X.

34. Nec in istis libris recentioribus, quos idem Pelagius post illud judicium dicitur edidisse, quamvis adjutorio divinae gratiae consentire videatur, quid de hac re sentiat satis evidenter apparet. Aliquando enim ita paribus momentis potestatem voluntatis aequa lance perpendit, ut quantum ad peccandum, tantum etiam ad non peccandum valere definiat: quod si ita est, nullus locus adjutorio gratiae reservatur, sine qua nos dicimus ad non peccandum nihil voluntatis arbitrium valere. Aliquando autem quotidiano gratiae Dei muniri nos confitetur auxilio, quamvis habeamus ad non peccandum forte ac firmum liberum arbitrium: quod utique invalidum et infirmum debuit confiteri, donec sanentur omnes languores animae nostrae. Non enim pro infirmitate corporis precabatur, qui dicebat, Miserere mei, Domine, quoniam infirmus sum; sana me, Domine, quoniam conturbata sunt ossa mea: nam ut ostenderet pro anima se rogare, secutus adjunxit, et anima mea turbata est valde (Psal. VI, 3, 4).

35. Videtur ergo auxilium gratiae tanquam ex abundanti putare concedi, id est, ut etiamsi non concedatur, habeamus tamen ad non peccandum forte ac firmum liberum arbitrium.

Let him confess that the grace of God and help is given even for individual acts; and that it is not given according to our merits, so that it may be true grace, that is, freely given through the mercy of Him who said, "I will have mercy on whom I have had mercy, and I will show mercy to whom I have been merciful" (Exod 33:19). Let him confess that those can be called children of God who daily say, "Forgive us our debts" (Matt 6:12): which they certainly would not say truthfully if they were entirely without sin. Let him confess that there is free will, even if it needs divine help. Let him confess that when we fight against temptations and unlawful concupiscences, although we also have our own will there, yet our victory comes not from that, but from the help of God. For otherwise it will not be true what the Apostle says: "It is not of him that wills, nor of him that runs, but of God that has mercy." Let him confess that pardon is given to penitents according to the grace and mercy of God, not according to their merits; since indeed the Apostle said that penance itself is a gift of God, where he says of some: "Lest perhaps God give them penance" (2 Tim 2:25). All these things let him confess simply without any ambiguities, if anyone consents to Catholic authority and to the words of Pelagius himself expressed in the ecclesiastical Acts. For it is not to be believed that those things which are contrary to these were truly anathematized, unless these things to which they are contrary are held with a faithful heart and brought forth in open confession.

CHAPTER X.

34. Nor in those more recent books, which the same Pelagius is said to have published after that judgment, although he seems to consent to the help of divine grace, does what he feels about this matter appear clearly enough. For sometimes he so weighs the power of the will in equal scales with equal moments, that he defines it to avail as much for sinning as also for not sinning: but if it is so, no place is reserved for the help of grace, without which we say that the choice of the will avails nothing for not sinning. But at other times he confesses that we are protected by the daily gift of God's help, although we have a strong and firm free will for not sinning: which certainly he ought to have confessed to be invalid and weak, until all the languors of our soul are healed. For he was not praying for the infirmity of the body, who said, "Have mercy on me, O Lord, for I am weak; heal me, O Lord, for my bones are troubled": for that he might show that he was asking for his soul, he added following, "and my soul is troubled exceedingly" (Psalm 6:3, 4).

35. He seems therefore to think that the help of grace is granted as if from abundance, that is, that even if it is not granted, we nevertheless have a strong and firm free will for not sinning.

Quod ne existimemur de illo temere suspicari, et fortasse quis dicat sic eum sentire forte ac firmum ad non peccandum liberum arbitrium (quamvis sine Dei gratia id efficere atque adimplere non possit), sicut sanos oculos firmos dicimus ad videndum, quod tamen nullo modo facere possunt, si desit lucis auxilium; alio loco quid diceret, vel quid putaret ostendit, ubi ait, Ideo Dei gratiam hominibus dari, ut quod facere per liberum jubentur arbitrium, facilius possint implere per gratiam. Utique cum dicit, facilius, quid vult intelligi, nisi et gratia si desit, posse per liberum arbitrium, vel facile, vel etiam difficile quae divinitus jubentur impleri ?

36. Ubi est ergo, Quid est homo, nisi quod memor es ejus (Psal. VIII, 5)? Ubi postremo illa testimonia, quae Jerosolymitanae antistes Ecclesiae, sicut in eisdem Gestis legitur, ipsi Pelagio se dixisse commemorat, cum ad eum perlatum esset quod sine gratia Dei diceret absque peccato hominem esse posse? Haec sunt enim ab illo dicta tria testimonia valde magna contra hujusmodi impiam praesumptionem, quod Apostolus ait: Plus omnibus illis laboravi; non ego autem, sed gratia Dei mecum (I Cor. XV, 10); et, Non volentis, neque currentis, sed miserentis est Dei (Rom. IX, 16); et, Nisi Dominus aedificaverit domum, in vanum laboraverunt aedificantes eam (Psal. CXXVI, 1). Quomodo ergo quod Deus jubet, sine adjutorio ipsius vel difficile impletur, cum si Dominus non aedificet, in vanum aedificans laborasse dicatur; neque scriptum sit, Est quidem volentis, atque currentis, facilius autem miserentis est Dei, sed scriptum sit, Non volentis, neque currentis, sed miserentis est Dei; non quia nulla est hominis voluntas atque cursus, sed quia nihil potest, nisi ille misereatur: nec Apostolus dixerit, Et ego, sed dixerit, Non ego autem, sed gratia Dei mecum: non quia ipse nihil boni agebat, sed quia nihil ageret, si illa non adjuvaret? Quanquam illa possibilitas liberi arbitrii tam in bonum quam in malum ex aequa lancis perpensione nec huic facilitati locum relinquit, quam saltem videtur esse confessus dicendo, Facilius possunt implere per gratiam, facilius impletur per gratiam bonum, facillime autem sine gratia fit malum: profecto ista possibilitas non aequa lance perpenditur.

CAPUT XI.

Lest we be thought to suspect this of him rashly, and perhaps someone may say that he so feels free will to be strong and firm for not sinning (although without God's grace it cannot effect and fulfill it), just as we say healthy eyes are firm for seeing, which nevertheless they can in no way do if the help of light is missing; in another place he showed what he would say, or what he would think, where he says, "That the grace of God is given to men for this reason, that what they are commanded to do through free will, they may be able to fulfill more easily through grace." Surely when he says, "more easily," what does he want to be understood, except that even if grace is missing, those things which are divinely commanded can be fulfilled through free will, either easily, or even with difficulty?

36. Where then is, "What is man, except that You are mindful of him" (Psalm 8:5)? Where finally are those testimonies, which the bishop of the Jerusalem Church, as is read in the same Acts, mentions that he himself said to Pelagius, when it had been reported to him that he said without the grace of God a man could be without sin? For these are the three very great testimonies spoken by him against such impious presumption: what the Apostle said, "I have labored more than all of them; yet not I, but the grace of God with me" (1 Cor 15:10); and, "It is not of him that wills, nor of him that runs, but of God that has mercy" (Rom 9:16); and, "Unless the Lord build the house, they have labored in vain that build it" (Psalm 126:1). How then is what God commands fulfilled without His help either with difficulty, since if the Lord does not build, the builder is said to have labored in vain; nor is it written, "It is indeed of him that wills, and of him that runs, but it is more easily of God that has mercy," but it is written, "It is not of him that wills, nor of him that runs, but of God that has mercy"; not because there is no will and running of man, but because it can do nothing, unless He has mercy: nor did the Apostle say, "And I," but he said, "Yet not I, but the grace of God with me": not because he himself did nothing good, but because he would do nothing, if it did not help? Although that possibility of free will as much for good as for evil from an equal weighing of the scale leaves no place even for this facility, which at least he seems to have confessed by saying, "They can fulfill more easily through grace, the good is fulfilled more easily through grace, but evil is done most easily without grace": surely this possibility is not weighed in an equal scale.

CHAPTER XI.

37. Sed quid plura? Non solum ad istos vitandos cauti esse debemus, verum etiam ad docendos vel monendos, si patiantur, pigrescere non debemus. Plus eis tamen sine dubitatione praestamus, si ut corrigantur oremus, ne cum tantis ingeniis vel pereant, vel alios perdant praesumptione damnabili: quia zelum Dei habent, sed non secundum scientiam; id est, justitiam quae a Deo est ignorantes, et suam volentes constituere, justitiae Dei non sunt subjecti (Rom. X, 2, 3). Quibus utique, quoniam christiani appellantur, magis observandum est quam Judaeis, de quibus hoc dixit Apostolus, ne offendant in lapidem offensionis (Id. IX, 32), velut argute defendendo naturam et liberum arbitrium, quemadmodum philosophi hujus mundi, qui vehementer egerunt ut putarentur vel putarent sibi beatam vitam virtute propriae voluntatis efficere. Caveant ergo isti ne per sapientiam verbi evacuent crucem Christi (I Cor. I, 17), et hoc sit eis offendere in lapidem offensionis. Natura enim humana etiamsi in illa integritate in qua condita est permaneret, nullo modo seipsam Creatore suo non adjuvante servaret: cum igitur sine Dei gratia salutem non possit custodire quam accepit; quomodo sine Dei gratia potest reparare quam perdidit?

38. Non autem ideo pro istis non orare debemus, quia si non corriguntur, eorum imputandum est voluntati, qui nolunt credere etiam ad hoc ipsum sibi necessariam gratiam Salvatoris, quod putant consistere in solis viribus voluntatis Nam et illi quibus sunt isti in hac causa omnino simillimi, de quibus hoc dixit Apostolus, quod ignorantes Dei justitiam, et suam volentes constituere, justitiae Dei non sunt subjecti, profecto suae voluntatis vitio non credebant. Non enim ut essent infideles, cogebantur in vitium; sed nolendo credere, infidelitatis crimine non carebant. Et tamen quia voluntas, ut ad vera credenda moveatur, non sibi sufficit, nisi per gratiam Deus opituletur, dicente ipso Domino cum de non credentibus loqueretur, Nemo venit ad me, nisi ei datum fuerit a Patre (Joan. VI, 66); propter hoc et Apostolus, quamvis eis instanter Evangelium praedicaret, parum tamen esse credebat, nisi pro illis etiam oraret ut crederent: ait enim, Fratres, bona voluntas quidem cordis mei, et deprecatio ad Deum fit pro illis in salutem; et tunc adjunxit illa quae diximus, Testimonium enim illis perhibeo quia zelum Dei habent, sed non secundum scientiam, etc. Oremus ergo pro illis, sancte frater.

CAPUT XII.

37. But why more? Not only must we be cautious to avoid those people, but we also must not be slow to teach or admonish them, if they allow it. Nevertheless, we undoubtedly provide more for them if we pray that they may be corrected, lest with such great talents they either perish or destroy others by a damnable presumption: because "they have a zeal for God, but not according to knowledge"; that is, "ignorant of the justice which is from God, and wanting to establish their own, they are not subject to the justice of God" (Rom 10:2, 3). For whom indeed, since they are called Christians, it must be more observed than for the Jews, of whom the Apostle said this, lest they stumble "at the stone of stumbling" (id. 9:32), as if by cleverly defending nature and free will, just like the philosophers of this world, who worked vehemently that they might be thought or think themselves to effect a blessed life by the virtue of their own will. Let these people therefore beware lest through the wisdom of word they empty the cross of Christ (1 Cor 1:17), and this be for them to stumble at the stone of stumbling. For human nature, even if it remained in that integrity in which it was created, would in no way preserve itself if its Creator did not help: since therefore without the grace of God it cannot guard the salvation which it received; how without the grace of God can it repair what it lost?

However, we ought not for this reason not to pray for them, because if they are not corrected, it is to be imputed to their will, who do not want to believe the grace of the Savior to be necessary for themselves even for this very thing, which they think consists in the solo strengths of the will. For even those to whom these people are entirely similar in this cause, of whom the Apostle said this, that "ignorant of God's justice, and wanting to establish their own, they are not subject to the justice of God," certainly did not believe by the vice of their own will. For they were not compelled into vice so that they might be unbelievers; but by not wanting to believe, they were not without the crime of unbelief. And yet because the will, so that it may be moved to believe true things, does not suffice for itself unless God helps through grace—the Lord Himself saying when He was speaking of those not believing, "No one comes to me, unless it be given to him by the Father" (John 6:66)—for this reason the Apostle also, although he preached the Gospel to them insistently, nevertheless believed it was too little, unless he also prayed for them that they might believe: for he says, "Brethren, the good will indeed of my heart, and my prayer to God is for them unto salvation"; and then he added those things which we said, "For I bear them witness that they have a zeal for God, but not according to knowledge," etc. Let us pray therefore for them, holy brother.

CHAPTER XII.

39. Cernis quippe nobiscum quam malo errore teneantur. Fragrant enim epistolae tuae odore sincerissimo Christi, ubi germanissimus gratiae ipsius dilector et confessor appares. Sed quod diu tecum ex hac re loquendum putavimus, primo quia jucundissimum est, fecimus: quid enim debet esse jucundius, vel infirmis gratia qua sanantur, vel pigris gratia qua excitantur, vel volentibus gratia qua juvantur? deinde, ut si quid nostra disputatione Deo adjuvante possemus, tua, non fides, sed fidei contra tales adminiculetur assertio, sicut nos quoque in hanc facultatem tuae Germanitatis litteris adjuvamur.

40. Quid enim uberius et veracissima confessione plenius, quam illud est in quadam epistola tua, ubi naturam nostram non mansisse, ut condita est, sed vitiatam esse per illum generis humani patrem, humiliter deplorasti dicens: Pauper ego et dolens, qui adhuc terrenae imaginis squalore concretus sum, et plus de primo quam de secundo Adam carnis sensibus et terrenis actibus refero, quomodo tibi audebo me pingere, cum coelestis imaginis inficiator prober corruptione terrena? Utrinque me concludit pudor. Erubesco pingere quod sum; non audeo pingere quod non sum: odi quod sum; et non sum quod amo. Sed quid misero mihi proderit odisse iniquitatem, et amare virtutem; cum id potius agam quod odi, nec elaborem piger id potius agere quod amo? Ipse discors et intestino bello distrahor, dum spiritus adversus carnem, caro adversus spiritum dimicat, et lex corporis lege peccati legem mentis impugnat. Infelix ego, qui in me venenatum inimicae arboris gustum nec crucis ligno digessi! Durat enim mihi illud per Adam virus paternum, quo universitatem generis sui pater praevaricatus infecit (Paulinus, in Epist. 8, ad Severum): et caetera quae de hac miseria multa connectis ingemiscendo, exspectans redemptionem corporis tui, et nondum re, sed spe salvum te esse cognoscens (Rom. VIII, 23, 24).

41. Sed fortassis tu alium in te transfigurasti, cum haec diceres, nec aliquas de carne concupiscente adversus spiritum, quamvis ei non consentias, molestias importunas pateris et odiosas: verumtamen et tu, et quisquis haec patitur, et gratiam Christi per quam de corpore mortis hujus liberetur exspectat, nondum quidem evidenter in seipso, sed in illo homine latenter ibi erat, quando cibus vetitus tangebatur, et concipiebatur longe lateque per cunctos itura perditio. De orando autem, et gemitibus flagitando proficiendi ac recte vivendi adjutorio, quae tua non fervet epistola ?

You see indeed with us by how bad an error they are held. For your letters fragrant with the most sincere odor of Christ, where you appear as a most genuine lover and confessor of His grace. But that we thought we should speak with you at length about this matter, we did first because it is most pleasant: for what ought to be more pleasant, either to the weak than the grace by which they are healed, or to the lazy than the grace by which they are excited, or to those who will than the grace by which they are helped? Then, so that if we could do anything by our discussion with God's help, your assertion—not of faith, but of faith against such people—might be supported, just as we also are helped in this ability by the letters of your Brotherhood (Germanitatis).

40. For what is more abundant and fuller of a most true confession than that which is in a certain letter of yours, where you humbly deplored that our nature did not remain as it was created, but was vitiated through that father of the human race, saying: "I, poor and grieving, who am still concretioned with the squalor of the earthly image, and report more of the first than of the second Adam by the senses of the flesh and earthly acts, how shall I dare to paint myself to you, since I am proved a denier of the heavenly image by earthly corruption? Shame encloses me on both sides. I blush to paint what I am; I do not dare to paint what I am not: I hate what I am; and I am not what I love. But what will it profit miserable me to hate iniquity and to love virtue, when I do that rather which I hate, nor do I, lazy, labor to do that rather which I love? I myself, discordant and distracted by an internal war, while the spirit fights against the flesh, the flesh against the spirit, and the law of the body impugns the law of the mind by the law of sin. Unhappy I, who have not even digested in me the poisonous taste of the enemy tree by the wood of the cross! For that paternal virus lasts for me through Adam, with which the father, having transgressed, infected the universality of his race" (Paulinus, in Epist. 8, to Severus): and the rest which you connect with many groanings about this misery, expecting the redemption of your body, and knowing yourself to be saved not yet in reality, but in hope (Rom 8:23, 24).

41. But perhaps you transfigured another in yourself when you said these things, nor do you suffer any importunate and hateful troubles from the flesh lusting against the spirit, although you do not consent to it: nevertheless both you, and whoever suffers these things and expects the grace of Christ through which he may be liberated from the body of this death, was not yet indeed evidently in himself, but was there latently in that man, when the forbidden food was touched, and the perdition was conceived which was to go far and wide through all. But about praying, and demanding with groanings the help of progressing and living rightly, which letter of yours does not glow?

quid est tui quantumcumque sermonis, ubi non sit sparsum gemebunda pietate quod in oratione dicimus, Ne nos inferas in tentationem (Matth. VI, 13). Invicem itaque nos et consolemur in his omnibus, et exhortemur, et quantum dat Dominus adjuvemus. Quae autem, et de quibus audierimus quae multum dolemus et facile credere nolumus; audiet a communi amico Sanctitas tua, quo in Dei misericordia cum salute remeante speramus nos de omnibus fieri posse certissimos.

DE SUBSEQUENTE EPISTOLA. (LIB. II RETRACT. CAP. XLIX.)

De praesentia Dei scripsi librum, ubi nostra intentio contra haeresim Pelagianam maxime vigilat, non expresse nominatam: sed in eo etiam de praesentia naturae, quem Deum verum et summum dicimus, et de templo ejus operose ac subtiliter disputatur. Hic liber sic incipit: «Fateor me, frater dilectissime Dardane.»

DE PRAESENTIA DEI LIBER, SEU EPISTOLA CLXXXVII.

Respondet ad duas quaestiones Dardani, interrogantis primo de Christo, quomodo nunc in coelo sit, qui latroni in cruce dixerit eum secum illo die futurum in paradiso; num forte quia Christus ubique existit, an quia paradisus in coelo situs est: secundo de parvulis, utrum non Deum noverint, etiam in utero existentes, siquidem Joannes in utero exsultavit ad praesentiam matris Domini.

CAP. PRIMUM.

1. Fateor me, fratrer dilectissime Dardane, illustrior mihi in charitate Christi, quam in hujus saeculi dignitate, litteris tuis tardius respondisse quam debui. Cujus rei causas nollem quaereres, ne molestius me feras diutius excusantem, quam pertulisti tardius rescribentem; cum ego te malim offensioni meae facile ignoscere, quam de mea defensione judicare: quaecumque illae causae fuerint, crede nullum tui apud me esse potuisse contemptum. Imo enim velocissime rescripsissem, si te contempsissem.

what is there of your speech, however much, where it is not scattered with groaning piety what we say in prayer, "Lead us not into temptation" (Matt 6:13). Let us therefore mutually both console ourselves in all these things, and exhort one another, and help as much as the Lord gives. But those things which, and about whom we have heard, which we much grieve and are unwilling to believe easily; your Holiness will hear from our common friend, by whom returning in the mercy of God with health we hope that we can be made most certain about all things.

CONCERNING THE FOLLOWING LETTER (BOOK II RETRACT. CHAP. XLIX.)

I wrote a book on the presence of God, where our intention is most vigilant against the Pelagian heresy, not expressly named: but in it also there is a laborious and subtle discussion about the presence of nature, which we call the true and supreme God, and about His temple. This book begins thus: "I confess to me, most beloved brother Dardanus."

BOOK ON THE PRESENCE OF GOD, OR LETTER CLXXXVII.

He responds to two questions of Dardanus, who asks first about Christ, how He is now in heaven, who said to the thief on the cross that he would be with Him that day in paradise; whether perhaps because Christ exists everywhere, or because paradise is situated in heaven: second about infants, whether they do not know God, even existing in the womb, since John exulted in the womb at the presence of the Mother of the Lord.

CAP. FIRST.

1. I confess, most beloved brother Dardanus—more illustrious to me in the charity of Christ than in the dignity of this age—that I have responded to your letters more slowly than I ought. I would not want you to seek the causes of this thing, lest you bear me more molestfully while I excuse myself at length than you endured me while I was slow to write back; since I would prefer you to easily forgive my offense than to judge my defense: whatever those causes were, believe that no contempt for you could have been in me. For indeed I would have written back most quickly if I had despised you.

Nec modo quia tandem aliquando rescripsi, ideo saltem tandem aliquando dignum aliquid te lectore molitus sum, et quod merito possim tuo nomine praenotare; sed rescribere utcumque jam malui, quam pati et hanc aestatem me hujus officii debitore transire. Nec tua me dignitas terruit fecitque cunctantem, cum sit humanitas tua gratior quam illa suspectior. Sed unde te magis amo, hinc difficilius unde sufficiam tantae aviditati religiosi tui amoris invenio.

2. Huc accessit, quod praeter mutuae charitatis flammam, qua fit ut etiam eos, quos nunquam vidimus, diligamus, dum eos habere quod diligimus credimus, ubi me utique praevenisti, fecistique ut verear in me decipi opinionem atque exspectationem tuam: praeter hoc ergo mihi tales quaestiones in tua epistola proposuisti, quae si a quolibet propositae forent, otio quoque meo, quod mihi defit, non parvum negotium fierent . Cum vero abs te proponuntur, cui profunda rimanti solutionis earum superficies nequaquam sat est, et proponuntur occupatissimo aliorumque curarum molibus vallato et obstricto; tuae prudentiae est et benevolentiae cogitare quam te placidum habere debeam, vel quod diu non respondi, vel si etiam nunc pro tuae intentionis granditate non respondero.

CAPUT II.

3. Quaeris igitur, Mediator Dei et hominum homo Christus Jesus quomodo nunc esse credatur in coelo, cum pendens in ligno, jamque moriturus, latroni credenti dixerit: Hodie mecum eris in paradiso (Luc. XXIII, 43). Et hinc fortasse intelligendum dicis paradisum, quasi in aliqua coeli parte positum, aut, quia ubique Deus sit, hominem quoque illum qui in Deo sit ubique diffusum; ex hoc nimirum intelligi volens etiam in paradiso esse potuisse qui ubique sit.

4. Ubi ego quaero, vel potius agnosco quemadmodum accipias hominem Christum. Non utique sicut quidam haeretici, Verbum Dei et carnem, hoc est sine anima humana; ut Verbum esset carni pro anima: vel Verbum Dei et animam et carnem, sed sine mente humana; ut verbum Dei esset animae pro mente humana . Non utique sic accipis hominem Christum, sed sicut superius locutus es, ubi aisti Christum omnipotentem Deum ea te ratione credulitatis accipere, ut Deum non crederes, nisi perfectum etiam hominem credidisses. Profecto cum dicis hominem perfectum, totam illic naturam humanam vis intelligi: non est autem homo perfectus, si vel anima carni, vel animae ipsi mens humana defuerit.

Nor because I have finally at last written back, for that reason have I at least finally at last attempted something worthy of you as a reader, and which I could deservedly mark with your name; but I have preferred to write back somehow now, than to suffer even this summer to pass with me as a debtor of this duty. Nor did your dignity terrify me and make me hesitate, since your humanity is more pleasing than that is suspicious. But whence I love you more, from there I find it more difficult to find whence I may suffice for such great greed of your religious love.

2. To this was added, that besides the flame of mutual charity, by which it happens that we love even those whom we have never seen, while we believe them to have what we love, where you indeed preceded me, and made me fear lest in me your opinion and expectation be deceived: besides this therefore you proposed such questions to me in your letter, which if they were proposed by anyone, would be no small business even for my leisure, which I lack. But when they are proposed by you, for whom the surface of their solution is by no means enough while searching deeply, and they are proposed to one most busy and walled in and constrained by the masses of other cares; it is for your prudence and benevolence to think how placid you ought to have me, either because I did not respond for a long time, or if even now I shall not respond for the greatness of your intention.

CHAPTER II.

3. You ask therefore, how the Mediator of God and men, the man Christ Jesus, is now believed to be in heaven, when hanging on the wood, and already about to die, He said to the believing thief: "Today you will be with Me in paradise" (Luke 23:43). And from this perhaps you say paradise is to be understood as if placed in some part of heaven, or, because God is everywhere, that man also who is in God is everywhere diffused; wanting it to be understood from this surely that he who is everywhere could also have been in paradise.

4. Where I ask, or rather I recognize, how you receive the man Christ. Certainly not like certain heretics, as the Word of God and flesh, that is without a human soul; so that the Word would be to the flesh instead of a soul: or the Word of God and a soul and flesh, but without a human mind; so that the word of God would be to the soul instead of a human mind. Certainly you do not thus receive the man Christ, but just as you spoke above, where you said that you receive Christ the omnipotent God by that reason of belief, that you would not believe Him to be God, unless you also believed Him to be a perfect man. Surely when you say a perfect man, you want the whole human nature to be understood there: but he is not a perfect man, if either a soul is missing to the flesh, or a human mind to the soul itself.

5. Si ergo secundum hominem quem Verbum Deus suscepit, putamus dictum esse, Hodie mecum eris in paradiso, non ex his verbis in coelo existimandus est esse paradisus: neque enim ipso die in coelo futurus erat homo Christus Jesus; sed in inferno secundum animum, in sepulcro autem secundum carnem. Et de carne quidem quod eo die in sepulcro sit posita, manifestissimum est Evangelium: quod vero illa anima in infernum descenderit, apostolica doctrina praedicat; quandoquidem beatus Petrus ad hanc rem testimonium de Psalmis adhibet, ubi praedictum esse demonstrat, Quoniam non derelinques animam meam in inferno, neque dabis sanctum tuum videre corruptionem (Act. II, 27, et Psal. XV, 10). Illud de anima dictum est, quia non ibi est derelicta, unde tam cito remeavit: illud de corpore, quod in sepulcro corrumpi celeri resurrectione non potuit. Sed in sepulcro paradisum nullus intelligit. And si quisquam esset ita absurdus, ut hoc sapere conaretur, eo quod illud sepulcrum in horto erat; certe hinc ab ista opinione revocaretur, quod ille cui dictum est, Hodie mecum eris in paradiso, non illo die fuit cum Christo in illo sepulcro: nec ejus fidei pro magno munere offerretur sepultura carnis, nihil gaudii vel doloris in morte sentientis, cum ille de requie ubi sensus est cogitaret.

CAPUT III.

7. Est autem sensus multo expeditior, et ab his omnibus ambiguitatibus liber, si non secundum id quod homo erat, sed secundum id quod Deus erat Christus dixisse accipiatur, Hodie mecum eris in paradiso. Homo quippe Christus illo die secundum carnem in sepulcro, secundum animam in inferno futurus erat: Deus vero idem ipse Christus ubique semper est. Est enim lux quae lucet etiam in tenebris, quamvis eam tenebrae non comprehendant (Joan. I, 5). Est Virtus et Sapientia Dei, de qua scriptum est quod attingat a fine usque ad finem fortiter, et disponat omnia suaviter (Sap. VIII, 1); et attingat ubique propter suam munditiam, et nihil inquinatum in eam incurrat (Id. VII, 24). Ubicumque ergo sit paradisus, quisquis beatorum ibi est, cum illo ibi est, qui ubique est.

8. Cum enim sit Christus Deus et homo; Deus utique unde dicit, Ego et Pater unum sumus (Joan. X, 30); homo autem unde dicit, Pater major me est (Id. XIV, 28); idemque Filius Dei unigenitus a Patre, et filius hominis ex semine David secundum carnem: utrumque in illo observandum est cum loquitur, vel cum de illo Scriptura loquitur, et quid secundum quid dicatur intuendum. Nam sicut unus homo est anima rationalis et caro, sic et unus Christus est Verbum et homo.

5. If therefore according to the man whom the Word God assumed, we think it was said, "Today you will be with Me in paradise," paradise is not to be estimated from these words to be in heaven: for nor on that very day was the man Christ Jesus to be in heaven; but in hell (inferno) according to the soul (animus), but in the sepulcher according to the flesh. And concerning the flesh indeed that it was placed in the sepulcher on that day, the Gospel is most manifest: but that that soul descended into hell, the apostolic doctrine preaches; since indeed blessed Peter applies testimony from the Psalms to this matter, where he demonstrates it to have been foretold, "Because You will not leave my soul in hell, nor will You give Your holy one to see corruption" (Acts 2:27, and Psalm 15:10). That was said concerning the soul, because it was not left there, whence it returned so quickly: that concerning the body, because it could not be corrupted in the sepulcher by a swift resurrection. But no one understands paradise in the sepulcher. And if anyone were so absurd as to try to know this, because that sepulcher was in a garden; certainly he would be recalled from that opinion by this, that he to whom it was said, "Today you will be with Me in paradise," was not with Christ in that sepulcher on that day: nor would the burial of the flesh, feeling no joy or pain in death, be offered to his faith for a great gift, since he was thinking about the rest where there is sense.

CHAPTER III.

7. But the sense is much more direct, and free from all these ambiguities, if it is understood that Christ said, "Today you will be with Me in paradise," not according to that which He was as man, but according to that which He was as God. For as man Christ was to be in the sepulcher according to the flesh on that day, and in hell (inferno) according to the soul (anima): but the same Christ as God is always everywhere. For He is the light which shines even in the darkness, although the darkness did not comprehend it (John 1:5). He is the Power and Wisdom of God, concerning whom it is written that she reaches from end to end mightily, and disposes all things sweetly (Wisdom 8:1); and she reaches everywhere because of her purity, and nothing defiled enters into her (Wisdom 7:24). Wherever therefore paradise may be, whoever of the blessed is there, he is there with Him who is everywhere.

8. For since Christ is God and man; God surely whence He says, "I and the Father are one" (John 10:30); but man whence He says, "The Father is greater than I" (John 14:28); and the same is the only-begotten Son of God from the Father, and the son of man from the seed of David according to the flesh: both are to be observed in Him when He speaks, or when Scripture speaks concerning Him, and it is to be considered what is said according to what. For just as one man is a rational soul (anima) and flesh, so also one Christ is the Word and man.

Proinde quod ad Verbum attinet, creator est Christus; Omnia enim per ipsum facta sunt (Joan. I, 3): quod vero ad hominem, creatus est Christus; Factus est enim ex semine David secundum carnem (Rom. I, 3), et in similitudinem hominum factus (Philipp. II, 7). Item quia in homine duo sunt, anima et caro; secundum animam tristis fuit usque ad mortem (Matth. XXVI, 38), secundum carnem passus est mortem (Act. III, 18).

9. Nec tamen cum Filium Dei Christum dicimus, hominem separamus; aut cum eumdem Christum filium hominis dicimus, separamus Deum. Secundum hominem namque in terra erat, non in coelo ubi nunc est, quando dicebat, Nemo ascendit in coelum, nisi qui de coelo descendit, Filius hominis qui est in coelo (Joan. III, 13): quamvis secundum id quod Filius Dei erat, esset in coelo; secundum id vero quod filius hominis erat, adhuc esset in terra, nondumque ascendisset in coelum. Similiter cum secundum id quod Filius Dei est, sit Dominus gloriae; secundum id autem quod est filius hominis, crucifixus sit; ait tamen Apostolus: Si enim cognovissent, nunquam Dominum gloriae crucifixissent (I Cor. II, 8). Ac per hoc et filius hominis secundum Deum erat in coelo, et Filius Dei secundum hominem, crucifigebatur in terra. Sicut ergo potuit recte dici Dominus gloriae crucifixus, cum ad solam carnem illa passio pertineret: ita recte dici potuit, Hodie mecum eris in paradiso, cum juxta humanam humilitatem, per carnem in sepulcro, per animam in inferno illo die futurus esset; juxta divinam vero immutabilitatem nunquam de paradiso, quia ubique est semper, recessissent.

10. Noli itaque dubitare ibi nunc esse hominem Christum Jesum, unde venturus est; memoriterque recole, et fideliter tene christianam confessionem, quoniam resurrexit a mortuis, ascendit in coelum, sedet ad dexteram Patris, nec aliunde quam inde venturus est ad vivos mortuosque judicandos. Et sic venturus est, illa angelica voce testante, quemadmodum ire visus est in coelum (Act. I, 10, 11), id est in eadem carnis forma atque substantia; cui profecto immortalitatem dedit, naturam non abstulit. Secundum hanc formam non est putandus ubique diffusus. Cavendum est enim ne ita divinitatem astruamus hominis, ut veritatem corporis auferamus. Non est autem consequens ut quod in Deo est, ita sit ubique, ut Deus. Nam et de nobis veracissima Scriptura dicit quod in illo vivimus, movemur et sumus (Act. XVII, 28); nec tamen sicut ille ubique sumus; sed aliter homo ille in Deo, quoniam aliter et Deus ille in homine, proprio quodam et singulari modo. Una enim persona Deus et homo est, et utrumque est unus Christus Jesus; ubique per id quod Deus est, in coelo autem per id quod homo.

Accordingly, as far as pertains to the Word, Christ is the creator; for "all things were made through Him" (John 1:3): but as far as pertains to the man, Christ was created; for "He was made from the seed of David according to the flesh" (Romans 1:3), and "made in the likeness of men" (Philippians 2:7). Likewise because in man there are two, soul (anima) and flesh; according to the soul He was sorrowful even unto death (Matthew 26:38), according to the flesh He suffered death (Acts 3:18).

9. Nor yet when we call Christ the Son of God, do we separate the man; or when we call the same Christ the son of man, do we separate God. For according to the man He was on earth, not in heaven where He is now, when He was saying, "No one has ascended into heaven, except He who descended from heaven, the Son of man who is in heaven" (John 3:13): although according to that which He was the Son of God, He was in heaven; but according to that which He was the son of man, He was still on earth, and had not yet ascended into heaven. Similarly, while according to that which He is the Son of God, He is the Lord of glory; but according to that which He is the son of man, He was crucified; yet the Apostle says: "For if they had known, they would never have crucified the Lord of glory" (1 Corinthians 2:8). And through this both the son of man was in heaven according to God, and the Son of God was being crucified on earth according to the man. Just as therefore it could rightly be said the Lord of glory was crucified, since that passion pertained to the flesh alone: so it could rightly be said, "Today you will be with Me in paradise," when according to human humility, He was to be in the sepulcher through the flesh and in hell through the soul on that day; but according to divine immutability He would never have withdrawn from paradise, because He is always everywhere.

10. Do not therefore doubt that the man Christ Jesus is now there, whence He is to come; and recall to memory, and faithfully hold the Christian confession, that He rose from the dead, ascended into heaven, sits at the right hand of the Father, nor is He to come from anywhere else than from there to judge the living and the dead. And He is so to come, as that angelic voice testifies, just as He was seen to go into heaven (Acts 1:10, 11), that is in the same form and substance of flesh; to which surely He gave immortality, but did not take away nature. According to this form He is not to be thought diffused everywhere. For we must beware lest we so assert the divinity of the man, as to take away the truth of the body. It is not however consequent that what is in God is so everywhere, as God. For concerning us also the most true Scripture says that "in Him we live, move, and are" (Acts 17:28); yet we are not everywhere as He is; but that man is in God in one way, since also that God is in the man in another way, in a certain proper and singular mode. For one person is God and man, and both is one Christ Jesus; everywhere by that which He is God, but in heaven by that which He is man.

CAPUT IV.

11. Quanquam et in eo ipso quod dicitur Deus ubique diffusus, carnali resistendum est cogitationi, et mens a corporis sensibus avocanda, ne quasi spatiosa magnitudine opinemur Deum per cuncta diffundi, sicut humus, aut humor, aut aer, aut lux ista diffunditur (omnis enim hujuscemodi magnitudo minor est in sui parte quam in toto); sed ita potius sicuti est magna sapientia, etiam in homine cujus corpus est parvum. Et si duo sunt sapientes, quorum sit alter corpore grandior, neuter sapientior, non est illa in majore major, minor in minore, aut minor in uno quam in duobus; sed tanta in hoc quanta in illo, et tanta in unoquoque quanta in utroque: neque enim si aequaliter sunt omnino sapientes, plus sapiunt ambo quam singuli; quemadmodum si aequaliter sint immortales, non plus vivunt ambo quam singuli.

12. Ipsa denique immortalitas corporis, quae in Christi carne praecessit, nobisque in fine futura promittitur, cum magna sit res, non est profecto mole magna; sed licet corporaliter habeatur, incorporea quaedam excellentia est. Nam cum ipsum immortale corpus minus sit in parte quam in toto, immortalitas ejus tam plena est in parte quam in toto; et cum sint aliis alia majora, non tamen aliis alia immortaliora sunt membra. Sicut nunc quando ex omni parte sani sumus secundum modum praesentis in corpore sanitatis, non quia major est manus tota quam digitus, ideo manus totius sanitatem majorem dicimus esse quam digiti; sed in illis inaequalibus aequalis est ipsa, quando ita breviora grandioribus comparantur, ut quod tam magnum esse non potest quam est aliud, possit tamen esse tam sanum. Esset autem major sanitas in majoribus membris, si essent majora saniora: cum vero non est ita, sed majora atque minora tam sana sunt, dispar est profecto in membrorum molibus quantitas, sed par est in disparibus sanitas.

13. Cum ergo sit corpus aliqua substantia, quantitas ejus est in magnitudine molis ejus; sanitas vero ejus non quantitas, sed qualitas ejus est. Non ergo potuit obtinere quantitas corporis, quod potuit qualitas. Nam ita distantibus partibus, quae simul esse non possunt, quoniam sua quaeque spatia locorum tenent, minores minora, et majora majores, non potuit esse in singulis quibusque partibus tota vel tanta; sed amplior est quantitas in amplioribus partibus, brevior in brevioribus, et in nulla parte tanta quanta per totum: qualitas vero corporis, quae sanitas dicitur, cum sanum corpus est totum, tanta est in majoribus, quanta in minoribus partibus; non enim quae minus magnae sunt, ideo minus sanae sunt, aut quae ampliores ideo saniores. Absit ergo ut quod potest in corpore qualitas creati corporis, non possit in seipsa substantia Creatoris.

CHAPTER IV.

11. Although in that itself which is said that God is diffused everywhere, carnal thought must be resisted, and the mind (mens) must be called away from the senses of the body, lest as if by a spacious magnitude we should think God to be diffused through all things, just as the ground, or liquid, or air, or this light is diffused (for every magnitude of this kind is smaller in its part than in the whole); but rather thus as great wisdom is, even in a man whose body is small. And if there are two wise men, one of whom is larger in body, neither is wiser, that wisdom is not larger in the larger, smaller in the smaller, or smaller in one than in the two; but it is as much in this one as in that one, and as much in each as in both: for nor if they are altogether equally wise, do both know more than each individually; just as if they are equally immortal, both do not live more than each individually.

12. Finally, that immortality of the body itself, which preceded in the flesh of Christ, and is promised to be future to us in the end, although it is a great thing, is surely not great by mass (moles); but although it is possessed corporally, it is a certain incorporeal excellence. For since the immortal body itself is smaller in part than in the whole, its immortality is as full in part as in the whole; and although some members are larger than others, yet some members are not more immortal than others. Just as now when we are healthy in every part according to the mode of present health in the body, it is not because the whole hand is larger than the finger, that therefore we say the health of the whole hand is greater than that of the finger; but it is equal in those unequal parts, when thus shorter parts are compared to larger ones, so that what cannot be as large as the other is, can yet be as healthy. But health would be greater in larger members, if the larger were healthier: but since it is not so, but larger and smaller are equally healthy, the quantity is surely disparate in the masses of the members, but the health is equal in the disparate parts.

13. Since therefore the body is some substance, its quantity is in the magnitude of its mass (moles); but its health is not its quantity, but its quality. Therefore quantity of the body could not obtain what quality could. For parts being thus distant, which cannot be together at the same time, since each holds its own spaces of places, smaller parts holding smaller spaces, and larger ones larger, it could not be whole or as great in each individual part; but quantity is larger in larger parts, shorter in shorter parts, and in no part as great as through the whole: but the quality of the body, which is called health, when the whole body is healthy, is as great in the larger as in the smaller parts; for those which are less large are not therefore less healthy, or those which are larger therefore healthier. Far be it therefore that what quality of a created body can do in a body, the substance of the Creator cannot do in itself.

14. Est ergo Deus per cuncta diffusus. Ipse quippe ait per prophetam, Coelum et terram ego impleo (Jer. XXIII, 24); et quod paulo ante posui de sapientia ejus, Attingit a fine usque ad finem fortiter, et disponat omnia suaviter (Sap. VIII, 1); itemque scriptum est, Spiritus Domini replevit orbem terrarum (Id. I, 7); eique dicitur in quodam psalmo, Quo abibo a spiritu tuo, et a facie tua quo fugiam? Si ascendero in coelum, tu ibi es; si descendero ad infernum, ades (Psal. CXXXVIII, 7). Sed sic est Deus per cuncta diffusus, ut non sit qualitas mundi; sed substantia creatrix mundi, sine labore regens, et sine onere continens mundum. Non tamen per spatia locorum, quasi mole diffusa, ita ut in dimidio mundi corpore sit dimidius, et in alio dimidio dimidius, atque ita per totum totus; sed in solo coelo totus, et in sola terra totus, et in coelo et in terra totus, et nullo contentus loco, sed in seipso ubique totus.

15. Ita Pater, ita Filius, ita Spiritus sanctus, ita Trinitas unus Deus. Neque enim mundum inter se in tres partes diviserunt, quas singulas singuli implerent, quasi non haberet ubi esset Filius aut Spiritus sanctus in mundo, si totum occupasset Pater. Non ita se habet vera incorporea immutabilisque divinitas. Non enim corpora sunt, quorum amplior sit in tribus quam in singulis magnitudo; nec loca suis molibus tenent, ut distantibus spatiis simul esse non possint. Si enim anima in corpore constituta, non solum nullas angustias, verum etiam quamdam latitudinem invenit, non corporalium locorum, sed spiritualium gaudiorum cum fit quod ait Apostolus, Nescitis quoniam corpora vestra templum in vobis Spiritus sancti est, quem habetis a Deo (I Cor. VI, 19); nec dici nisi stultissime potest, non habere locum in nostro corpore Spiritum sanctum, quod totum nostra anima impleverit: quanto stultius dicitur ullis angustiis impediri alicubi Trinitatem, ut Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus ubique simul esse non possint!

CAPUT V.

16. Verum illud est multo mirabilius, quod cum Deus ubique sit totus, non tamen in omnibus habitat. Non enim omnibus dici potest quod ait Apostolus, vel quod jam dixi, vel etiam illud: Nescitis quia templum Dei estis, et Spiritus Dei habitat in vobis (Id. III, 16)? Unde et e contrario de quibusdam dicit: Quisquis autem Spiritum Christi non habet, hic non est ejus (Rom. VIII, 9).

14. God is therefore diffused through all things. For He Himself says through the prophet, "I fill heaven and earth" (Jeremiah 23:24); and what I placed a little before concerning His wisdom, "She reaches from end to end mightily, and disposes all things sweetly" (Wisdom 8:1); and likewise it is written, "The Spirit of the Lord has filled the whole world" (Wisdom 1:7); and to Him it is said in a certain psalm, "Where shall I go from Your spirit, and from Your face where shall I flee? If I ascend into heaven, You are there; if I descend to hell (infernum), You are present" (Psalm 138:7). But God is thus diffused through all things, that He is not the quality of the world; but the creative substance of the world, ruling without labor, and containing the world without burden. Yet not through spaces of places, as if diffused by mass, so that in half the body of the world He would be half, and in the other half half, and thus whole through the whole; but He is whole in heaven alone, and whole in earth alone, and whole in both heaven and earth, and contained by no place, but whole everywhere in Himself.

15. Thus the Father, thus the Son, thus the Holy Spirit, thus the Trinity is one God. For they did not divide the world among themselves into three parts, which each individually would fill, as if the Son or the Holy Spirit would not have where to be in the world if the Father had occupied the whole. The true incorporeal and immutable divinity is not so. For they are not bodies, whose magnitude would be larger in the three than in each individually; nor do they hold places with their masses (moles), so that they could not be together at the same time in distant spaces. For if the soul constituted in the body finds not only no narrowness, but even a certain latitude, not of corporal places, but of spiritual joys when that which the Apostle says happens, "Do you not know that your bodies are the temple of the Holy Spirit in you, whom you have from God?" (1 Corinthians 6:19); nor can it be said except most foolishly, that the Holy Spirit does not have a place in our body because our soul has filled the whole: how much more foolishly is it said that the Trinity is impeded by any narrowness anywhere, so that Father and Son and Holy Spirit cannot be everywhere at the same time!

CHAPTER V.

16. But that is much more wonderful, that although God is whole everywhere, He does not however inhabit in all. For it cannot be said to all what the Apostle says, either what I have already said, or even that: "Do you not know that you are the temple of God, and the Spirit of God dwells in you?" (1 Corinthians 3:16)? Whence also on the contrary concerning some he says: "But whoever does not have the Spirit of Christ, this one is not His" (Romans 8:9).

Quis porro audeat opinari, nisi quisquis inseparabilitatem penitus Trinitatis ignorat, quod in aliquo habitare possit Pater aut Filius, in quo non habitet Spiritus sanctus, aut in aliquo Spiritus sanctus in quo non et Pater et Filius? Unde fatendum est ubique esse Deum per divinitatis praesentiam, sed non ubique per habitationis gratiam. Propter hanc enim habitationem, ubi procul dubio gratia dilectionis ejus agnoscitur, non dicimus, Pater noster qui es ubique, cum et hoc verum sit, sed, Pater noster qui es in coelis (Matth. VI, 9); ut templum ejus potius in oratione commemoremus, quod et nos ipsi esse debemus, et in quantum sumus, in tantum ad ejus societatem et adoptionis familiam pertinemus. Si enim populus Dei nondum factus aequalis Angelis ejus adhuc in ista peregrinatione dicitur templum ejus, quanto magis est templum ejus in coelis, ubi est populus Angelorum, quibus aggregandi et coaequandi sumus, cum, finita peregrinatione, quod promissum est sumpserimus!

17. Cum igitur qui ubique est, non in omnibus habitet; etiam in quibus habitat, non aequaliter habitat. Nam unde est illud quod Elisaeus poposcit, ut dupliciter in eo fieret Spiritus Dei qui erat in Elia (IV Reg. II, 9)? et unde in omnibus sanctis sunt alii aliis sanctiores, nisi abundantius habendo habitatorem Deum? Quomodo ergo verum supra diximus, quod Deus ubique sit totus, quando in aliis est amplius, in aliis minus? Sed non est negligenter intuendum quod diximus, in seipso esse ubique totum. Non ergo in eis quia alii plus eum capiunt, alii minus. Ideo enim ubique esse dicitur, quia nulli parti rerum absens est, ideo totus, quia non parti rerum partem suam praesentem praebet, et alteri parti alteram partem, aequales aequalibus, minori vero minorem, majorique majorem; sed non solum universitati creaturae, verum etiam cuilibet parti ejus totus pariter adest. Hique ab eo longe esse dicuntur, qui peccando dissimillimi facti sunt; et hi ei propinquare, qui ejus similitudinem pie vivendo recipiunt. Sicut recte dicuntur oculi tanto esse ab hac luce longius, quanto fuerint caeciores. Quid enim tam longe est a luce quam caecitas, etiamsi lux praesto sit, atque oculos perfundat exstinctos? Propinquare autem luci merito perhibentur oculi, qui sanitatis accessu aciem recipiendo proficiunt.

CAPUT VI.

Who furthermore would dare to opine, unless whoever is completely ignorant of the inseparability of the Trinity, that the Father or the Son could dwell in someone in whom the Holy Spirit does not dwell, or in someone the Holy Spirit in whom not also both the Father and the Son? Whence it must be confessed that God is everywhere through the presence of divinity, but not everywhere through the grace of habitation. For because of this habitation, where without doubt the grace of His love (charity) is recognized, we do not say, "Our Father who art everywhere," although this also is true, but, "Our Father who art in heaven" (Matthew 6:9); so that we may rather commemorate His temple in prayer, which we ourselves also ought to be, and in as much as we are, in so much we pertain to His society and the family of adoption. For if the people of God, not yet made equal to His angels, is still said to be His temple in this pilgrimage, how much more is His temple in the heavens, where the people of angels is, to whom we are to be aggregated and co-equated, when, the pilgrimage being finished, we have received what was promised!

17. Since therefore He who is everywhere does not inhabit in all; even in those in whom He inhabits, He does not inhabit equally. For whence is that which Elisha asked, that the Spirit of God who was in Elijah might be doubly in him (2 Kings 2:9)? and whence in all the saints are some holier than others, unless by having God as inhabitant more abundantly? How therefore did we say truly above, that God is whole everywhere, when He is more in some, less in others? But it is not to be negligently observed what we said, that He is whole everywhere in Himself. Not therefore in them because some receive Him more, others less. For therefore He is said to be everywhere, because He is absent to no part of things, therefore whole, because He does not offer His part present to a part of things, and another part to another part, equal parts to equal parts, but a smaller part to a smaller, and a larger to a larger; but not only to the universe of the creature, but even to any part of it He is present equally whole. And those are said to be far from Him, who by sinning have been made most unlike; and those to approach Him, who receive His likeness by living piously. Just as the eyes are rightly said to be so much further from this light, as they have been blinder. For what is so far from light as blindness, even if light be present, and flow over the extinguished eyes? But the eyes are deservedly held to approach the light, which profit by receiving sight through the approach of health.

CHAPTER VI.

18. Porro autem quod parum distincte putavimus posse intelligi cum diceremus Deum esse ubique totum, nisi adderemus, In seipso, video diligentius exponendum. Quomodo enim ubique, si in seipso? Ubique scilicet, quia nusquam est absens. In seipso autem, quia non continetur ab eis quibus est praesens, tanquam sine eis esse non possit. Nam spatia locorum tolle corporibus, nusquam erunt, et quia nusquam erunt, nec erunt. Tolle ipsa corpora qualitatibus corporum, non erit ubi sint, et ideo necesse est ut non sint. Etenim cum per totam suam molem corpus aequaliter sanum est, aut aequaliter candidum, non est in una quam in alia parte ejus sanitas major aut candor, nec major in toto quam in parte ejus; quia non sanius aut candidius totum constat esse quam partem. Si autem inaequaliter sit sanum aut inaequaliter candidum, fieri potest ut in minore parte sit sanitas major aut candor, cum minora quam majora saniora vel candidiora sunt membra; usque adeo non mole constat quod in qualitatibus magnum dicitur esse vel parvum. Verumtamen si moles ipsa corporis, quantacumque vel quantulacumque sit, penitus auferatur, qualitates ejus non erit ubi sint, quamvis non mole metiendae sint. At vero Deus non, si minus capitur ab illo cui praesens est, ideo ipse minor est. Totus enim in seipso est, nec in quibus est, ita est ut indigeat eis, tanquam non possit esse nisi in eis. Sicut autem nec ab illo abest, in quo non habitat, et totus adest, quamvis eum ille non habeat; ita et illi in quo habitat, totus est praesens, quamvis eum non ex toto capiat.

19. Neque enim ad habitandum dividit se per hominum corda seu corpora, aliam sui partem huic tribuens, illi aliam, sicut lux ista per aditus et per fenestras domorum: sed potius, si quemlibet sonum, cum corporea res sit ac transitoria, surdus non capit, surdaster non totum capit, atque in his qui audiunt cum pariter ei propinquant, tanto magis alius alio capit, quanto est acutioris, tanto autem minus, quanto est obtusioris auditus, cum ille non varie magis minusve insonet, sed in eo loco in quo sunt, omnibus aequaliter praesto sit; quanto excellentius Deus natura incorporea et immutabiliter viva, qui non sicut sonus per moras temporum tendi et dividi potest, nec spatio aerio tanquam loco suo indiget, ubi praesentibus praesto sit, sed aeterna stabilitate in seipso manens, totus adesse rebus omnibus potest, et singulis totus, quamvis in quibus habitat, habeant eum pro suae capacitatis diversitate, alii amplius, alii minus, quos ipse sibi dilectissimum templum gratia suae bonitatis aedifificat!

18. Furthermore, that which we thought could be understood with little distinction when we were saying God is whole everywhere, unless we added, "In Himself," I see is to be more diligently expounded. For how is He everywhere, if in Himself? Everywhere surely, because He is nowhere absent. But in Himself, because He is not contained by those to whom He is present, as if He could not be without them. For take away spaces of places from bodies, they will be nowhere, and because they will be nowhere, nor will they be. Take away the bodies themselves from the qualities of bodies, there will not be where they are, and therefore it is necessary that they be not. For when a body is equally healthy through its whole mass (moles), or equally white, its health or whiteness is not greater in one part than in another, nor greater in the whole than in its part; because the whole is not established to be healthier or whiter than the part. But if it be unequally healthy or unequally white, it can happen that in a smaller part the health or whiteness is greater, when smaller members are healthier or whiter than larger ones; to such an extent what is said to be great or small in qualities is not established by mass. Nevertheless, if the mass of the body itself, however great or however small it may be, be completely taken away, there will not be where its qualities are, although they are not to be measured by mass. But indeed God is not, if He is received less by him to whom He is present, therefore Himself smaller. For He is whole in Himself, nor is He in those in whom He is, in such a way that He needs them, as if He could not be except in them. But just as He is not absent from him in whom He does not dwell, and is present whole, although that one does not have Him; so also He is present whole to him in whom He dwells, although that one does not receive Him from the whole.

19. For nor for inhabiting does He divide Himself through the hearts or bodies of men, attributing one part of Himself to this one, another to that one, like this light through the entrances and through the windows of houses: but rather, if a deaf man does not receive any sound, although it be a corporal and transitory thing, a hard-of-hearing man does not receive the whole, and in those who hear when they approach it equally, one receives it so much more than another, as he is of sharper hearing, and so much less, as he is of more obtuse hearing, although that sound does not sound more or less variously, but in that place in which they are, is present equally to all; how much more excellently God, of an incorporeal and immutably living nature, who cannot like sound be stretched and divided through delays of times, nor needs aerial space as His place, where He may be present to those present, but remaining in Himself with eternal stability, can be present whole to all things, and whole to individual things, although those in whom He dwells have Him for the diversity of their capacity, some more, others less, whom He Himself builds for Himself as a most beloved temple by the grace of His goodness!

20. Et donationum quidem dictae sunt divisiones tanquam per partes et membra unius corporis, ubi et simul omnes unum templum, et singuli singula templa sumus; quia non est Deus in omnibus quam in singulis major: et fit plerumque ut plures eum minus capiant, unus amplius. Sed cum dixisset Apostolus, Divisiones autem donationum sunt; continuo subjecit, Idem autem Spiritus: item cum ipsas donationum divisiones commemorasset; Omnia autem haec, inquit, operatur unus atque idem Spiritus, dividens propria unicuique prout vult (I Cor. XII, 4, 11). Dividens ergo, non ipse divisus, quia ipse unus atque idem. Illae vero divisiones dictae sunt, sicut membrorum in corpore; quia non idem valent aures quod oculi, atque ita membra caetera diversis officiis concorditer distributa: quae tamen cum sani sumus, una, neque diversa, nec alibi majore, alibi minore, sed cum sint ipsa disparia, communi et parili salute congaudent. Hujus corporis caput est Christus, hujus corporis unitas nostro sacrificio commendatur: quod breviter significavit Apostolus, dicens, Unus panis, unum corpus multi sumus (I Cor. X, 17). Per caput nostrum reconciliamur Deo, quia in illo est divinitas Unigeniti facta particeps mortalitatis nostrae, ut et nos participes ejus immortalitatis essemus.

21. Hoc sacramentum longe est a cordibus sapientium superborum, et ideo non christianorum, ac per hoc nec vere sapientium. Illorum etiam dico sapientium qui cognoverunt Deum; quia cognoscentes Deum, sicut dicit Apostolus, non sicut Deum glorificaverunt, aut gratias egerunt (Rom. I, 21). Nosti autem in quo sacrificio dicatur, Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro. A cujus sacrificii humilitate longe abest typhus, et cothurnus illorum. Et ideo multum mirabilis res est quemadmodum quorumdam nondum cognoscentium Deum sit inhabitator Deus, et quorumdam cognoscentium non sit. Nec illi enim ad templum Dei pertinent, qui cognoscentes Deum, non sicut Deum glorificaverunt, aut gratias egerunt; et ad templum Dei pertinent parvuli sanctificati Sacramento Christi, regenerati Spiritu sancto, qui certe per aetatem nondum possunt cognoscere Deum: unde quem potuerunt illi nosse nec habere, isti potuerunt habere antequam nosse. Beatissimi autem sunt, quibus hoc est Deum habere quod nosse: ipsa quippe notitia plenissima, verissima, felicissima est.

CAPUT VII.

20. And indeed divisions of gifts have been spoken of as if through parts and members of one body, where we all together are one temple, and individually are individual temples; because God is not larger in all than in individuals: and it happens frequently that many receive Him less, one more. But when the Apostle had said, "There are divisions of gifts;" immediately he added, "But the same Spirit:" likewise when he had commemorated those divisions of gifts; "All these things," he said, "one and the same Spirit works, dividing to each one's own as He wills" (1 Corinthians 12:4, 11). Dividing therefore, not Himself divided, because He is one and the same. But those divisions were spoken of, as of members in a body; because ears do not have the same value as eyes, and thus the other members are concordantly distributed with diverse offices: which yet when we are healthy, being one, and not diverse, nor larger elsewhere, smaller elsewhere, but although they themselves are disparate, they rejoice together in a common and equal health. The head of this body is Christ, the unity of this body is commended by our sacrifice: which the Apostle briefly signified, saying, "One bread, one body we many are" (1 Corinthians 10:17). Through our head we are reconciled to God, because in Him the divinity of the Only-begotten (Unigenitus) was made a participant of our mortality, so that we also might be participants of His immortality.

21. This sacrament is far from the hearts of the proud wise men, and therefore not Christians, and for this reason not truly wise. I speak even of those wise men who knew God; "for knowing God," as the Apostle says, "they did not glorify Him as God, or give thanks" (Romans 1:21). You know, moreover, in which sacrifice it is said, "Let us give thanks to the Lord our God." From the humility of this sacrifice, their pride (typhus) and haughtiness (cothurnus) are far removed. And therefore it is a very wonderful thing how God is an inhabitant of some who do not yet know God, and is not of some who do know Him. For neither do those belong to the temple of God, who knowing God, did not glorify Him as God, or give thanks; and to the temple of God belong the infants (parvuli) sanctified by the Sacrament of Christ, regenerated by the Holy Spirit, who certainly because of their age cannot yet know God: whence Him whom those were able to know and not have, these were able to have before they knew Him. But most blessed are they, for whom to have God is the same as to know Him: for that knowledge is most full, most true, and most happy.

CHAPTER VII.

22. Hinc jam oportet etiam illam quam post epistolae tuae subscriptionem addidisti, pertractare quaestionem: Si adhuc ignorant parvuli Deum, quomodo Joannes etiam antequam nasceretur, ad adventum et praesentiam matris Domini, in suae matris utero potuit exsultare. Cum enim commemorasses te legisse librum meum de Baptismo Parvulorum, addidisti et aisti: De praegnantibus quid sentias opto cognoscere, cum credulitatis fidem pro puero mater Joannis Baptistae responderit.

23. Haec sunt certe verba Elizabeth matris Joannis: Beata tu inter mulieres, et beatus fructus ventris tui: Et unde hoc mihi, ut veniat mater Domini mei ad me? Ecce enim ut facta est vox salutationis tuae in auribus meis, exsultavit in gaudio infans in utero meo (Luc. I, 42-44). Hoc autem ut diceret, sicut Evangelista praelocutus est, repleta est Spiritu sancto, quo procul dubio revelante cognovit quid illa exsultatio significaret infantis; id est, illius venisse matrem, cujus praecursor ipse et demonstrator esset futurus. Potuit ergo esse ista significatio rei tantae a majoribus cognoscendae, non a parvulo cognitae. Nam neque, cum hoc ante in Evangelio narraretur, dictum est, Credidit infans in utero ejus; sed, exsultavit: neque ipsa dixit, Exsultavit in fide infans in utero meo; sed, exsultavit in gaudio. Videmus autem exsultationem non solum parvulorum, sed etiam pecorum, non utique de aliqua fide, vel religione, vel qualicumque rationaii cognitione venientem. Sed haec plane inusitata et nova exstitit, quia in utero, et ad ejus adventum quae hominum Salvatorem fuerat paritura. Ideo mira, ideo in magnis signis deputanda: ideo haec exsultatio, et tanquam matri Domini reddita resalutatio, sicut solent miracula fieri, facta est divinitus in infante, non humanitus ab infante.

24. Quanquam etiamsi usque adeo est in illo puero acceleratus usus rationis et voluntatis, ut intra viscera materna jam posset agnoscere, credere, consentire, quod in aliis parvulis aetas exspectatur ut possint; etiam hoc in miraculis habendum divinae potentiae, non ad humanae trahendum est exemplar naturae. Nam quando Deus voluit, etiam jumentum mutum rationabiliter est locutum (Num. XXII, 28): nec ideo sunt admoniti homines in deliberationibus suis etiam asinina exspectare consilia. Quocirca nec quod factum est in Joanne contemno, nec inde regulam quid sentiendum sit de parvulis figo: imo id in illo propterea mirabiliter praedico, quia in aliis non invenio. Habet quidem aliquid simile etiam illa in Rebeccae utero lucta geminorum; verum et hoc usque adeo prodigium fuit, ut divinum propterea mulier oraculum quaereret, et audiret duobus illis infantulis duos populos fuisse figuratos (Gen. XXV, 22, 23).

22. From this it is now also necessary to treat that question which you added after the subscription of your letter: "If infants are still ignorant of God, how could John, even before he was born, at the arrival and presence of the mother of the Lord, leap for joy in his mother's womb?" For when you had commemorated that you had read my book on the Baptism of Infants (de Baptismo Parvulorum), you added and said: "I desire to know what you think about those who are pregnant, since the mother of John the Baptist answered for the boy with the faith of belief."

23. These are certainly the words of Elizabeth, the mother of John: "Blessed are you among women, and blessed is the fruit of your womb: And whence is this to me, that the mother of my Lord should come to me?" For behold, as the voice of your salutation was made in my ears, the infant in my womb leaped for joy" (Luke 1:42-44). But that she should say this, as the Evangelist spoke before, she was filled with the Holy Spirit, by whose revelation without doubt she knew what that leaping of the infant signified; that is, that the mother of Him had come, whose precursor and demonstrator he himself was to be. Therefore, this could have been a signification of so great a thing to be known by the elders, not known by the infant. For neither, when this was narrated before in the Gospel, was it said, "The infant in her womb believed"; but, "he leaped for joy": nor did she herself say, "The infant in my womb leaped for joy in faith"; but, "he leaped for joy in gladness." But we see leaping for joy not only of infants, but even of cattle, certainly not coming from any faith, or religion, or any rational cognition. But this clearly stood out as unusual and new, because it was in the womb, and at the arrival of her who was about to give birth to the Savior of men. Therefore wonderful, therefore to be reckoned among great signs: therefore this leaping for joy, and the re-salutation rendered as it were to the mother of the Lord, as miracles are accustomed to happen, was done divinely in the infant, not humanly by the infant.

24. Although even if the use of reason and will was so far accelerated in that boy, that within the maternal bowels he could already acknowledge, believe, and consent, which in other infants age is expected so that they may be able; even this is to be held among the miracles of divine power, not to be drawn as an exemplar for human nature. For when God willed, even a mute beast of burden spoke rationally (Numbers 22:28): nor for that reason are men admonished in their deliberations to expect even asinine counsels. Wherefore I neither despise what was done in John, nor do I fix from there a rule for what is to be thought of infants: on the contrary, I preach it as wonderful in him for this reason, because I do not find it in others. Even that struggle of the twins in Rebecca's womb has something similar; but even this was so much a prodigy (prodigium), that for that reason the woman sought a divine oracle, and heard that two peoples were figured in those two little infants (Genesis 25:22, 23).

25. Nescire autem divina parvulos qui nec humana adhuc noverint, si verbis velimus ostendere, vereor ne ipsis sensibus nostris facere videamur injuriam, quando id loquendo suademus, ubi omnes vires officiumque sermonis facillime superat evidentia veritatis. Annon videmus etiam cum articulatae vocis qualiacumque signa edere coeperint, atque ad initium fandi transire ab infantia, adhuc eos talia sentire ac dicere, in quibus si remansissent, annisque accedentibus tales esse persisterent, nullus eos, vel fatuus nimium, fatuos esse dubitaret? Nisi forte id restat, ut in vagitu infantiae, vel in ipso adhuc uteri silentio credamus parvulos fuisse sapientes, postea vero quam nobiscum coeperunt loqui, ad hanc ignorantiam quam videmus, crescendo venisse. Quod opinari vides quam sit absurdum, cum puerorum sensus in qualiacumque verba prorumpens, qui certe ad ea quae majores sapiunt pene nullus est, tamen comparatus illi in quo nascuntur, intelligentia dici potest. Unde autem in ipso tanto salutis praesidio, quando eis christiana gratia subvenitur, quod vocibus quibus possunt et motibus reluctantur, non eis imputatur, atque omnis renisus ipsorum nihili penditur, donec in eis Sacramenta peragantur, quibus id quod de originali damnatione tractum est expietur, nisi quia in tantum nesciunt quid faciunt, ut nec facere judicentur? Porro si jam uterentur rationis et voluntatis arbitrio, quo illi sanctificationi adhiberi deberet assensus, quantum mali esset resistere tantae gratiae, quamque non solum nihil prodesset quod fieret, verum etiam inde reatus accresceret, quis christianus ignoret?

CAPUT VIII.

26. Dicimus ergo in baptizatis parvulis. quamvis id nesciant, habitare Spiritum sanctum. Sic enim eum nesciunt quamvis sit in eis, quemadmodum nesciunt et mentem suam; cujus in eis ratio, qua uti nondum possunt, velut quaedam scintilla sopita est, excitanda aetatis accessu. Neque hoc in parvulis mirum debet videri, cum Apostolus quibusdam etiam majoribus dicat, Nescitis quia templum Dei estis, et Spiritus Dei habitat in vobis (I Cor. III, 16)? de qualibus paulo ante dixerat, Animalis autem homo non percipit quae sunt Spiritus Dei; quos etiam parvulos vocat, non carnis aetate sed mentis (Id. II, 14, et III, 1, 2). Non itaque percipiebant cognitione Spiritum sanctum qui habitabat in eis; et habitante in se Spiritu sancto, adhuc animales, nondum spirituales erant, quia nondum poterant habitatorem suum Spiritum cognitione percipere.

25. But that infants, who do not yet know even human things, are ignorant of divine things—if we should wish to show this with words, I fear lest we seem to do injury to our very senses, when we urge this by speaking, where the evidence of truth very easily overcomes all the powers and duty of speech. Do we not see, even when they have begun to give some signs of an articulated voice, and to pass from infancy to the beginning of speaking, that they still feel and say such things, in which if they had remained, and as years were added they persisted in being such, no one, even one too foolish himself, would doubt that they were fools? Unless perhaps it remains that we should believe that infants were wise in the crying of infancy, or even in the silence of the womb itself, but truly after they began to speak with us, they came to this ignorance which we see by growing. You see how absurd it is to opine this, since the sense of boys breaking forth into any kind of words, which is certainly almost nothing compared to those things which elders know, nevertheless compared to that in which they are born, can be called intelligence. But why in that so great safeguard of salvation, when Christian grace comes to their aid, is it that they struggle with the voices and movements they can, yet it is not imputed to them, and all their resistance is weighed as nothing, until the Sacraments are performed in them, by which that which is drawn from original damnation may be expiated, unless because they so far do not know what they do, that they are not even judged to do it? Furthermore, if they already used the judgment of reason and will, by which assent ought to be applied to that sanctification, how much evil it would be to resist so great a grace, and how not only would what was done profit nothing, but truly even guilt (reatus) would increase therefrom—what Christian would be ignorant of this?

CHAPTER VIII.

26. We say, therefore, that in baptized infants, although they do not know it, the Holy Spirit dwells. For they are ignorant of Him although He is in them, just as they are ignorant of their own mind; the reason in them, which they cannot yet use, is like a certain dormant spark (scintilla sopita), to be excited by the approach of age. Nor ought this to seem wonderful in infants, since the Apostle says even to some who were older, "Do you not know that you are the temple of God, and the Spirit of God dwells in you?" (1 Corinthians 3:16); concerning such as he had said a little before, "The animal man does not perceive those things which are of the Spirit of God"; whom he also calls infants, not in age of the flesh but of the mind (1 Corinthians 2:14, and 3:1, 2). Therefore they did not perceive by knowledge the Holy Spirit who was dwelling in them; and with the Holy Spirit dwelling in them, they were still animal, not yet spiritual, because they could not yet perceive their inhabitant, the Spirit, by knowledge.

27. Habitare autem ideo et in talibus dicitur, quia in eis occulte agit, ut sint templum ejus; idque in proficientibus et proficiendo perseverantibus perficit. Spe enim salvi facti sumus, sicut Apostolus dicit; cum alio loco dicat, Salvos nos fecit per lavacrum regenerationis (Tit. III, 5). Cum ergo hic dicat, Salvos nos fecit, tanquam salus ipsa jam data sit, quemadmodum intelligendum sit, illic exponit, ubi ait: Spe enim salvi facti sumus. Spes autem quae videtur, non est spes; quod enim videt quis, quid sperat? Si autem quod non videmus speramus, per patientiam exspectamus (Rom. VIII, 24, 25). Multa namque dicuntur in Scripturis tanquam facta sint, cum in spe adhuc esse intelligantur. Unde est et illud quod Dominus discipulis ait, Omnia quae audivi a Patre meo nota feci vobis (Joan. XV, 15): quod usque adeo secundum spem dictum est futurorum, ut eis postmodum dicat, Multa habeo vobis dicere, sed non potestis portare modo (Id. XVI, 12). Agit ergo in quibus mortalibus adhuc habitat, ipsam aedificationem habitaculi sui, quam non in ista, sed in alia post hanc vitam perficit, quando absorbebitur mors in victoriam diceturque illi: Ubi est, mors, victorya tua? ubi est, mors, aculeus tuus? Quid est autem mortis aculeus, nisi peccatum (I Cor. XV, 54-56)?

28. Propter quod nunc etiam renati ex aqua et Spiritu, omnibusque peccatis sive originis ex Adam, in quo omnes peccaverunt, sive factorum, dictorum, cogitationumque nostrarum, in illius lavacri mundatione deletis; tamen quia manemus in hac vita humana quae tentatio est super terram, merito dicimus: Dimitte nobis debita nostra (Matth. VI, 12). Et hanc orationem dicit universa Ecclesia, quam mundat Salvator lavacro aquae in verbo, ut eam sibi exhibeat gloriosam, non habentem maculam, aut rugam (Eph. V, 26, 27), aut aliquid ejusmodi; tunc utique cum perficietur in re, ubi nunc proficiendo ambulatur in spe. Nam quomodo est nunc non habens maculam, aut rugam, aut aliquid ejusmodi, quae vel in omnibus ad eam pertinentibus hominibus qui jam ratione mentis utuntur et voluntatis arbitrio, mortalisque carnis sarcinam portant, vel certe, quod etiam ipsos contentiosos necesse est fateri, in multis suis membris veraciter dicit: Dimitte nobis debita nostra?

27. But He is said to inhabit even such for this reason, because He works secretly in them, that they may be His temple; and He perfects this in those who make progress and persevere in making progress. "For in hope we are made saved," as the Apostle says; although in another place he says, "He made us saved through the washing of regeneration" (Titus 3:5). Since therefore he says here, "He made us saved," as if salvation itself were already given, how it is to be understood he expounds there, where he says: "For in hope we are made saved. But hope which is seen is not hope; for what someone sees, why does he hope for? But if we hope for what we do not see, we wait through patience" (Romans 8:24, 25). For many things are said in the Scriptures as if they had been done, when they are understood to be still in hope. Whence is also that which the Lord said to the disciples, "All things which I have heard from my Father I have made known to you" (John 15:15): which was said so far according to the hope of future things, that he says to them afterwards, "I have many things to say to you, but you cannot bear them now" (John 16:12). He works, therefore, in those mortals in whom He still dwells, the very building of His habitation, which He perfects not in this life, but in another after this life, when death shall be swallowed up in victory and it shall be said to it: "Where is, O death, your victory? where is, O death, your sting? But what is the sting of death, except sin?" (1 Corinthians 15:54-56).

28. Because of which even now, regenerated from water and the Spirit, and with all sins—whether of origin from Adam, in whom all have sinned, or of our deeds, words, and thoughts—deleted in the cleansing of that washing; nevertheless because we remain in this human life which is a temptation upon the earth, we rightly say: "Forgive us our debts" (Matthew 6:12). And this prayer the universal Church says, which the Savior cleanses by the washing of water in the word, that He may exhibit it to Himself glorious, not having spot, or wrinkle (Eph. 5:26, 27), or anything of that kind; then certainly when it shall be perfected in reality (in re), where now one walks in progress in hope. For how is she now not having spot, or wrinkle, or anything of that kind, who either in all men belonging to her who already use the reason of the mind and the judgment of the will, and carry the burden (sarcina) of mortal flesh, or certainly, as even the contentious must confess, truly says in many of her members: "Forgive us our debts"?

29. Cum itaque proficientes, in quibus mortalibus habitat, dum de die in diem renovantur, magis magisque justificet, exaudiat orantes, mundet confitentes, ut exhibeat sibi templum immaculatum in aeternum; merito dicitur non habitare in eis qui cognoscentes Deum, non sicut Deum glorificaverunt, vel gratias egerunt. Colendo enim et serviendo creaturae potius quam Creatori (Rom. I, 21, 25), non unius veri Dei templum se esse voluerunt: atque ita dum volunt eum habere cum multis, facilius effecerunt ut eum non haberent, quam ut diis multis falsisve miscerent. Et merito dicitur habitare in eis quos secundum propositum vocatos, justificandos glorificandosque suscepit, etiam antequam incorpoream, quae ubique tota est, valeant ejus nosse naturam, quantum nosci ex parte per speculum et in aenigmate ab homine in hac vita (I Cor. XIII, 12), cum plurimum profecerit, potest. Sunt enim, in quibus habitat, multi tales qualibus dicit Apostolus: Non potui vobis loqui quasi spiritualibus, sed quasi carnalibus. Tanquam parvulis in Christo, lac vobis potum dedi, non escam: nondum enim poteratis; sed nec adhuc quidem potestis (Id. III, 1, 2). His quippe etiam illud dicit: Nescitis quia templum Dei estis, et Spiritus Dei habitat in vobis (Id. VI, 19)? Hos tales si etiam antequam perveniant ad spiritualem mentis aetatem, ubi non lacte alantur, sed solido cibo, dies vitae hujus extremus invenerit; perficiet in eis habitator illorum quidquid hic intelligentiae minus habuerunt, quoniam ab unitate corporis Christi qui nobis via factus est, et a templi Dei societate non recesserunt. Unde ut non recedant, regulam fidei pusillis magnisque communem in Ecclesia perseveranter tenent, et in quod pervenerunt in eo ambulant, donec eis Deus revelet, si quid aliter sapiunt, cogitationes suas carnales non dogmatizant; quia non obdurant contentiosis defensionibus immanendo, sed quodammodo ambulando, id est proficiendo desudant, intelligentiae perspicuitatem impetrantes per fidei pietatem.

CAPUT IX.

30. Quae cum ita sint, duo ista quae in uno fiunt homine, nasci et renasci, ad duos homines pertinent: unum ad illum primum Adam, alterum ad secundum qui dicitur Christus. Sed non prius, ait Apostolus, quod spirituale est, sed quod animale; postea spirituale. Primus homo de terra, terrenus; secundus homo de coelo, coelestis: qualis terrenus, tales et terreni; et qualis coelestis, tales et coelestes. Sicut portavimus imaginem terreni, portemus et imaginem ejus qui de coelo est: item dicit, Per unum hominem mors, et per unum hominem resurrectio mortuorum.

29. When therefore He justifies more and more those making progress, in which mortals He dwells, while they are renewed from day to day, hears them praying, cleanses them confessing, so that He may exhibit to Himself an immaculate temple forever; He is rightly said not to dwell in those who, knowing God, did not glorify Him as God, or give thanks. For by worshiping and serving the creature rather than the Creator (Romans 1:21, 25), they did not wish themselves to be the temple of the one true God: and thus while they wish to have Him with many, they more easily brought it about that they should not have Him, than that they should mix Him with many or false gods. And He is rightly said to dwell in those whom, called according to His purpose, He undertook to justify and glorify, even before they are able to know His incorporeal nature, which is whole everywhere, as much as can be known in part through a mirror and in an enigma by a man in this life (1 Corinthians 13:12), when he has made very much progress. For there are, in whom He dwells, many such to whom the Apostle says: "I could not speak to you as to spiritual ones, but as to carnal ones. As to infants in Christ, I gave you milk to drink, not meat: for not yet were you able; but nor indeed are you able yet" (1 Corinthians 3:1, 2). For to these he even says this: "Do you not know that you are the temple of God, and the Spirit of God dwells in you?" (1 Corinthians 6:19). If the last day of this life should find such as these even before they arrive at a spiritual age of mind, where they are nourished not with milk but with solid food; their inhabitant will perfect in them whatever of intelligence they had less here, since they did not withdraw from the unity of the body of Christ who was made the way for us, and from the society of the temple of God. Whence that they may not withdraw, they perseveringly hold in the Church the rule of faith common to small and great, and in that which they have reached they walk in it, until God reveals to them if they feel anything otherwise, they do not dogmatize their carnal thoughts; because they do not harden themselves by remaining in contentious defenses, but in a certain way they labor (desudant) by walking, that is, by making progress, obtaining perspicuity of intelligence through the piety of faith.

CHAPTER IX.

30. Since these things are so, those two things which happen in one man, to be born and to be reborn, belong to two men: one to that first Adam, the other to the second who is called Christ. "But not first," says the Apostle, "that which is spiritual, but that which is animal; afterwards the spiritual. The first man from the earth, earthly; the second man from heaven, heavenly: as the earthly is, such also are the earthly; and as the heavenly is, such also are the heavenly. As we have carried the image of the earthly, let us carry also the image of him who is from heaven": likewise he says, "Through one man death, and through one man the resurrection of the dead.

Sicut enim in Adam omnes moriuntur, ita et in Christo omnes vivificabuntur (Id. XV, 46-49, 21, 22). Omnes, et omnes ideo dixit, quia in mortem nemo nisi per illum, in vitam nemo nisi per istum. In primo patuit quid hominis arbitrium valeret ad mortem; in secundo autem quid Dei adjutorium valeret ad vitam. Denique primus homo, nonnisi homo; secundus vero, Deus et homo: peccatum enim factum est relicto Deo; justitia non fit sine Deo. Ac per hoc nec moreremur nisi per carnalem propaginem de membris illius veniremus; nec viveremus nisi per spiritualem connexionem membra hujus essemus. Ideo nobis opus fuit nasci, et renasci, illi autem propter nos tantummodo nasci. Nos enim a peccato ad justitiam renascendo transimus; ille autem a nullo peccato ad justitiam transitum fecit: sed in eo quod baptizatus est, nostrae regenerationis Sacramentum, sua humilitate altius commendavit; veterem tamen hominem nostrum passione, novum autem resurrectione significans.

31. Inobedientia namque concupiscentiae quae habitat in carne mortali, qua fit ut eadem etiam membra praeter voluntatis moveantur arbitrium, ad eum modum redigitur justitia conjugali, ut licite copulatis parentibus generentur, quibus sit necessarium regenerari. Non tamen per hujusmodi convenientiam maris et feminae venire voluit carnem suam Christus; sed de virgine nihil tale in ejus conceptu concupiscente, similitudinem carnis peccati sumpsit ille pro nobis, qua caro peccati mundaretur in nobis (Rom. VIII, 3, 4). Sicut enim per unius delictum, ait Apostolus, in omnes homines ad condemnationem; ita per unius justificationem in omnes homines ad justificationem vitae (Id. V, 18). Nemo enim nascitur, nisi operante concupiscentia carnali, quae tracta est ex primo homine qui est Adam; et nemo renascitur, nisi operante gratia spirituali, quae data est per secundum hominem, qui est Christus. Quapropter si ad illum nascendo pertinemus, ad hunc renascendo, nec renasci quisquam potest antequam natus sit; profecto ille singulariter natus est, cui renasci non opus fuit; quia non ex peccato, in quo nunquam fuit, transitum fecit, neque in iniquitate conceptus est, aut eum in delictis mater ejus in utero aluit: quia Spiritus sanctus supervenit in eam, et virtus Altissimi obumbravit eam; unde quod natum est ex ea Sanctum, vocatur Filius Dei.

For as in Adam all die, so also in Christ all shall be made alive" (1 Corinthians 15:46-49, 21, 22). He said "all" and "all" for this reason, because into death no one enters except through that one, into life no one except through this one. In the first it was evident what the will of man was worth for death; but in the second, what the help of God was worth for life. Finally, the first man was nothing but man; but the second, God and man: for sin was committed by leaving God; justice is not made without God. And by this neither would we die unless we came through carnal propagation (propago) from his members; nor would we live unless we were members of this one through spiritual connection. Therefore it was necessary for us to be born and to be reborn, but for Him only to be born for our sake. For we pass from sin to justice by being reborn; but He made the transition to justice from no sin: but in that He was baptized, He more deeply commended the Sacrament of our regeneration by His humility; signifying, however, our old man by His passion, and the new by His resurrection.

31. For the disobedience of concupiscence (concupiscentia) which dwells in mortal flesh, by which it happens that those same members are moved even besides the judgment of the will, is reduced by conjugal justice to such a mode that children are generated to parents lawfully joined, for whom it is necessary to be regenerated. Nevertheless Christ did not wish His flesh to come through this kind of meeting of male and female; but from a virgin, with nothing of such concupiscence in His conception, He took the likeness of the flesh of sin for us, by which the flesh of sin might be cleansed in us (Romans 8:3, 4). "For as through the offense of one," says the Apostle, "unto all men to condemnation; so through the justification of one unto all men to the justification of life" (Romans 5:18). For no one is born except by carnal concupiscence working, which is drawn from the first man who is Adam; and no one is reborn except by spiritual grace working, which is given through the second man, who is Christ. Wherefore if we belong to that one by being born, to this one by being reborn, and no one can be reborn before he is born; surely He was uniquely born, for whom there was no need to be reborn; because He did not make the transition from sin, in which He never was, nor was He conceived in iniquity, or His mother nourish Him in sins in her womb: because the Holy Spirit came upon her, and the power of the Most High overshadowed her; whence that Holy thing which was born of her is called the Son of God.

Nuptiarum enim bonum non exstinguit, sed modificat inobedientium membrorum malum, ut limitata quodammodo concupiscentia carnalis, fiat saltem pudicitia conjugalis. Virgo autem Maria cui dictum est, Et virtus Altissimi obumbrabit tibi (Luc I, 35), in sanctam concipiendo prolem, sub tali umbraculo nullo ardore concupiscentiae hujus aestuavit. Hoc ergo excepto lapide angulari, non video quomodo aedificentur homines in domum Dei ad habendum in se inhabitantem Deum, nisi cum fuerint renati; quod non possunt esse antequam nati.

CAPUT X.

32. Quamlibet itaque sententiam de praegnantibus, imo de hominibus habeamus adhuc intra materna viscera constitutis, utrum existimemus eos necne donari posse aliquo sanctificationis modo; vel propter Joannem, qui nondum in hanc editus lucem, tamen exsultavit in gaudio: quod utique nisi operatione Spiritus sancti fieri potuisse quis credat? vel propter Jeremiam, cui Dominus dicit, Priusquam exires de vulva, sanctificavi te (Jerem. I, 5): tamen illa sanctificationis qua efficimur et singuli templa Dei, et in unum omnes templum Dei, non est nisi renatorum; quod nisi nati homines esse non possunt. Nullus autem vitam in qua natus est, bene finiet, nisi renatus antequam finiat.

33. Quod si quisquam dicit jam esse natum hominem, etiam cum adhuc est in utero matris, testimoniumque adhibet ex Evangelio, quia dictum est ad Joseph de praegnante Virgine Domini matre, Quod enim in ea natum est, de Spiritu sancto est (Matth. I, 20); numquidnam huic nativitati accedit secunda nativitas? Alioquin non erit jam secunda, sed tertia. Dominus autem cum hinc loqueretur, Nisi quis, inquit, renatus fuerit denuo (Joan. III, 3); eam scilicet computans primam nativitatem, quae fit matre pariente, non concipiente atque praegnante, quae fit ex ea, non quae fit in ea. Neque enim renatum dicimus hominem quem mater peperit, tanquam iterum natus sit, qui jam semel natus fuerat in utero: sed illa nativitate non computata quae gravidam facit, natus dicitur homo partu, ut possit renasci ex aqua et Spiritu. Secundum quam ex matre nativitatem, etiam ipse Dominus in Bethlehem Judae dicitur natus (Matth. II, 1). Si igitur homo regenerari per gratiam Spiritus in utero potest, quoniam restat illi adhuc nasci, renascitur ergo antequam nascitur; quod fieri nullo modo potest.

For the good of marriage does not extinguish but modifies the evil of disobedient members, so that carnal concupiscence being in a certain way limited, there may be at least conjugal chastity (pudicitia). But the Virgin Mary, to whom it was said, "And the power of the Most High shall overshadow you" (Luke 1:35), in conceiving a holy offspring, burned with no heat of this concupiscence under such a shadow. Excepting therefore this cornerstone (lapis angularis), I do not see how men are built into the house of God to have God dwelling in them, unless when they have been reborn; which they cannot be before they are born.

CHAPTER X.

32. Whatever opinion therefore we may have concerning those who are pregnant, or rather concerning men still constituted within the maternal bowels (womb), whether we think they can or cannot be given some mode of sanctification; either because of John, who not yet brought forth into this light, nevertheless leaped for joy: which certainly who would believe could have been done except by the operation of the Holy Spirit? or because of Jeremiah, to whom the Lord says, "Before you came out of the womb, I sanctified you" (Jeremiah 1:5): nevertheless that sanctification by which we are made both individual temples of God, and all together one temple of God, is not except of the reborn; which men cannot be unless they are born. But no one will well end the life in which he was born, unless he is reborn before he ends it.

33. But if anyone says that a man is already born, even when he is still in the mother's womb, and adduces testimony from the Gospel, because it was said to Joseph concerning the pregnant Virgin, the mother of the Lord, "For that which is born in her is of the Holy Spirit" (Matthew 1:20); does a second birth happen after this birth? Otherwise it will not now be a second, but a third. But the Lord, when He spoke of this, said, "Unless anyone shall be born again (denuo)" (John 3:3); counting that as the first birth, surely, which happens by the mother bringing forth, not conceiving and being pregnant, which happens from her, not what happens in her. For neither do we call a man reborn whom his mother has brought forth, as if he were born again, who had already once been born in the womb: but that birth being not counted which makes the woman pregnant, a man is said to be born by birth (partu), so that he may be able to be reborn of water and the Spirit. According to which birth from a mother, even the Lord Himself is said to be born in Bethlehem of Judah (Matthew 2:1). If therefore a man can be regenerated by the grace of the Spirit in the womb, since it remains for him still to be born, he is reborn before he is born; which can in no way happen.

Proinde in compagem corporis Christi tanquam in vivam structuram templi Dei, quae est ejus Ecclesia, nati homines, non ex operibus justitiae quae fecerunt, sed renascendo per gratiam transferuntur tanquam de massa ruinae ad aedificii firmamentum. Praeter hoc enim aedificium, quod beatificandum construitur ad aeternam habitationem Dei, vita hominis omnis infelix, et mors est potius appellanda quam vita. Quisquis ergo habitabitur a Deo, ne ira Dei maneat super eum ab hoc corpore, ab hoc templo, ab hac civitate non erit alienus. Omnis autem non renatus alienus est.

CAPUT XI.

34. Sacramentum porro regenerationis nostrae manifestum esse voluit manifestatus Mediator. Erat autem antiquis justis aliquod occultum, cum tamen et illi eadem fide salvi fierent, quae fuerat suo tempore revelanda. Non enim audemus fideles temporis nostri praeferre amicis Dei per quos nobis ista prophetata sunt, cum Deum Abraham et Deum Isaac et Deum Jacob, ita se Deus esse commendet, ut hoc dicat suum nomen in aeternum (Exod. III, 15). Quod si circumcisio antiquis sanctis pro Baptismo fuisse creditur, quid respondebitur de his qui antequam hoc praeceptum esset, Deo placuerunt, non tamen sine fide? Quia sine fide, ut scriptum est ad Hebraeos, impossibile est Deo placere (Hebr. XI, 6). Habentes autem, inquit Apostolus, eumdem Spiritum fidei, propter quod scriptum est, Credidi, propter quod et locutus sum; et nos credimus, propter quod et loquimur (II Cor. IV, 13). Non diceret, eumdem, nisi et illorum idem ipse esset Spiritus fidei. Sicut autem illi, quando idem Sacramentum occultum erat, credebant Christi incarnationem futuram, sic et nos credimus factam: et a nobis autem et ab illis futurus exspectatur ad judicium ejus adventus. Non est enim aliud Dei mysterium, nisi Christus, in quo oporteat vivificari mortuos in Adam; quia sicut in Adam omnes moriuntur, sic et in Christo omnes vivificabuntur (I Cor. XV, 22), quemadmodum superius disseruimus.

CAPUT XII.

35. Quamobrem Deus, qui ubique praesens est, et ubique totus, non in omnibus habitat, sed in eis tantum quos efficit beatissimum templum suum, vel beatissima templa sua, eruens eos a potestate tenebrarum, et transferens in regnum Filii charitatis suae (Coloss. I, 13), quod incipit a regeneratione.

Accordingly, into the framework of the body of Christ as into the living structure of the temple of God, which is His Church, men born, not from works of justice which they have done, but by being reborn through grace, are transferred as if from the mass of ruin (massa ruinae) to the firmament of the building. For besides this building, which is constructed to be beatified for the eternal habitation of God, all human life is unhappy, and is rather to be called death than life. Whoever therefore shall be inhabited by God, lest the wrath of God remain upon him, will not be an alien from this body, from this temple, from this city. But every one not reborn is an alien.

CHAPTER XI.

34. Furthermore, the manifested Mediator willed the Sacrament of our regeneration to be manifest. But it was somewhat hidden to the ancient righteous ones, although even they were made saved by the same faith which was to be revealed in its own time. For we do not dare to prefer the faithful of our time to the friends of God through whom these things were prophesied to us, when God so commends Himself to be the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob, that He says this is His name forever (Exodus 3:15). But if circumcision is believed to have been for the ancient saints instead of Baptism, what will be answered concerning those who, before this precept was given, pleased God, yet not without faith? Because "without faith," as it is written to the Hebrews, "it is impossible to please God" (Hebrews 11:6). "But having," says the Apostle, "the same Spirit of faith, because of which it is written, I believed, because of which also I spoke; we also believe, because of which also we speak" (2 Corinthians 4:13). He would not say "the same," unless theirs was the very same Spirit of faith. But just as they, when the same Sacrament was hidden, believed the future incarnation of Christ, so also we believe it as done: and both by us and by them His future arrival for judgment is expected. For there is no other mystery of God except Christ, in whom it is necessary that the dead in Adam be made alive; because "as in Adam all die, so also in Christ all shall be made alive" (1 Corinthians 15:22), as we have discussed above.

CHAPTER XII.

35. Wherefore God, who is everywhere present, and whole everywhere, does not dwell in all, but only in those whom He makes His most blessed temple, or His most blessed temples, delivering them from the power of darkness, and transferring them into the kingdom of the Son of His love (Colossians 1:13), which begins from regeneration.

Aliter autem dicitur templum ejus in significatione, cum fit per manus hominum de rebus inanimis, sicut tabernaculum, lignis, velis, pellibus atque hujusmodi mobilibus; sicut etiam per Salomonem regem, templum lapidibus, lignis, metallis constructum: aliter vero re ipsa vera quae illis significationibus figurata est. Unde dicitur, Et vos tanquam lapides vivi, aedificamini domus spiritualis (I Petr. II, 5): et unde item scriptum est, Nos enim templa Dei vivi sumus, sicut Deus dicit, Quoniam inhabitabo in illis et inambulabo; et ero illorum Deus, et ipsi erunt mihi plebs (II Cor. VI, 16).

36. Nec movere nos debet, quod per quosdam ad hoc templum non pertinentes, vel nondum pertinentes id est in quibus non habitat, vel nondum habitat Deus, aliquid virtutis operatur; sicut per illum qui in nomine Christi expellebat daemonia, cum Christum non sequeretur, quem permitti jussit propter multis utilem commendationem nominis sui (Marc. IX, 37-39). Multos quoque ait sibi in novissima die dicturos, In nomine tuo virtutes multas fecimus: quibus utique non responderet, Non vos novi (Matth. VII, 22, 23), si ad templum Dei, quod inhabitando beatificat, pertinerent. Cornelius etiam centurio antequam regeneratione incorporaretur huic templo, missum ad se angelum vidit, audiitque dicentem quod exauditae sint orationes ejus, et eleemosynae acceptae (Act. X, 4). Agit enim haec Deus tanquam ubique praesens, vel per sanctos Angelos suos.

37. Nam illa, priusquam exiret de vulva, sanctificatio Jeremiae, quanquam nonnulli hoc in typum Salvatoris accipiant, qui regeneratione non eguit; tamen etiamsi de ipso Propheta accipiatur, potest et secundum praedestinationem non inconvenienter intelligi: sicut filios Dei appellat Evangelium nondum regeneratos, ubi Caiphas cum de Domino dixisset, Expedit vobis ut unus moriatur homo pro populo, et non tota gens pereat; mox Evangelium secutum adjunxit, Hoc autem a semetipso non dixit; sed cum esset pontifex anni illius prophetavit quia Jesus moriturus erat pro gente; et non tantum pro gente, sed ut filios Dei, qui erant dispersi, congregaret in unum (Joan. XI, 50-52). Filios Dei appellavit utique praeter Hebraeam gentem, in caeteris etiam omnibus gentibus constitutos, nondum fideles, nondum baptizatos. Quomodo ergo Dei filios, nisi secundum praedestinationem, secundum quam et Apostolus dicit quod nos elegerit Deus in Christo, ante constitutionem mundi (Eph. I, 4)?

But His temple is spoken of in one way in signification, when it is made by the hands of men from inanimate things, like the tabernacle, with wood, veils, skins, and such movable things; just as also through King Solomon, a temple constructed with stones, wood, and metals: but in another way in the very reality (re ipsa vera) which was figured by those significations. Whence it is said, "And you as living stones, are built up a spiritual house" (1 Peter 2:5): and whence likewise it is written, "For we are the temples of the living God, as God says, For I will dwell in them and walk among them; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people" (2 Corinthians 6:16).

36. Nor ought it to move us, that through some not belonging to this temple, or not yet belonging—that is, in whom God does not dwell, or does not yet dwell—He works something of power (virtutis); just as through him who in the name of Christ was casting out demons, although he did not follow Christ, whom He ordered to be permitted because of the commendation of His name useful to many (Mark 9:37-39). He also says many will say to Him on the last day, "In your name we have done many miracles (virtutes)": to whom He certainly would not answer, "I never knew you" (Matthew 7:22, 23), if they belonged to the temple of God, which He beatifies by inhabiting. Cornelius the centurion also, before he was incorporated into this temple by regeneration, saw an angel sent to him, and heard him saying that his prayers were heard, and his alms accepted (Acts 10:4). For God does these things as one everywhere present, or through His holy Angels.

37. For that sanctification of Jeremiah, before he came out of the womb—although some take this as a type of the Savior, who did not need regeneration; nevertheless even if it be taken of the Prophet himself, it can also be understood not inconveniently according to predestination (praedestinatio): just as the Gospel calls those sons of God not yet regenerated, where Caiaphas when he had said concerning the Lord, "It is expedient for you that one man die for the people, and the whole nation perish not"; soon the Gospel following added, "But this he said not of himself; but since he was the high priest of that year he prophesied that Jesus was to die for the nation; and not only for the nation, but that he might gather together into one (in unum) the sons of God who were dispersed" (John 11:50-52). He certainly called those sons of God besides the Hebrew nation, constituted also in all the other nations, not yet faithful, not yet baptized. How then sons of God, unless according to predestination, according to which the Apostle also says that God chose us in Christ, before the constitution of the world (Ephesians 1:4)?

Illa vero in unum congregatio factura eos erat filios Dei. Neque enim in unum dictum est aliquem corporalem locum, cum de tali vocatione gentium propheta praedixerit, Et adorabunt eum, unusquisque de loco suo, omnes insulae gentium (Soph. II, 11); sed congregaret in unum dictum est, in unum spiritum, et in unum corpus, cujus unum caput est Christus. Tal congregatio aedificatio est templi Dei. Talem congregationem non generatio carnalis, sed regeneratio spiritualis facit.

CAPUT XIII.

38. Habitat itaque in singulis Deus tanquam in templis suis, et in omnibus simul in unum congregatis, tanquam in templo suo. Quod templum quamdiu sicut arca Noe in hoc saeculo fluctuat, fit quod in Psalmo scriptum est, Dominus diluvium inhabitat: quamvis et propter multos in omnibus gentibus populos fidelium, quos aquarum nomine Apocalypsis significat (Apoc. XVII, 15), possit intelligi congruenter, Dominus diluvium inhabitat. Sequitur autem, Et sedebit Dominus rex in aeternum (Psal. XXVIII, 10): utique in ipso templo suo jam in vita aeterna post fluctuationem hujus saeculi constituto. Deus igitur ubique praesens est, et ubique totus praesens; nec ubique habitans, sed in templo suo, cui per gratiam benignus est et propitius: capitur autem habitans, ab aliis amplius, ab aliis minus.

39. De ipso vero capite nostro Apostolus ait: Quia in ipso inhabitat omnis plenitudo divinitatis corporaliter. Non ideo corporaliter, quia corporeus est Deus; sed aut verbo translato usus est, tanquam in templo manufacto non corporaliter. sed umbratiliter habitaverit, id est praefigurantibus signis: nam illas omnes observationes, umbras futurorum vocat (Coloss. II, 9, 16, 17), etiam ipso translato vocabulo; summus enim Deus, sicut scriptum est, non in manufactis templis habitat (Act. XVII, 24): aut certe corporaliter dictum est, quia et in Christi corpore quod assumpsit ex Virgine, tanquam in templo habitat Deus. Hinc est enim quod Judaeis signum petentibus cum dixisset, Solvite templum hoc, et in triduo resuscitabo illud; evangelista quid hoc esset consequenter exponens, ait: Hoc autem dicebat de templo corporis sui (Joan. II, 19, 21).

40. Quid ergo est? Hoccine interesse arbitramur inter caput et membra caetera, quod in quolibet quamvis praecipuo membro, velut in aliquo magno propheta aut apostolo, quamvis divinitas habitet, non tamen sicut in capite quod est Christus, omnis plenitudo divinitatis? Nam et in nostro corpore inest sensus singulis membris; sed non tantus quantus in capite, ubi prorsus omnis est quinquepartitus: ibi enim et visus, et auditus, et olfactus, et gustus, et tactus; in caeteris autem solus est tactus.

But that gathering together into one was to make them sons of God. For "into one" was not said of any corporal place, when the prophet predicted of such a vocation of the nations, "And they shall adore Him, each one from his place, all the islands of the nations" (Zephaniah 2:11); but "gather together into one" was said, into one spirit, and into one body, of which the one head is Christ. Such a gathering is the building of the temple of God. Such a gathering not carnal generation, but spiritual regeneration makes.

CHAPTER XIII.

38. God dwells therefore in individuals as in His temples, and in all together gathered into one, as in His temple. Which temple as long as it floats in this world like the ark of Noah, that happens which is written in the Psalm, "The Lord dwells in the flood": although also because of the many peoples of the faithful in all nations, whom the Apocalypse signifies by the name of waters (Revelation 17:15), it can be understood congruently, "The Lord dwells in the flood." But there follows, "And the Lord shall sit as King forever" (Psalm 29:10): certainly in His very temple now constituted in eternal life after the fluctuation of this world. God therefore is everywhere present, and everywhere whole present; not everywhere dwelling, but in His temple, to which through grace He is kind and propitious: but He is received as dwelling, by some more, by others less.

39. But concerning our very Head the Apostle says: "Because in Him dwells all the fullness of the divinity corporally." Not therefore "corporally" because God is corporeal; but either he used a transferred word, as if He had dwelt in a temple made with hands not corporally but shadowily (umbratiliter), that is, by prefiguring signs: for all those observations he calls shadows of future things (Colossians 2:9, 16, 17), even with the transferred word itself; for the most high God, as it is written, "does not dwell in temples made with hands" (Acts 17:24): or certainly it was said "corporally," because also in the body of Christ which He assumed from the Virgin, God dwells as in a temple. For from this it is that to the Jews seeking a sign, when He had said, "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up"; the evangelist consequently expounding what this was, says: "But this He was saying of the temple of His body" (John 2:19, 21).

40. What then is it? Do we judge this to be the difference between the head and the other members, that in any member however principal, as in some great prophet or apostle, although the divinity dwells, yet not as in the head which is Christ, all the fullness of the divinity? For also in our body sense is in individual members; but not so great as in the head, where strictly all is fivefold (quinquepartitus): for there are both sight, and hearing, and smell, and taste, and touch; but in the others there is only touch.

An etiam praeter hoc quod, tanquam in templo, in illo corpore habitat omnis plenitudo divinitatis, est aliud quod intersit inter illud caput, et cujuslibet membri excellentiam? Est plane, quod singulari quadam susceptione hominis illius una facta est persona cu Verbo. De nullo enim sanctorum dici potuit, aut potest, aut poterit, Verbum caro factum est (Id. I, 14): nullus sanctorum qualibet praestantia gratiae, Unigeniti nomen accepit, ut quod et ipsum Dei Verbum ante saecula, hoc simul cum assumpto homine diceretur. Singularis est ergo illa susceptio, nec cum hominibus aliquibus sanctis quantalibet sapientia et sanctitate praestantibus, ullo modo potest esse communis. Ubi divinae gratiae satis perspicuum clarumque documentum est. Quis enim tam sit sacrilegus, ut audeat affirmare aliquam posse animam per meritum liberi arbitrii, ut alter sit Christus efficere? Ut ergo ad personam Verbi unigeniti pertineret, quo pacto per liberum arbitrium communiter omnibus et naturaliter datum una sola anima meruisset, nisi hoc singularis gratia praestitisset; quam fas est praedicare, de qua nefas est velle judicare?

41. Haec si pro viribus nostris, quantum Dominus adjuvit, rite tractavimus; quando Deum ubique praesentem, et non spatiis distantibus, quasi aliqua mole vel distentione diffusum, sed ubique totum cogitare te extendis, averte mentem ab omnibus imaginibus corporum, quas humana cogitatio volvere consuevit. Non enim sic sapientia, non justitia, non sic denique charitas cogitatur, de qua scriptum est, Deus charitas est (I Joan. IV, 8). Cum vero habitationem ejus cogitas, unitatem cogita congregationemque sanctorum: maxime in coelis, ubi propterea praecipue dicitur habitare, quia ibi fit voluntas ejus perfecta eorum, in quibus habitat, obedientia; deinde in terra, ubi aedificans habitat domum suam in fine saeculi dedicandam. Christum autem Dominum nostrum unigenitum Dei Filium aequalem Patri, eumdemque hominis filium quo major est Pater, et ubique totum praesentem esse non dubites tanquam Deum, et in eodem templo Dei esse tanquam inhabitantem Deum, et in loco aliquo coeli propter veri corporis modum. Sed cum me delectat loqui tecum, nescio utrum servaverim sermonis sufficientis modum, quasi diuturnum silentium loquacitate compensem. Verum quia religione et benevolentia qua me praeoccupasti, ita invisceratus es cordi meo, ut tanquam cum amico vere colloquar, quidquid in opere stili nostri utiliter elaboratum esse cognoscis, Deo gratias age. Si qua autem vitia mea perspicis, uti charissimus amicus ignosce; eadem scilicet sinceritate dilectionis mihi optans medicinam, qua concedis et veniam.

Or also besides this that, as in a temple, in that body dwells all the fullness of the divinity, is there something else which is between that head and the excellence of any member? There is clearly, that by a certain singular taking up (susceptio) of that man, he was made one person with the Word. For of none of the saints could it be said, or can be, or will be, "The Word was made flesh" (John 1:14): none of the saints by any excellence of grace received the name of the Only-begotten, so that what was even the very Word of God before the ages, this should be said together with the assumed man. Therefore that taking up is singular, nor in any way can it be common with any holy men however much they stand out in wisdom and holiness. Where there is a sufficiently perspicuous and clear document of divine grace. For who would be so sacrilegious as to dare to affirm that any soul could by the merit of free will (liberum arbitrium) bring it about that he should be another Christ? That he should belong therefore to the person of the Only-begotten Word, in what way would one soul alone have merited through free will given commonly to all and naturally, unless singular grace had provided this; which it is right to preach, concerning which it is wrong to wish to judge?

41. If we have treated these things according to our strength, as much as the Lord has helped, in a proper manner; when you extend yourself to think of God as everywhere present, and not distant by spaces, as if diffused by some mass or distension, but everywhere whole, turn away your mind from all images of bodies, which human thought is accustomed to revolve. For not so is wisdom thought of, not so justice, not so finally is charity thought of, concerning which it is written, God is charity (1 John 4:8). But when you think of His habitation, think of the unity and the gathering of the saints: especially in the heavens, where for that reason He is chiefly said to dwell, because there His will is done by the perfect obedience of those in whom He dwells; then on earth, where building He dwells in His house to be dedicated at the end of the age. But do not doubt that Christ our Lord, the only-begotten Son of God equal to the Father, and the same Son of man by whom the Father is greater, is both everywhere whole present as God, and is in the same temple of God as the indwelling God, and is in some place of heaven because of the manner of a true body. But while it delights me to speak with you, I do not know whether I have observed the measure of sufficient speech, as if I were compensating for a long silence with talkativeness. But because by the religion and benevolence with which you anticipated me, you are so entwined in my heart, that I speak as if with a true friend, whatever you recognize as having been usefully elaborated in the work of our pen, give thanks to God. But if you perceive any faults of mine, as a most dear friend forgive them; wishing for me, namely with the same sincerity of love, a medicine, with which you also grant pardon.

EPISTOLA CLXXXVIII . Augustinus et Alypius Julianae viduae matri Demetriadis virginis, ne ipsa familiave ipsius imbibat virus propinatum in libro ad Demetriadem scripto, cujus libri auctorem rescire cupiunt.

Dominae debitis in Christo officiis honorandae, et merito illustri filiae JULIANAE, ALYPIUS et AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

CAP. PRIMUM.

1. Grate admodum nobis jucundeque accidit ut simul nos constitutos apud Hipponem tuae Reverentiae litterae reperirent, quibus haec rescripta pariter redderemus, cognita vestra incolumitate gaudentes, vicissimque nostram, quam vobis charam esse confidimus, mutua dilectione nuntiantes, domina debitis in Christo officiis honoranda, et merito illustris filia. Scire autem vos optime scimus quantum vobis debeamus religionis affectum, quantaque nobis et apud Deum et inter homines sit cura de vobis. Licet enim vos per litteras primum, deinde etiam praesentia corporali, pia et catholica, hoc est vera membra Christi exiguitas nostra cognoverit; tamen etiam per ministerium nostrum, cum accepissetis verbum auditus Dei, sicut dicit Apostolus, accepistis non ut verbum hominum, sed sicut est vere, verbum Dei (I Thes. II, 13). Cujus ministerii nostri, adjuvante gratia et misericordia Salavatoris, in domo vestra tantus fructus exortus est, ut humanis nuptiis jam paratis sancta Demetrias spiritualem sponsi illius praeferret amplexum, cui specioso prae filiis hominum ad habendam spiritus uberiorem fecunditatem, nec amittendam carnis integritatem, virgines nubunt. Nesciremus autem quemadmodum nostra illa tunc exhortatio a fideli et nobili virgine fuisset accepta, nisi nobis profectis, cum post paululum professa fuisset sanctimoniam virginalem, hoc ingens Dei donum, quod per servos quidem suos plantat et rigat, sed per seipsum dat incrementum (I Cor. III, 6, 7), nobis operariis provenisse, vestrarum litterarum laetissimo nuntio et veraci testimony disceremus.

2. Quae cum ita sint, nemo nos improbos dixerit, si in vobis admonendis ut contraria gratiae Dei dogmata devitetis, necessitudine sumus propensiore solliciti. Nam licet nos Apostolus non solum opportune, verum etiam importune praedicando verbo instare praecipiat (II Tim. IV, 2); non tamen in eorum hominum numero vos habemus, quibus sermo vel pagina nostra importuna videatur, quando id quod ad sanam doctrinam non pertinet, vos ut vigilanter evitetis alloquimur. Hinc ergo est quod admonitionem nostram tam grato animo suscepistis, ut in epistola tua ad quam nunc rescribimus, diceres: Sane quod me hortatur Reverentia vestra, ne aures indulgeam his hominibus qui pravis tractatibus venerandam fidem saepe corrumpunt, gratias uberes ago tam piae admonitioni.

LETTER CLXXXVIII. Augustine and Alypius to Juliana the widow, mother of the virgin Demetrias, lest she or her family imbibe the virus offered in the book written to Demetrias, the author of which book they desire to find out.

To the lady to be honored with due offices in Christ, and by merit illustrious daughter JULIANA, ALYPIUS and AUGUSTINE, greeting in the Lord.

CHAPTER I.

1. It happened to us quite gratefully and pleasantly that your Reverence's letter found us established together at Hippo, to which we might equally return these replies, rejoicing at having learned of your welfare, and in turn announcing ours, which we trust is dear to you, with mutual love, lady to be honored with due offices in Christ, and by merit illustrious daughter. But we know very well how much religious affection we owe you, and how great a care we have for you both before God and among men. For although our littleness first knew you through letters, then also by bodily presence, as pious and catholic, that is, true members of Christ; yet also through our ministry, when you had received the word of the hearing of God, as the Apostle says, you received it not as the word of men, but as it is truly, the word of God (1 Thess. 2:13). Of which ministry of ours, by the helping grace and mercy of the Savior, such great fruit has arisen in your house, that, with human nuptials already prepared, the holy Demetrias preferred the spiritual embrace of that Bridegroom, to whom, beautiful beyond the sons of men for having a more abundant fruitfulness of spirit, and not losing the integrity of the flesh, virgins are wed. But we would not know in what way that exhortation of ours had then been received by the faithful and noble virgin, unless, after we had departed, when a little later she had professed virginal holiness, we learned by the most joyful news and true testimony of your letters that this great gift of God, which through His servants indeed He plants and waters, but by Himself gives the increase (1 Cor. 3:6, 7), had come forth for us workers.

2. Since these things are so, no one will have called us wicked if, in admonishing you to avoid dogmas contrary to the grace of God, we are solicitous with a more inclined necessity. For although the Apostle commands us to be urgent in preaching the word not only opportunely but also importunely (2 Tim. 4:2); yet we do not have you in the number of those people to whom our speech or page might seem importunate, when we address you that you may vigilantly avoid that which does not belong to sound doctrine. From this it is, therefore, that you received our admonition with so grateful a mind that, in your letter to which we now reply, you said: "Indeed, because your Reverence exhorts me not to indulge my ears to these men who often corrupt the venerable faith with depraved treatises, I give abundant thanks for so pious an admonition."

3. Quod itaque adjungis et dicis, Sed noverit sacerdotium vestrum, longe me ac domunculam meam ab hujusmodi personis esse discretam: omnisque familia nostra adeo catholicam sequitur fidem, ut in nullam haeresim aliquando deviaverit, nec unquam lapsa sit; non dico in eas sectas quae vix expiantur, sed nec in eas quae parvos habere videntur errores; hoc est quod nos magis magisque compellit non tacere apud vos de iis qui etiam illa quae sana sunt, vitiare conantur. Domum enim vestram, non parvam Christi Ecclesiam deputamus. Nec sane parvus est error illorum qui putant ex nobis ipsis nos habere si quid justitiae, continentiae, pietatis, castitatis in nobis est, eo quod ita nos condiderit Deus, ut ultra, praeter quod nobis revelat scientiam, nihil nos adjuvet ut ea quae facienda discendo novimus, etiam diligendo faciamus; naturam scilicet atque doctrinam definientes tantummodo esse gratiam Dei et adjutorium ut recte justeque vivamus. Ad habendam vero bonam voluntatem, ubi est hoc ipsum quod juste vivimus, et ipsa charitas quae in omnibus Dei donis ita excellit, ut etiam Deus dicta sit (I Joan. IV, 8), qua una adimpletur in nobis si quid divinae legis et admonitionis implemus, nolunt nos divinitus adjuvari, sed nos ipsos dicunt arbitrio proprio nobis ad ista sufficere. Non vobis videatur error iste mediocris, profiteri se velle christianos, nec velle audire apostolum Christi, qui cum dixisset, Charitas Dei diffusa est in cordibus nostris; ne quisquam eam se habere nonnisi per proprium putaret arbitrium, continuo subjunxit, per Spiritum sanctum qui datus est nobis (Rom. V, 5). Hanc esse magnam gratiam Salvatoris, qui ascendens in altum captivavit captivitatem et dedit dona hominibus (Psal. LXVII, 19, et Eph. IV, 7) quisquis nondum confitetur, quantum et quam exitiabiliter erret, intelligis.

CAPUT II.

4. Quomodo ergo a vobis, quibus tantam dilectionem debemus, admonendis ut talia caveatis, dissimulare possemus, cum legissemus librum, quem ad sanctam Demetriadem quisnam scripserit, vel utrum ad vos pervenerit, vestris potius rescriptis nosse volumus; in quo libro, si fas est, legat virgo Christi unde credat virginalem suam sanctitatem, omnesque spirituales divitias, nonnisi ex seipsa sibi esse; atque ita, priusquam sit plenissime beata, discat Deo esse, quod absit, ingrata. Verba enim ad illam scripta in eodem libro sunt ista: Habes ergo et hic, inquit, per quae merito praeponaris aliis; imo hinc magis: nam corporalis nobilitas atque opulentia, tuorum intelliguntur esse non tua; spirituales vero divitias nullus tibi praeter te conferre poterit. In his ergo jure laudanda, in his merito caeteris praeferenda es, quae nisi ex te et in te esse non possunt (Epist. ad Demetriadem, c. 11).

Therefore, what you add and say, "But let your priesthood know that I and my little household are far removed from persons of this kind: and all our family so follows the catholic faith that it has never at any time deviated into any heresy, nor has it ever lapsed; I do not say into those sects which are scarcely expiated, but not even into those which seem to have small errors"; this is what compels us more and more not to be silent before you concerning those who attempt to vitiate even those things which are sound. For we consider your house not a small Church of Christ. Nor indeed is the error of those small who think that we have from ourselves whatever of justice, continence, piety, and chastity is in us, for the reason that God so created us that further, besides that He reveals knowledge to us, He helps us in nothing so that those things which we know are to be done by learning, we may also do by loving; namely defining that the grace of God and the help to live rightly and justly are only nature and doctrine. But for having a good will, where this very thing is that we live justly, and that very charity which so excels in all the gifts of God that it is even called God (1 John 4:8), by which alone is fulfilled in us whatever of the divine law and admonition we fulfill, they do not want us to be helped divinely, but they say that we ourselves are sufficient for these things by our own will. Let not this error seem mediocre to you, to profess to wish to be Christians, and not wish to hear the Apostle of Christ, who when he had said, "The charity of God is poured forth in our hearts"; lest anyone should think he has it except through his own will, immediately added, "through the Holy Spirit who is given to us" (Rom. 5:5). That this is the great grace of the Savior, who "ascending on high led captivity captive and gave gifts to men" (Psalm 68:18, and Eph. 4:8) whoever does not yet confess, you understand how much and how fatally he errs.

CHAPTER II.

4. How then could we dissimulate from admonishing you, to whom we owe so much love, to beware of such things, when we had read the book which someone wrote to the holy Demetrias, or we wish rather to know through your replies whether it has reached you; in which book, if it is right, let the virgin of Christ read from where she should believe her virginal holiness and all spiritual riches to be but from herself; and thus, before she is most fully blessed, let her learn to be, which God forbid, ungrateful to God. For the words written to her in the same book are these: "You have therefore even here," it says, "things through which you may by merit be preferred to others; nay rather from here more: for corporal nobility and opulence are understood to be of your people, not yours; but spiritual riches no one besides yourself will be able to confer on you. In these therefore you are rightly to be praised, in these by merit you are to be preferred to others, which cannot be unless from you and in you (Epistle to Demetrias, ch. 11).

5. Cernis nempe quanta in his verbis sit cavenda pernicies. Nam utique quod dictum est, Non possunt esse ista bona nisi in te, optime et verissime dictum est; iste plane cibus est: quod vero ait, nonnisi ex te, hoc omnino virus est. Absit ut haec libenter audiat virgo Christi, quae pie intelligit propriam paupertatem cordis humani, et ideo illic nisi sponsi sui donis nescit ornari. Audiat ergo potius Apostolum dicentem, Desponsavi vos uni viro, virginem castam exhibere Christo. Timeo autem ne sicut serpens Evam seduxit in versutia sua, sic et vestrae mentes corrumpantur a castitate quae est in Christo (II Cor XI, 2, 3): et propterea de his quoque spiritualibus divitiis, non istum qui dicit, Nullus tibi eas praeter te conferre potest, et, nisi ex te et in te esse non possunt; sed illum audiat qui dicit, Habemus thesaurum istum in vasis fictilibus, ut eminentia virtutis sit Dei, et non ex nobis (Id. IV, 7).

6. De ipsa quoque sacra continentia virginali, quod non sibi sit ex seipsa, sed sit Dei donum, quamvis credenti volentique collatum, eumdem audiat veracem piumque doctorem, qui cum hinc ageret, ait: Vellem omnes esse sicut meipsum; sed unusquisque proprium donum habet a Deo, alius sic, alius autem sic (I Cor. VII, 7). Audiat etiam ipsum, non tantum suum, sed universae Ecclesiae unicum sponsum, de tali castitate atque integritate dicentem. Non omnes capiunt verbum hoc, sed quibus datum est (Matth. XIX, 11); ut intelligat ex eo quod habet tam magnum bonum atque praeclarum, se potius Deo et Domino nostro gratias agere debere, quam cujusquam verba, quod velut ex seipsa id habeat, ut non dicamus assentantis adulatoris, ne de occultis hominum temere judicare videamur, certe errantis laudatoris audire. Omne quippe datum optimum, et omne donum perfectum, sicut dicit etiam apostolus Jacobus, desursum est, descendens a Patre luminum (Jacobi I, 17): hinc ergo et sancta virginitas, qua te filia volentem gaudentemque vicit, natu posterior, actu prior, genere ex te, honore ante te, aetate subsequens, sanctitate praecedens; in qua etiam tuum esse coepit quod in te esse non potuit. Illa quippe carnaliter non nupsit, ut non tantum sibi, sed etiam tibi ultra te spiritualiter augeretur: quoniam et tu ea compensatione minor illa es, quod ita nupsisti ut nasceretur. Haec Dei dona sunt, et vestra quidem sunt, sed non ex vobis: habetis enim thesaurum istum in terrenis corporibus, et adhuc fragilibus tanquam in vasis fictilibus, ut eminentia virtutis sit Dei, et non ex vobis. Nec miremini, quia dicimus et vestra esse, et ex vobis non esse: nam et panem quotidianum dicimus nostrum, sed tamen addimus, Da nobis (Luc. XI, 3), ne putetur esse ex nobis.

5. You see indeed how much destruction is to be avoided in these words. For certainly what was said, "Those goods cannot be unless in you," was excellently and most truly said; this is clearly food: but what it says, "not unless from you," this is altogether virus. Far be it that the virgin of Christ should listen to these things willingly, who piously understands the proper poverty of the human heart, and therefore knows not how to be adorned there except with the gifts of her Bridegroom. Let her rather hear the Apostle saying: "I have betrothed you to one husband, to exhibit a chaste virgin to Christ." But I fear lest as the serpent seduced Eve in his craftiness, so also your minds may be corrupted from the chastity which is in Christ" (2 Cor. 11:2, 3): and therefore concerning these spiritual riches also, let her hear not this one who says, "No one can confer them on you besides yourself," and "they cannot be unless from you and in you"; but let her hear him who says, "We have this treasure in earthen vessels, that the eminence of the power may be of God, and not from us" (2 Cor. 4:7).

6. Concerning that very sacred virginal continence also, that it is not to her from herself, but is the gift of God, although conferred on one believing and willing, let her hear the same truthful and pious teacher, who when he was dealing with this, said: "I would that all were as I myself; but everyone has his own gift from God, one thus, but another thus" (1 Cor. 7:7). Let her hear also Himself, not only her own but the unique Bridegroom of the whole Church, saying of such chastity and integrity: "Not all receive this word, but those to whom it is given" (Matt. 19:11); that she may understand from that which she has so great and excellent a good, that she ought rather to give thanks to God and our Lord, than to hear the words of anyone saying that she has it as if from herself—that we may not say of an assenting flatterer, lest we should seem to judge rashly of the hidden things of men, certainly of an erring praiser. For "every good gift and every perfect gift," as the apostle James also says, "is from above, descending from the Father of lights" (James 1:17): from here therefore is also holy virginity, by which she conquered you, daughter, willing and rejoicing, later in birth, earlier in act, from you by kind, before you by honor, following in age, preceding in holiness; in which also what could not be in you began to be yours. For she did not marry carnally, so that it might be increased spiritually not only for herself but also for you beyond you: since you also by that compensation are less than she, because you so married that she might be born. These are the gifts of God, and they are indeed yours, but not from you: for you have this treasure in earthly bodies, and still fragile as if in earthen vessels, that the eminence of the power may be of God, and not from us. Nor should you wonder that we say they are both yours and are not from you: for we also call the daily bread "ours," but yet we add, "Give us" (Luke 11:3), lest it be thought to be from us.

7. Proinde sicut scriptum est, Sine intermissione orate, in omnibus gratias agite (I Thess V, 17, 18): oratis enim ut perseveranter et proficienter habentis; gratias agitis, quia non ex vobis habetis. Quis enim vos ab illa ex Adam massa mortis perditionisque discernit? Nonne ille qui venit quaerere et salvare quod perierat (Luc. XIX, 10)? An vero quando Apostolo dicente audierit homo, Quis enim te discernit? responsurus est, Bona voluntas mea, fides mea, justitia mea, et non continuo quod sequitur auditurus, Quid enim habes quod non accepisti? Si autem et accepisti, quid gloriaris quasi non acceperis (I Cor. IV, 7)? Nolumus ergo ut virgo sacra, cum audit vel legit, Spirituales divitias nullus tibi praeter te conferre poterit: in iis jure laudanda, in iis merito caeteris praeferenda es, quae nisi ex te et in te esse non possunt: nolumus prorsus ita glorietur quasi non acceperit. Dicat quidem, In me sunt, Deus, vota tua, quae reddam laudis tibi (Psal. LV, 12): sed quia in illa, non etiam ex illa, meminerit etiam dicere, Domine, in voluntate tua praestitisti decori meo virtutem (Psal. XXIX, 8): quia etsi etiam ex illa propter arbitrium proprium sine quo non operamur bonum, non tamen sicut iste dixit, nonnisi ex illa. Proprium quippe arbitrium nisi Dei gratia juvetur, nec ipsa bona voluntas esse in nomine potest. Deus est enim, inquit Apostolus, qui operatur in vobis et velle, et operari, pro bona voluntate (Philipp. II, 13): non, sicut isti sentiunt, tantummodo scientiam revelando, ut noverimus quid facere debeamus; sed etiam inspirando charitatem, ut ea quae discendo novimus, etiam diligendo faciamus.

8. Nam utique noverat ille quam magnum bonum esset continentia qui dicebat, Et cum scirem quia nemo potest esse continens, nisi Deus det. Non solum ergo sciebat quantum esset hoc bonum, et quam desiderabiliter esset concupiscendum, verum etiam quod nisi dante Deo esse non posset: docuerat enim eum sapientia; nam hoc dicit, Et hoc ipsum erat sapientiae, scire cujus esset hoc donum. Nec tamen ei scientia suffecit; sed ait: Adii Dominum, et deprecatus sum illum (Sap. VIII, 21). Non igitur tantummodo in hoc nos adjuvat Deus, ut sciamus quid agendum sit, verum etiam ut amando agamus quod discendo jam scimus. Nemo itaque potest esse non solum sciens, verum etiam continens, nisi Deus det. Unde cum jam ille haberet scientiam, precabatur ut haberet et continentiam, ut esset etiam in illo quod sciebat quia non esset ex illo: aut si propter liberum arbitrium, proprium aliquantum et ex illo, non tamen nisi ex illo; quia nemo potest esse continens, nisi Deus det.

Hence, as it is written, "Pray without ceasing, in all things give thanks" (1 Thess. 5:17, 18): for you pray that you may have these things perseveringly and proficiently; you give thanks, because you do not have them from yourselves. For who discerns you from that mass of death and perdition from Adam? Is it not He who came to seek and save that which was lost (Luke 19:10)? Or truly when a man hears the Apostle saying, "For who discerns you?" is he going to answer, "My good will, my faith, my justice," and not immediately hear what follows, "For what have you that you did not receive? But if you received it, why do you glory as if you had not received it?" (1 Cor. 4:7). We do not want, therefore, that the sacred virgin, when she hears or reads, "Spiritual riches no one besides yourself will be able to confer on you: in these you are rightly to be praised, in these by merit you are to be preferred to others, which cannot be unless from you and in you": we do not want at all that she should glory as if she had not received them. Let her say indeed, "In me, O God, are your vows, which I will render in praise to you" (Psalm 56:12): but because they are in her, not also from her, let her remember also to say, "Lord, in your will you have provided strength for my beauty" (Psalm 30:7): because although even from her because of her own will without which we do not work good, yet not as this man said, "not unless from her." For one's own will, unless it is helped by the grace of God, cannot itself be even a good will in name. "For it is God," says the Apostle, "who works in you both to will and to work, for His good will" (Phil. 2:13): not, as these men feel, only by revealing knowledge, that we may know what we ought to do; but also by inspiring charity, that we may also do by loving those things which we know by learning.

8. For certainly he knew how great a good was continence who was saying, "And when I knew that no one can be continent, unless God gives it." Not only therefore did he know how much this good was, and how desirably it was to be lusted after, but even that it could not be unless God gave it: for wisdom had taught him; for he says this, "And this itself was of wisdom, to know whose gift this was." Nor yet was knowledge sufficient for him; but he says: "I went to the Lord, and besought Him" (Wisdom 8:21). God therefore does not only help us in this, that we may know what is to be done, but also that we may do by loving what we already know by learning. No one therefore can be not only knowing, but even continent, unless God gives it. Whence since he already had knowledge, he was praying that he might have also continence, that there might be even in him that which he was knowing because it was not from him: or if because of free will, proper somewhat and from him, yet not only from him; because no one can be continent, unless God gives it.

Iste autem de spiritualibus divitiis, in quibus est utique etiam ipsa luminosa et speciosa continentia, non ait, In te et ex te esse possunt: sed ait, nisi ex te et in te esse non possunt; ut quemadmodum non ei sunt alibi nisi in illa, sic ei non aliunde nisi ex ilia esse posse credantur, et ob hoc (quod miserator Dominus a corde ejus avertat!) sic glorietur, quasi non acceperit.

CAPUT III.

9. Et nos quidem de sanctae virginis disciplina et humilitate christiana, in qua nutrita et educata est, hoc existimamus, quod illa verba cum legeret, si tamen legit, ingemuit, et pectus humiliter tutudit, ac fortassis et flevit, Dominumque cui dicata et a quo sanctificata est fidenter oravit, ut quomodo illa non sunt verba ipsius, sed alterius, ita non sicut talis et fides ejus, qua se aliquid habere credat, de quo in se non in Domino glorietur. Nam gloria quidem ejus in ipsa est, non in verbis alienis, sicut Apostolus dicit: Opus autem suum probet unusquisque, et tunc in semetipso gloriam habebit, et non in altero (Galat. VI, 4). Sed absit ut gloria sua ipsa sit, et non ille cui dicitur. Gloria mea, et exaltans caput meum (Psal. III, 4)! Ita quippe est in ea salubriter gloria ejus, cum Deus qui in illa est, ipse est gloria ejus, a quo habet omnia bona quibus est bona; et habebit omnia quibus melior erit, in quantum in hac vita melior esse poterit; et quibus perfecta erit, quando fuerit divina gratia, non humana laude perfecta. In Domino enim laudabitur anima ejus (Psal. XXXIII, 2), qui satiavit in bonis desiderium ejus (Psal. CII, 5); quia et hoc desiderium ipse inspiravit, ne virgo ejus sic in aliquo bono glorietur quasi non acceperit.

10. De hoc ergo ejus affectu utrum non fallamur, inde nos fac potius rescribendo certiores. Nam illud optime novimus, cum omnibus vestris cultores vos esse et fuisse individuae Trinitatis. Sed non hinc solum error humanus obrepit, ut aliquid secus sentiatur de individua Trinitate. Sunt enim et alia in quibus perniciesissime erratur, sicut hoc est, unde diutius fortasse quam satis esset vestrae fideli castaeque prudentiae in hac epistola locuti sumus. Quanquam qui bonum quod ex Deo est, negat esse ex Deo, nescimus cui faciat injuriam nisi Deo, ac per hoc illi utique Trinitati: quod malum absit a vobis, sicut abesse credimus! Absit omnino ut tale aliquid in animo, non dicimus tuo, vel sacrae virginis filiae tuae, sed in cujusquam extremi meriti famuli vel famulae vestrae liber iste fecerit, ex quo nonnulla verba quae facilius intelligi possent ponenda credidimus.

But this one says of spiritual riches, in which is certainly also that luminous and beautiful continence, not, "They can be in you and from you": but he says, "not unless from you and in you they cannot be"; so that as they are to her nowhere else but in her, so they should be believed to be to her from nowhere else but from her, and because of this (which may the merciful Lord turn away from her heart!) she should so glory, as if she had not received.

CHAPTER III.

9. And we indeed, concerning the discipline and Christian humility of the holy virgin, in which she was nourished and educated, think this: that when she read those words, if indeed she read them, she groaned, and humbly struck her breast, and perhaps also wept, and confidently prayed to the Lord to whom she is dedicated and by whom she is sanctified, that as those are not her words, but another's, so also her faith should not be such, by which she might believe herself to have something of which she might glory in herself and not in the Lord. For her glory is indeed in herself, not in the words of others, as the Apostle says: "But let everyone prove his own work, and then he shall have glory in himself, and not in another" (Gal. 6:4). But far be it that her glory should be she herself, and not He to whom it is said: "My glory, and the lifter up of my head" (Psalm 3:3)! For thus her glory is healthfully in her, when God who is in her is Himself her glory, from whom she has all the goods by which she is good; and she will have all the things by which she will be better, in as much as she will be able to be better in this life; and by which she will be perfect, when she shall have been perfected by divine grace, not by human praise. For in the Lord shall her soul be praised (Psalm 34:2), who has satisfied her desire with good things (Psalm 103:5); because He himself inspired also this desire, lest His virgin should so glory in any good as if she had not received it.

Concerning this her affect therefore, whether we are not deceived, make us rather more certain by replying. For we know very well that with all your people you are and have been worshippers of the undivided Trinity. But not from here alone does human error creep in, that something otherwise is felt concerning the undivided Trinity. For there are also other things in which one errs most perniciously, as is this concerning which we have spoken in this letter perhaps longer than was enough for your faithful and chaste prudence. Although he who denies that the good which is from God is from God, we know not to whom he does injury except to God, and by this certainly to that Trinity: which evil far be from you, as we believe it to be away! Far be it altogether that this book should have made any such thing in the mind—we do not say yours, or of the sacred virgin your daughter, but in that of any servant or handmaid of yours of the lowest merit—from which book we believed some words which could be more easily understood were to be set down.

11. Si autem diligentius intendatis etiam illa, quae ibi videtur velut pro gratia sive adjutorio Dei dicere, sic invenietis ambigua, ut possint referri vel ad naturam, vel ad doctrinam, vel ad remissionem peccatorum. Nam et quod coguntur confiteri, orare nos debere ne intremus in tentationem, possunt ad hoc referre, ut hactenus nos ad id respondeant adjuvari, quatenus orantibus atque pulsantibus nobis aperiatur intelligentia veritatis, ubi discamus quid facere debeamus, non ut vires accipiat voluntas nostra, quibus id quod discimus faciamus. Et quod nobis in gratia vel adjutorio Dei dicunt Dominum Christum bene vivendi propositum exemplum, ad eamdem doctrinam revocant; quia scilicet in ejus exemplo discimus quemadmodum vivere debeamus: non autem volunt ad hoc nos juvari, ut quod discendo cognoscimus, etiam diligendo faciamus. 12. Aut certe in eodem libro invenite aliquid, si potestis, ubi excepta natura, excepto quod ad eamdem naturam pertinet arbitrio voluntatis, excepta remissione peccatorum et revelatione doctrinae, tale Dei adjutorium confiteatur, quale confitetur ille qui dixit: Cum scirem quia nemo potest esse continens, nisi Deus det, et hoc ipsum erat sapientiae, scire cujus esset hoc donum; adii Dominum et deprecatus sum illum. Neque enim iste aut naturam precando volebat accipere, in qua conditus erat; aut de naturali voluntatis arbitrio satagebat, cum quo conditus erat; aut remissionem peccatorum desiderabat, qui potius continentiam, ne peccaret, optabat; vel quid faciendum esset scire cupiebat, cum jam se scire fateretur cujus esset hoc donum: sed utique tantas voluntatis vires, tantum dilectionis ardorem volebat accipere Spiritu sapientiae, qui sufficeret ad implendam magnitudinem continentiae. Si ergo tale aliquid illic invenire potueritis, uberrimas gratias agemus, si rescribendo insinuare dignemini.

13. Satis enim dici non potest quantum cupiamus in eorum hominum scriptis, qui propter acrimoniam atque facundiam leguntur a plurimis, apertam confessionem illius gratiae reperiri, quam vehementer commendat Apostolus, qui etiam ipsius mensuram fidei (sine qua impossibile est Deo placere [Hebr. XI, 6], ex qua justus vivit [Rom. I, 17], quae per dilectionem operatur [Galat. V, 6], ante quam et sine qua omnino nulla cujusquam bona opera existimanda sunt, quoniam omne quod non est ex fide peccatum est [Rom. XIV, 23]). Deum dicit unicuique partitum (Id. XII, 3): nec sola revelatione scientiae nos divinitus adjuvari, ut pie justeque vivamus, quae sine charitate inflat (I Cor. VIII, 1); verum etiam inspiratione charitatis ipsius, quae plenitudo legis est (Rom. XIII, 10), et quae cor nostrum, ut scientia non inflet, aedificat. Sed adhuc nusquam tale aliquid in eorum litteris potuimus invenire.

11. But if you should more diligently attend even to those things which he seems there to say as if for the grace or help of God, you will find them so ambiguous that they can be referred either to nature, or to doctrine, or to the remission of sins. For even that which they are compelled to confess, that we ought to pray lest we enter into temptation, they can refer to this, that they should reply that we are helped so far toward it, as far as the understanding of truth is opened to us praying and knocking, where we may learn what we ought to do, not that our will should receive strength by which we may do that which we learn. And that which they say to us in the grace or help of God, that the Lord Christ is proposed as an example of living well, they recall to the same doctrine; because namely in His example we learn in what way we ought to live: but they do not want us to be helped to this, that what we know by learning, we may also do by loving. 12. Or certainly find something in the same book, if you can, where, nature being excepted, and that which pertains to the same nature, the choice of the will, being excepted, the remission of sins and the revelation of doctrine being excepted, such a help of God is confessed as he confesses who said: "When I knew that no one can be continent, unless God gives it, and this itself was of wisdom, to know whose gift this was; I went to the Lord and besought Him." For neither was this man wanting to receive by praying the nature in which he had been created; or was he busy about the natural choice of the will, with which he had been created; or was he desiring the remission of sins, who rather was wishing for continence lest he should sin; or was he desiring to know what was to be done, when he already was confessing that he knew whose gift this was: but certainly he was wanting to receive such strengths of the will, such an ardor of love by the Spirit of wisdom, as would suffice for fulfilling the greatness of continence. If therefore you shall be able to find any such thing there, we shall give most abundant thanks, if you should deign to intimate it by replying.

13. For it cannot be said enough how much we desire that in the writings of those men who, because of their sharp intelligence and eloquence, are read by very many, an open confession of that grace be found, which the Apostle vehemently commends, who says that God has distributed to each one the measure of faith (Rom. 12:3)—without which it is impossible to please God (Hebr. 11:6), from which the just man lives (Rom. 1:17), which works through love (Gal. 5:6), before which and without which absolutely no good works of anyone are to be considered, since everything which is not from faith is sin (Rom. 14:23). And he says that we are divinely helped to live piously and justly not by the revelation of knowledge alone, which without charity puffs up (1 Cor. 8:1); but also by the inspiration of His charity, which is the fullness of the law (Rom. 13:10), and which builds up our heart, so that knowledge may not puff up. But as yet we have been able to find no such thing anywhere in their letters.

14. Maxime autem hoc in isto libro esse vellemus, ex quo descripta illa verba posuimus, ubi virginem Christi ita laudans tanquam spirituales divitias nullus ei praeter ipsam conferre possit, et tanquam nisi ex ipsa esse non possint, non vult eam in Domino gloriari, sed sic gloriari quasi non acceperit. In quo libro quamvis nec ipsius nec tuae Reverentiae nomen expresserit, tamen a matre virginis ut ad eam scriberet, a se postulatum esse commemorat. In quadam vero epistola sua idem Pelagius, ubi et nomen suum apertissime ponit, nec nomen sacrae virginis tacet, dicit ad eam se scripsisse, et ejusdem sui operis testimonio probare nititur se gratiam Dei quam vel tacere vel negare asseritur, apertissime confiteri. Sed utrum ipse sit liber, in quo de spiritualibus divitiis illa verba posuit, vel utrum ad vestram pervenerit Sanctitatem, rescriptis vestris petimus nos dignemini facere certiores.

Epistola CLXXXIX.

Bonifacio in militia merenti praescribit vitae rationem; ostendens obiter licere christiano pro publica pace arma tractare.

Domino eximio, et merito insigni atque honorabili filio BONIFACIO, AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

1. Jam rescripserat Charitati tuae, sed cum epistolae dirigendae occasio quaereretur, supervenit dilectissimus filius meus Faustus, pergens ad Eximietatem tuam. Qui cum ipsas litteras quas jam fecerat, accepisset tuae Benevolentiae perferendas, suggessit mihi multum te desiderare ut aliquid tibi scriberem quod te aedificet ad sempiternam salutem, cujus tibi spes est in Domino nostro Jesu Christo. Et quamvis mihi occupato tantum institit ut facere non differrem, quantum scis quod te sinceriter diligat. Festinanti ergo ut occurrerem, malui festinanter aliquid scribere, quam religiosum tuum desiderium retardare, domine eximie, et merito insignis atque honorabilis fili.

2. Quod ergo breviter possum dicere, Dilige Dominum Deum tuum in toto corde tuo, et in tota anima tua, et in tota virtute tua; et, dilige proximum tuum tanquam teipsum: hoc est enim verbum quod breviavit Dominus super terram, dicens in Evangelio, In his duobus praeceptis tota lex pendet et Prophetae (Matth. XXII, 37, 39, 40). In hac ergo dilectione quotidie profice, et orando, et bene agendo, ut ipso adjuvante qui tibi eam praecepit atque donavit, nutriatur et crescat, donec haec te perfecta perficiat.

14. But we would especially wish this to be in that book from which we set down those words transcribed, where, so praising the virgin of Christ as if no one besides herself could confer spiritual riches on her, and as if they could not be unless from herself, he does not want her to glory in the Lord, but so to glory as if she had not received. In which book, although he has expressed neither his own name nor that of your Reverence, yet he commemorates that it was requested of him by the mother of the virgin that he should write to her. In a certain letter of his, however, the same Pelagius, where he both sets down his name most openly and does not keep silent the name of the sacred virgin, says that he wrote to her, and by the testimony of the same work of his he strives to prove that he most openly confesses the grace of God, which he is asserted either to keep silent or to deny. But whether it is the very book in which he set down those words concerning spiritual riches, or whether it has reached your Holiness, we ask that you deign to make us more certain by your replies.

Letter CLXXXIX.

To Boniface, serving in the military, he prescribes a rule of life; showing incidentally that it is lawful for a Christian to handle arms for the public peace.

To the excellent and by merit distinguished and honorable son BONIFACE, AUGUSTINE, greeting in the Lord.

1. I had already replied to your Charity, but when an opportunity for sending the letter was being sought, my most beloved son Faustus arrived, proceeding to your Excellency. Who, when he had received those letters which I had already made to be carried to your Benevolence, suggested to me that you much desire that I should write something to you which may build you up for everlasting salvation, the hope of which you have in our Lord Jesus Christ. And although I was occupied, he insisted so much that I should not defer doing it, as much as you know that he sincerely loves you. To meet him therefore as he was hastening, I preferred to write something hastily, than to retard your religious desire, excellent lord and by merit distinguished and honorable son.

2. That which therefore I can say briefly: "Love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your strength"; and "love your neighbor as yourself": for this is the word which the Lord shortened upon the earth, saying in the Gospel, "On these two precepts the whole law and the Prophets hang" (Matt. 22:37, 39, 40). In this love therefore profit daily, both by praying and by doing well, so that by the help of Him who commanded and gave it to you, it may be nourished and grow, until this being perfected may perfect you.

Ipsa est enim charitas, quae, sicut Apostolus dicit, diffusa est in cordibus nostris per Spiritum sanctum qui datus est nobis (Rom. V, 5): ipsa est de qua item dicit, Plenitudo legis charitas (Id. XIII, 10): ipsa est per quam fides operatur; unde iterum dicit, Neque circumcisio quidquam valet, neque praeputium; sed fides quae per dilectionem operatur (Galat V, 6).

3. In hac ergo omnes sancti patres nostri et Patriarchae et Prophetae et Apostoli placuerunt Deo. In hac omnes veri martyres usque ad sanguinem contra diabolum certaverunt; et quia in eis non refriguit nec defecit, ideo vicerunt. In hac omnes fideles boni quotidie proficiunt, pervenire cupientes non ad regnum mortalium, sed ad regnum coelorum; non ad temporalem, sed ad sempiternam haereditatem; non ad aurum et argentum, sed ad divitias incorruptibiles Angelorum; non ad aliqua bona hujus saeculi, in quibus cum timore vivitur, nec ea quisquam secum potest auferre dum moritur, sed ad videndum Deum: cujus suavitas et delectatio excedit omnem non solum terrestrium, verum etiam coelestium corporum pulchritudinem; excedit omnem decorem animarum quantumlibet justarum atque sanctarum; excedit omnem speciem supernorum Angelorum atque Virtutum; excedit quidquid de illo non solum dicitur, verum etiam cogitatur. Neque hanc tam magnam promissionem, quia valde magna est, ideo desperemus, sed potius, quia valde magnus eam promisit, accepturos nos esse credamus: sicut enim dicit beatus Joannes apostolus, Filii Dei sumus, et nondum apparuit quid erimus: scimus quia cum apparuerit, similes ei erimus, quoniam videbimus eum sicuti est (I Joan. III, 2).

4. Noli existimare neminem Deo placere posse, qui in armis bellicis militat. In his erat sanctus David, cui Dominus tam magnum perhibuit testimonium: in his etiam plurimi illius temporis justi. In his erat et ilne Centurio qui Domino dixit, Non sum dignus ut intres sub tectum meum; sed tantum dic verbo, et sanabitur puer meus. Nam et ego homo sum sub potestate constitutus, habens sub me milites, et dico huic, Vade, et vadit; et alii, Veni, et venit; et servo meo, Fac hoc, et facit: de quo et Dominus, Amen dico vobis, non inveni tantam fidem in Israel (Matth. VIII, 8-10). In his erat et ille Cornelius ad quem missus angelus dixit, Corneli, acceptae sunt eleemosynae tuae, et exauditae sunt orationes tuae: ubi eum admonuit ut ad beatum Petrum apostolum mitteret, et ab illo audiret quae facere deberet; ad quem apostolum, ut ad eum veniret, etiam religiosum militem misit (Act. X, 4-8). In his erant et illi qui baptizandi cum venissent ad Joannem, sanctum Domini praecursorem et amicum sponsi, de quo Dominus ipse ait, In natis mulierum non surrexit major Joanne Baptista (Matth. XI, 11), et quaesiissent ab eo quid facerent; respondit eis, Neminem concusseritis, nulli calumniam feceritis; sufficiat vobis stipendium vestrum (Luc. III, 14). Non eos utique sub armis militare prohibuit; quibus suum stipendium sufficere debere praecepit.

For it is charity itself which, as the Apostle says, "is poured forth in our hearts through the Holy Spirit who is given to us" (Rom. 5:5): it is the same of which he says again, "Charity is the fullness of the law" (Rom. 13:10): it is the same through which faith works; whence he says again, "Neither circumcision avails anything, nor uncircumcision; but faith which works through love" (Gal. 5:6).

3. In this therefore all our holy fathers and Patriarchs and Prophets and Apostles pleased God. In this all true martyrs have contended against the devil even unto blood; and because in them it did not grow cold nor fail, therefore they conquered. In this all good faithful people profit daily, desiring to reach not the kingdom of mortals, but the kingdom of heavens; not a temporal, but an everlasting inheritance; not gold and silver, but the incorruptible riches of the Angels; not some goods of this world, in which one lives with fear, nor can anyone take them with him when he dies, but to see God: whose sweetness and delight exceeds all beauty not only of earthly but even of celestial bodies; it exceeds all comeliness of souls however just and holy; it exceeds all appearance of supernal Angels and Powers; it exceeds whatever is not only said but even thought concerning Him. Nor let us despair of this so great a promise because it is very great, but rather, because He who is very great promised it, let us believe that we are going to receive it: for as the blessed apostle John says, "We are the sons of God, and it has not yet appeared what we shall be: we know that when He shall appear, we shall be like Him, since we shall see Him as He is" (1 John 3:2).

4. Do not judge that no one can please God who serves in the weapons of war. In these was the holy David, to whom the Lord gave such great testimony: in these also very many just men of that time. In these was also that Centurion who said to the Lord, "I am not worthy that you should enter under my roof; but only say by a word, and my boy shall be healed. For I also am a man constituted under power, having under me soldiers, and I say to this one, Go, and he goes; and to another, Come, and he comes; and to my servant, Do this, and he does it": of whom also the Lord said, "Amen I say to you, I have not found so great faith in Israel" (Matt. 8:8-10). In these was also that Cornelius to whom an angel being sent said, "Cornelius, your alms are accepted, and your prayers are heard": where he admonished him to send to the blessed apostle Peter, and hear from him what he ought to do; to which apostle, that he might come to him, he sent also a religious soldier (Acts 10:4-8). In these were also those who when they had come to be baptized by John, the holy precursor of the Lord and friend of the Bridegroom, of whom the Lord Himself says, "Among those born of women there has not arisen a greater than John the Baptist" (Matt. 11:11), and had asked of him what they should do; he replied to them, "Do violence to no one, do no calumny to anyone; let your pay suffice you" (Luke 3:14). He certainly did not prohibit them from serving under arms, to whom he commanded that their pay ought to suffice.

5. Majoris quidem loci sunt apud Deum, qui omnibus istis saecularibus actionibus derelictis, etiam summa continentia castitatis ei serviunt; Sed unusquisque, sicut Apostolus dicit, proprium donum habet a Deo; alius sic, alius autem sic (I Cor. VII, 7). Alii ergo pro vobis orando pugnant contra invisibiles inimicos; vos pro eis pugnando laboratis contra visibiles barbaros. Utinam una fides esset in omnibus, quia et minus laboraretur, et facilius diabolus cum angelis suis vinceretur! Sed quia in hoc saeculo necesse est ut cives regni coelorum inter errantes et impios tentationibus agitentur, ut exerceantur, et tanquam in fornace sicut aurum probentur (Sap. III, 6), non debemus ante tempus velle cum solis sanctis et justis vivere, ut hoc suo tempore mereamur accipere.

6. Hoc ergo primum cogita, quando armaris ad pugnam, quia virtus tua etiam ipsa corporalis donum Dei est. Sic enim cogitabis de dono Dei non facere contra Deum. Fides enim quando promittitur, etiam hosti servanda est contra quem bellum geritur; quanto magis amico pro quo pugnatur! Pacem habere debet voluntas, bellum necessitas, ut liberet Deus a necessitate, et conservet in pace. Non enim pax quaeritur ut bellum excitetur, sed bellum geritur ut pax acquiratur. Esto ergo etiam bellando pacificus, ut eos quos expugnas, ad pacis utilitatem vincendo perducas: Beati enim pacifici, ait Dominus, quoniam ipsi filii Dei vocabuntur (Matth. V, 9). Si autem pax humana tam dulcis est pro temporali salute mortalium, quanto est dulcior pax divina pro aeterna salute Angelorum! Itaque hostem pugnantem necessitas perimat, non voluntas. Sicut rebellanti et resistenti violentia redditur, ita victo vel capto misericordia jam debetur, maxime in quo pacis perturbatio non timetur.

7. Ornet mores tuos pudicitia conjugalis, ornet sobrietas et frugalitas: valde enim turpe est, ut quem non vincit homo, vincat libido; et obruatur vino, qui non vincitur ferro. Divitiae saeculares si desunt, non per mala opera quaerantur in mundo; si autem adsunt, per bona opera serventur in coelo. Animum virilem et christianum nec debent, si accedunt, extollere, nec debent frangere, si recedunt. Illud potius cogitemus quod Dominus ait, Ubi est thesaurus tuus, ibi erit et cor tuum (Matth. VI, 21); et utique cum audimus ut cor sursum habeamus, non mendaciter respondere debemus, quod nosti quia respondemus.

5. Of a higher place indeed are they before God, who, having abandoned all these secular actions, serve Him even by the highest continence of chastity; "But everyone," as the Apostle says, "has his own gift from God; one thus, but another thus" (1 Cor. 7:7). Others therefore fight against invisible enemies by praying for you; you labor by fighting against visible barbarians for them. Would that there were one faith in all, because both there would be less labor, and the devil with his angels would more easily be conquered! But because in this world it is necessary that the citizens of the kingdom of heavens be agitated by temptations among the erring and the impious, that they may be exercised, and as in a furnace like gold be proved (Wisdom 3:6), we ought not to wish before the time to live with the holy and just alone, so that we may merit to receive this in its own time.

6. Think of this therefore first, when you are armed for battle, that your very corporal strength is the gift of God. For so you will think not to act against God from the gift of God. For faith, when it is promised, is to be kept even to the enemy against whom war is waged; how much more to a friend for whom one fights! The will ought to have peace, necessity war, so that God may deliver from necessity and preserve in peace. For peace is not sought so that war may be excited, but war is waged so that peace may be acquired. Be therefore even in warring peaceful, that you may lead those whom you conquer to the utility of peace by conquering: for "Blessed are the peacemakers," says the Lord, "since they shall be called the sons of God" (Matt. 5:9). But if human peace is so sweet for the temporal salvation of mortals, how much sweeter is divine peace for the eternal salvation of Angels! Therefore let necessity kill the fighting enemy, not the will. Just as violence is returned to one rebelling and resisting, so mercy is now owed to the conquered or the captured, especially in whom a perturbation of peace is not feared.

7. Let conjugal modesty adorn your manners, let sobriety and frugality adorn them: for it is very base that whom man does not conquer, lust should conquer; and he should be overwhelmed by wine, who is not conquered by iron. If secular riches are lacking, let them not be sought in the world through evil works; but if they are present, let them be preserved in heaven through good works. They ought neither, if they come, to extol, nor, if they depart, to break a manly and Christian mind. Let us rather think what the Lord says, "Where your treasure is, there also will your heart be" (Matt. 6:21); and certainly when we hear that we should have the heart upwards, we ought not to respond mendaciously, what you know that we respond.

8. Et in iis quidem bene studiosum te esse cognovi, et fama tua multum delector, multumque tibi in Domino gratulor, ita ut haec epistola magis tibi sit speculum ubi qualis sis videas, quam ubi discas qualis esse debeas: verumtamen quidquid sive in ista sive in Scripturis sanctis inveneris, quod tibi ad bonam vitam adhuc minus est, insta ut acquiras et agendo et orando; et ex iis quae habes gratias age Deo tanquam fonti bonitatis unde habes; atque in omnibus bonis actibus tuis illi da claritatem, tibi humilitatem. Sicut enim scriptum est, Omne datum optimum, et omne donum perfectum desursum est, descendens a Patre luminum (Jacobi I, 17). Quantumcumque autem in Dei et proximi charitate atque in vera pietate profeceris, quamdiu in hac vita conversaris, sine peccato te esse non credas: de ipsa quippe legitur in Litteris sanctis, Numquid non tentatio est vita humana super terram (Job. VII, 1)? Proinde quoniam semper, quamdiu es in hoc corpore, necessarium est tibi in oratione dicere quod Dominus docuit, Dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris (Matth. VI, 12); memento cito ignoscere, si quis in te peccaverit, et a te veniam postulaverit, ut veraciter possis orare, et peccatis tuis veniam valeas impetrare. Haec Dilectioni quidem tuae festinanter scripsi, quoniam me festinatio perlatoris urgebat. Sed Deo gratias ago, quoniam bono desiderio tuo qualitercumque non defui. Semper te misericordia Dei protegat, domine eximie, et merito insignis atque honorabilis fili.

EPISTOLA CXC . Optato demonstrat quid de animae origine certum sit, quid merito vocetur in dubium, satagendumque esse hac in quaestione ut salva sit imprimis fides, qua credimus neminem nasci ex Adam nisi vinculo damnationis obstrictum, neminemque inde liberari nisi renascendo per Christum.

Domino beatissimo, et sincera dilectione desiderabili fratri et coepiscopo OPTATO, AUGUSTINUS, in Domino salutem.

CAPUT PRIMUM.

1. Quamvis tuae Sanctitatis nullas ad me ipsum datas acceperim litteras; tamen quia illae quas ad Mauritaniam Caesariensem misisti, me apud Caesaream praesente venerunt, quo nos injuncta nobis a venerabili papa Zosimus apostolicae Sedis episcopo ecclesiastica necessitas traxerat: factum est ut ea quae scripsisti, etiam ipse perlegerem, tradente mihi eamdem epistolam tuam famulo Dei sancto Renato, in Christo nobis fratre charissimo; quo petente, et mihi licet aliis occupato vehementer instante, ad ea sum respondere compulsus.

8. And in these indeed I have known you to be well studious, and I am much delighted by your fame, and much do I congratulate you in the Lord, so that this letter is more a mirror to you where you may see what kind of man you are, than where you may learn what kind you ought to be: nevertheless whatever whether in this or in the holy Scriptures you shall find, which is as yet less to you for a good life, insist that you acquire it both by acting and by praying; and from those things which you have give thanks to God as to the fountain of goodness whence you have them; and in all your good acts give the clarity to Him, humility to yourself. For as it is written, "Every good gift and every perfect gift is from above, descending from the Father of lights" (James 1:17). But however much you shall have profited in the charity of God and neighbor and in true piety, as long as you are conversant in this life, do not believe that you are without sin: for concerning it we read in the holy Letters, "Is not human life upon earth a temptation?" (Job 7:1). Hence since it is always necessary for you, as long as you are in this body, to say in prayer what the Lord taught, "Forgive us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors" (Matt. 6:12); remember to forgive quickly if anyone shall have sinned against you and shall have asked pardon from you, that you may be able to pray truthfully and may be able to impetrate pardon for your sins. I have written these things hastily to your Charity, since the haste of the bearer was urging me. But I give thanks to God, since I have not failed your good desire in whatever way. May the mercy of God always protect you, excellent lord and by merit distinguished and honorable son.

LETTER CXC. To Optatus he demonstrates what is certain concerning the origin of the soul, what is deservedly called into doubt, and that one must be busy in this question so that the faith may be saved in the first place, by which we believe no one is born from Adam except bound by the bond of damnation, and no one is liberated from there except by being born again through Christ.

To the most blessed lord, and by sincere love desirable brother and fellow bishop OPTATUS, AUGUSTINE, greeting in the Lord.

CHAPTER I.

1. Although I have received no letters of your Holiness given to myself; yet because those which you sent to Caesarean Mauritania came while I was present at Caesarea, where an ecclesiastical necessity enjoined upon us by the venerable Pope Zosimus, bishop of the Apostolic See, had drawn us: it happened that I myself also read those things which you wrote, the holy Renatus, a servant of God and most dear brother to us in Christ, delivering that same letter of yours to me; at whose petition, and he vehemently insisting although I was occupied with other things, I was compelled to reply to them.

Accessit huc etiam alterius sancti et cum debito honore nominandi fratris nostri, et quantum ab illo comperi, necessarii tui Muressis, cum in supra dicto oppido remoraremur, adventus; qui mihi retulit etiam sibi missas de hac re litteras Venerationis tuae, et me de hac ipsa quaestione consuluit, ut quid inde sentirem, vel meis vel suis rescriptis ad te faceret pervenire: Utrum scilicet animae ut corpora propagatione nascantur, sintque ex illa una quae primo homini creata est; an Creator omnipotens, qui utique usque nunc operatur, sine ulla propagatione novas faciat singulis proprias.

2. De qua re antequam aliquid admoneam sinceritatem tuam, scire te volo in tam multis opusculis meis nunquam me fuisse ausum de hac quaestione definitam proferre sententiam, et impudenter referre in litteras ad alios informandos, quod apud me non fuerit explicatum. Quarum autem rerum atque causarum consideratione permovear, ut in neutram assertionem meus inclinetur assensus, sed adhuc inter utramque disceptem, nimis longum est hac epistola expromere; nec tam necessarium, ut hoc omisso non possit de hac quaestione quod satis est disputari, etsi non ad auferendam cunctationem, certe ad cavendam temeritatem.

3. Illud enim ubi vel maxime fides christiana consistit, quod Per hominem mors et per hominem resurrectio mortuorum: sicut enim in Adam omnes moriuntur, ita et in Christo omnes vivificabuntur (I Cor. XV, 21, 22); et quod Per unum hominem peccatum in hunc mundum intravit, et per peccatum mors: et ita in omnes homines mors pertransiit in quo omnes peccaverunt; et quod Judicium quidem ex uno in condemnationem: gratia autem ex multis delictis in justificationem vitae; et quod Per unius delictum in omnes homines ad condemnationem, et per unius justificationem in omnes homines in justificationem vitae (Rom. V, 12, 16, 18): et si qua alia testimonia declarant neminem nasci ex Adam, nisi vinculo delicti et damnationis obstrictum, neminemque inde liberari nisi renascendo per Christum; tam inconcusse tenere debemus, ut sciamus eum qui hoc negaverit, nullo modo ad Christi fidem, et ad eam quae per Christum datur pusillis et magnis, Dei gratiam pertinere. Unde si origo animae lateat, dum tamen redemptio clareat, periculum non est: neque enim in Christum credimus ut nascamur, sed ut renascamur, quomodocumque nati fuerimus.

There was added to this also the arrival of another holy brother of ours, and one to be named with due honor, and as much as I learned from him, your necessary friend Muresis, while we were delaying in the above-mentioned town; who related to me that letters of your Veneration on this matter had also been sent to him, and he consulted me on this very question, so that what I felt about it might reach you either by my or by his replies: Whether, namely, souls are born by propagation like bodies, and are from that one which was created for the first man; or whether the omnipotent Creator, who certainly works even until now, makes new ones proper to each individual without any propagation.

2. Concerning which matter, before I advise your sincerity anything, I want you to know that in so many little works of mine I have never dared to proffer a definite sentence on this question, and impudently to record in letters for the information of others what had not been explained to myself. But by the consideration of what things and causes I am moved, so that my assent is inclined to neither assertion, but I still dispute between both, is too long to set forth in this letter; nor so necessary that, this being omitted, it cannot be disputed concerning this question as much as is enough, if not to take away hesitation, certainly to avoid temerity.

3. For that where especially the Christian faith consists, that "By man death and by man the resurrection of the dead: for as in Adam all die, so also in Christ all shall be made alive" (1 Cor. 15:21, 22); and that "By one man sin entered into this world, and through sin death: and so death passed unto all men in whom all have sinned"; and that "Judgment indeed from one unto condemnation: but grace from many offenses unto the justification of life"; and that "By the offense of one unto all men unto condemnation, and by the justification of one unto all men unto the justification of life" (Rom. 5:12, 16, 18): and if any other testimonies declare that no one is born from Adam except bound by the bond of offense and damnation, and no one is liberated from there except by being born again through Christ; we ought to hold so unshakably, that we may know that he who shall have denied this in no way belongs to the faith of Christ, and to that grace of God which is given through Christ to the small and the great. Whence if the origin of the soul lies hidden, as long as the redemption is clear, there is no danger: for neither do we believe in Christ that we may be born, but that we may be born again, in whatever way we were born.

4. Hactenus autem dicimus sine periculo latere animae originem, ut non tamen eam partem Dei esse credamus, sed creaturam. Nec de Deo natam, sed ab illo factam, atque in ejus genus adoptandam mirabili dignatione gratiae, non parili dignitate naturae. Nec eam corpus esse, sed spiritum; non Creatorem utique, sed creatum. Nec ideo venisse in hoc corpus corruptibile quo gravatur, quod ad illud eam vitae in coelestibus vel in quibuslibet aliis partibus mundi antea male gestae merita compulerint. Nondum enim natos Apostolus, cum de Rebeccae geminis loqueretur, nihil egisse dicit boni vel mali; ut non ex operibus, quibus nullis alter distinguebatur ab altero, sed ex vocante diceretur, minori serviturum esse majorem (Id. IX, 11-13).

CAPUT II.

5. His igitur firmissime constitutis, si tam reconditum atque additum est in occultis operibus Dei, ut nec Scripturarum divinarum manifesto eloquio declaretur, utrum propterea nihil boni vel mali nondum nati egisse credendi sint, quia non ex aliis propagatas, sed mox ex nihilo creatas animas singuli accipiunt; an quia cum essent originaliter in parentibus, adhuc ipsi nulli erant qui suas et proprias vitas agerent: illa tamen sit fides salva, qua credimus nullum hominum, sive majoris, sive parvulae quamlibet et recentis aetatis, liberari a contagione mortis antiquae et obligatione peccati quod prima nativitate contraxit, nisi per unum mediatorem Dei et hominum, hominem Christum Jesum (I Tim. II, 5).

6. Cujus hominis ejusdemque Dei saluberrima fide, etiam illi justi salvi facti sunt, qui, priusquam veniret in carne , crediderunt in carne venturum. Eadem namque fides est et nostra et illorum, quoniam hoc illi crediderunt futurum, quod nos credimus factum: unde dicit apostolus Paulus, Habentes autem eumdem Spiritum fidei, secundum quod scriptum est, Credidi, propter quod locutus sum, et nos credimus, propter quod et loquimur (II Cor. IV, 13). Si ergo eumdem Spiritum fidei et illi habebant qui venturum in carne Christum praenuntiarunt, quem etiam illi qui eum venisse nuntiarunt; sacramenta esse potuerunt pro temporum diversitate diversa, ad unitatem tamen ejusdem fidei concordissime recurrentia. Scriptum est in Actibus Apostolorum, loquente apostolo Petro: Nunc ergo quid tentatis Deum imponere jugum supra collum discipulorum, quod neque patres nostri, neque nos portare potuimus? Sed per gratiam Domini Jesu credimus nos salvos fieri, quemadmodum et illi (Act. XV, 10, 11).

4. But so far we say that the origin of the soul lies hidden without danger, that we do not yet believe it to be a part of God, but a creature. Nor born from God, but made by Him, and to be adopted into His kind by a wonderful condescension of grace, not by an equal dignity of nature. Nor that it is a body, but a spirit; not the Creator certainly, but created. Nor that it therefore came into this corruptible body by which it is weighed down, because the merits of life previously badly led in the heavens or in any other parts of the world compelled it to it. For of those not yet born the Apostle, when he was speaking of the twins of Rebecca, says that they had done nothing of good or of evil; so that not from works, by which none was distinguished from the other, but from Him calling, it was said that the elder should serve the younger (Rom. 9:11-13).

CHAPTER II.

5. These things therefore being most firmly established, if it is so recondite and hidden in the secret works of God, that it is not declared by the manifest eloquence of the divine Scriptures, whether for that reason those not yet born are to be believed to have done nothing of good or of evil, because they do not receive souls propagated from others, but soon created from nothing; or because when they were originally in their parents, they themselves were as yet none who led their own and proper lives: yet let that faith be safe, by which we believe that none of men, whether of a greater, or of a small age however recent, is liberated from the contagion of ancient death and the obligation of sin which he contracted by his first birth, except through the one mediator of God and men, the man Christ Jesus (1 Tim. 2:5).

6. By the most healthful faith of which man and the same God, even those just were made safe, who, before He came in the flesh, believed that He would come in the flesh. For the same faith is both ours and theirs, since they believed this would be, which we believe has been done: whence the apostle Paul says, "But having the same Spirit of faith, according to what is written, I believed, for which reason I have spoken, and we believe, for which reason also we speak" (2 Cor. 4:13). If therefore those also had the same Spirit of faith who foretold that Christ would come in the flesh, whom also those had who announced that He had come; the sacraments could be different according to the diversity of times, yet recurring most concordantly to the unity of the same faith. It is written in the Acts of the Apostles, the apostle Peter speaking: "Now therefore why do you tempt God to impose a yoke upon the neck of the disciples, which neither our fathers nor we were able to bear? But through the grace of the Lord Jesus we believe we are made safe, in the same manner as they also" (Acts 15:10, 11).

Si ergo et illi, id est, patres, portare jugum legis veteris non valentes, per gratiam Domini Jesu salvos se fieri crediderunt; manifestum est quod haec gratia etiam antiquos justos vivere fecit ex fide: justus enim ex fide vivit (Habac. II, 4).

7. Lex autem subintravit ut abundaret delictum; ut superabundaret gratia (Rom. V, 20), per quam sanaretur delicti abundantia. Si enim data esset lex quae vivificare posset, omnino ex lege esset justitia. Cui tamen bono Lex data sit , consequenter adjunxit dicens: Sed conclusit Scriptura omnia sub peccato, ut promissio ex fide Jesu Christi daretur credentibus (Galat. III, 21, 22). Danda itaque fuerat Lex, quae manifestius sibi ipsum ostenderet hominem, ne superbus animus humanus a seipso se posse esse justum putaret, et ignorans Dei justitiam, id est quae homini ex Deo est, et suam volens constituere, id est quasi suis viribus partam, justitiae Dei subjectus non fieret (Rom. X, 3). Oportebat itaque ut addito mandato cujus vox est, Non concupisces (Exod. XX, 17), superbo peccatori etiam praevaricationis crimen accederet; atque ita gratiae medicinam non sanata per Legem, sed convicta infirmitas quaereret.

8. Proinde, cum omnes justi, hoc est veraces Dei cultores, sive ante incarnationem, sive post incarnationem Christi, nec vixerint, nec vivant, nisi ex fide incarnationis Christi, in quo est gratiae plenitudo; profecto quod scriptum est, Non esse aliud nomen sub coelo, in quo oporteat salvos fieri nos (Act. IV, 12), ex illo tempore valet ad salvandum genus humanum, ex quo in Adam vitiatum est genus humanum. Sicut enim in Adam omnes moriuntur, ita et in Christo omnes vivificabuntur. Quia sicut in regno mortis nemo sine Adam, ita in regno vitae nemo sine Christo. Sicut per Adam omnes injusti, ita per Christum omnes justi homines. Sicut per Adam omnes mortales in poena facti sunt filii saeculi, ita et per Christum omnes immortales in gratia fiunt filii Dei.

CAPUT III.

9. Cur autem creentur etiam illi quos Creator praescivit ad damnationem non ad gratiam pertinere, beatus Apostolus tanto succinctiore brevitate, quanto majore auctoritate commemorat. Deum enim dicit volentem ostendere iram, et demonstrare potentiam suam, attulisse in multa patientia vasa irae, quae perfecta sunt in perditionem, et ut notas faceret divitias gloriae suae in vasa misericordiae; quem superius dixerat tanquam figulum luti ex eadem massa facere aliud vas in honorem, aliud in contumeliam (Rom. IX, 22, 21).

If therefore they also, that is, the fathers, not being able to bear the yoke of the old law, believed they were made safe through the grace of the Lord Jesus; it is manifest that this grace made even the ancient just live from faith: for the just man lives from faith (Habak. 2:4).

7. But the Law entered in that the offense might abound; that grace might superabound (Rom. 5:20), through which the abundance of the offense might be healed. For if a law had been given which could give life, justice would altogether be from the law. To what good the Law was given, however, he consequently added saying: "But the Scripture concluded all things under sin, that the promise from the faith of Jesus Christ might be given to those believing" (Gal. 3:21, 22). The Law was therefore to be given, which might more manifestly show man to himself, lest the proud human mind should think itself able to be just from itself, and being ignorant of the justice of God, that is which is to man from God, and wanting to constitute its own, that is as if produced by its own strengths, it should not be made subject to the justice of God (Rom. 10:3). It was necessary therefore that, with the mandate added whose voice is, "You shall not covet" (Exod. 20:17), the crime of prevarication should also be added to the proud sinner; and thus the infirmity, not healed through the Law but convicted, should seek the medicine of grace.

8. Hence, since all the just, that is true worshippers of God, whether before the incarnation or after the incarnation of Christ, have neither lived nor live except from faith in the incarnation of Christ, in whom is the fullness of grace; surely what is written, "That there is not another name under heaven, in which it behooves us to be made safe" (Acts 4:12), avails for saving the human race from that time, from which the human race was vitiated in Adam. "For as in Adam all die, so also in Christ all shall be made alive." Because as in the kingdom of death no one is without Adam, so in the kingdom of life no one is without Christ. As through Adam all are unjust, so through Christ all are just men. As through Adam all mortals in punishment were made sons of the age, so also through Christ all immortals in grace are made sons of God.

CHAPTER III.

9. Why, however, even those are created whom the Creator foreknew as pertaining to damnation and not to grace, the blessed Apostle commemorates with a brevity as succinct as its authority is great. For he says that God, willing to show His wrath and to demonstrate His power, brought in much patience the vessels of wrath, which were prepared for destruction, and so that He might make known the riches of His glory upon the vessels of mercy; whom he had previously described as like a potter of clay making from the same mass one vessel for honor and another for dishonor (Rom. 9:22, 21).

Merito autem videretur injustum, quod fiunt vasa irae ad perditionem, si non esset ipsa universa ex Adam massa damnata. Quod ergo fiunt inde nascendo vasa irae, pertinet ad debitam poenam: quod autem fiunt renascendo vasa misericordiae, pertinet ad indebitam gratiam.

10. Ostendit ergo Deus iram suam; non utique animi perturbationem, sicut est quae ira hominis nuncupatur, sed justam fixamque vindictam, quia de stirpe inobedientiae ducitur propago peccati atque supplicii. Et homo natus ex muliere, sicut in libro Job scriptum est, brevis est vitae et plenus iracundiae (Job. XIV, 1, sec. LXX). Ejus enim rei vas est, qua plenus est: unde irae vasa dicuntur. Ostendit et potentiam suam, qua bene etiam utitur malis, multa illis naturalia et temporalia bona largiens, eorumque malitiam ad exercendos et comparatione admonendos bonos accommodans, ut in eis discant agere gratias Deo quod ab eis, non suis meritis, quae in eadem massa paria fuerunt, sed illius miseratione discreti sunt. Quod maxime apparet in parvulis, de quibus, cum per Christi gratiam renascuntur, et istam vitam in illa tenera aetate finientes in aeternam transeunt et beatam, dici non potest quod libero discernuntur arbitrio ab aliis infantibus qui sine hac gratia in ipsius massae damnatione moriuntur.

11. Si autem hi soli crearentur ex Adam, qui essent per gratiam recreandi, et praeter illos qui in Dei filios adoptantur, nulli alii homines nascerentur, lateret beneficium quod donaretur indignis; quia nullis ex eadem damnabili stirpe venientibus debitum supplicium redderetur. Cum vero attulit in multa patientia vasa irae, quae perfecta sunt in perditionem, non solum ostendit iram et demonstravit potentiam suam redhibendo vindictam, et bene utendo non bonis, sed etiam notas fecit divitias gloriae suae in vasa misericordiae. Ita enim quid praestetur sibi dicit gratis justificatus, dum non suo merito, sed gloria largissimae Dei misericordiae discernitur a damnato, cum quo eadem justitia fuerat et ipse damnandus.

12. Tam multos autem creando nasci voluit, quos ad suam gratiam non pertinere praescivit, ut multitudine incomparabili plures sint illis quos in sui regni gloria filios promissionis praedestinare dignatus est; ut etiam ipsa rejectorum multitudine ostenderetur, quam nullius momenti sit apud Deum justum quantalibet numerositas justissime damnatorum. Atque ut hinc quoque intelligant qui ex ipsa damnatione redimuntur, hoc fuisse debitum massae illi universae, quod tam magnae parti ejus redditum cernerent, non solum in eis qui originali peccato multa addunt malae voluntatis arbitrio, verum etiam in tam multis parvulis qui tantummodo vinculo peccati originalis obstricti, sine gratia Mediatoris ex hac luce rapiuntur.

Moreover, it would rightly seem unjust that vessels of wrath are made for destruction, if that entire mass from Adam were not condemned. Therefore, that vessels of wrath are made from there by being born pertains to a due punishment: but that vessels of mercy are made by being born again pertains to an undue grace.

10. God therefore shows His wrath; certainly not a perturbation of mind, such as is that which is called the wrath of man, but a just and fixed vengeance, because from the stock of disobedience is derived the offspring of sin and of punishment. And man born of a woman, as it is written in the book of Job, is short of life and full of anger (Job 14:1, according to LXX). For he is a vessel of that thing with which he is full: whence they are called vessels of wrath. He also shows His power, by which He even uses the wicked well, bestowing many natural and temporal goods upon them, and adapting their malice for exercising and for admonishing the good by comparison, so that in them they may learn to give thanks to God that from them, not by their own merits, which were equal in the same mass, but by His mercy they have been distinguished. This appears especially in infants, concerning whom, when they are born again through the grace of Christ, and ending this life in that tender age they pass into the eternal and blessed one, it cannot be said that they are distinguished by free will from other infants who die without this grace in the condemnation of the same mass.

11. But if only those were created from Adam who were to be recreated through grace, and besides those who are adopted as sons of God, no other men were born, the benefit which is given to the unworthy would be hidden; because no due punishment would be rendered to those coming from the same damnable stock. But when He brought in much patience the vessels of wrath, which were prepared for destruction, He not only showed His wrath and demonstrated His power by rendering vengeance and by using well those who are not good, but He also made known the riches of His glory upon the vessels of mercy. For so he who is justified freely says what is bestowed upon himself, while not by his own merit, but by the glory of God's most bountiful mercy he is distinguished from the condemned one, with whom by the same justice he himself was to be condemned.

12. Moreover, He willed so many to be born by being created, whom He foreknew would not pertain to His grace, that they are incomparably more in number than those whom He has deigned to predestine as sons of promise into the glory of His kingdom; so that even by the very multitude of the rejected it might be shown how of no moment it is with a just God however great a number of the most justly condemned. And so that from this also they who are redeemed from that same condemnation may understand that this was due to that entire mass, which they see rendered to so great a part of it, not only in those who to original sin add many things by the choice of an evil will, but even in so many infants who, bound only by the chain of original sin, are snatched from this light without the grace of the Mediator.

Tota quippe ista massa justae damnationis reciperet debitum, nisi ex ea faceret non solum justus, sed etiam misericors figulus alia vasa in honorem secundum gratiam, non secundum debitum; dum et parvulis subvenit, quorum nulla merita dici possunt, et majores praevenit, ut habere aliqua merita possint.

CAPUT IV.

13. Quae cum ita sint, si assertio tua non eo tendit, ut novas animas dicas propter innocentiam novitatis suae, antequam ad peccandum libero utantur arbitrio, damnationi originali obnoxias esse non posse; sed eas fide catholica confiteris, etiamsi in illa tenera aetate de corpore exierint, in damnationem perditionis ituras, nisi Sacramento Mediatoris, qui venit quaerere et salvum facere quod perierat (Luc. XIX, 10), liberentur: quaere ubi, vel unde, vel quando coeperint damnationis meritum habere, si novae sunt, ita sane ut Deum non facias, nec aliquam naturam quam non condidit Deus, vel peccati earum vel innocentum damnationis auctorem. Et si inveneris quod te quaerere admonui, quod ipse adhuc, fateor, non inveni, defende quantum potes, atque assere animarum infantium ejusmodi esse novitatem, ut nulla propagatione ducantur; et nobiscum quod inveneris fraterna dilectione communica.

14. Si autem non inveneris quare vel quomodo fiant animae infantium peccatrices, et nihil in seipsis habentes malitiae, a quo cogantur ex Adam trahere unde damnentur, cum eas credas non ex illa prima peccatrice propagatas, sed novas atque insontes includi carne peccati; nec sic jam temere in aliam sententiam tua deflectatur assensio, ut eas ex illa una credas propagando traduci; ne forte alius invenire possit quod ipse non possis, aut aliquando invenias quod nunc non potueris. Nam et illi qui animas ex una propagari asserunt, quam Deus primo homini dedit, atque ita eas ex parentibus trahi dicunt, si Tertulliani opinionem sequuntur, profecto eas non spiritus, sed corpora esse contendunt, et corpulentis seminibus exoriri: quo perversius quid dici potest? Neque hoc Tertullianum somniasse mirandum est, qui etiam ipsum creatorem Deum non esse nisi corpus opinatur.

For that whole mass would receive the due of just condemnation, unless from it the Potter, who is not only just but also merciful, should make other vessels for honor according to grace, not according to debt; while He both helps infants, of whom no merits can be spoken, and prevents adults, so that they may be able to have some merits.

CHAPTER IV.

13. These things being so, if your assertion does not tend to this, that you say new souls, on account of the innocence of their novelty, before they use free will for sinning, cannot be subject to original condemnation; but you confess with the Catholic faith that even if they should depart from the body in that tender age, they would go into the condemnation of perdition, unless they are liberated by the Sacrament of the Mediator, who came to seek and to save that which was lost (Luke 19:10): seek where, or whence, or when they began to have the merit of condemnation, if they are new, in such a way certainly that you do not make God, nor any nature which God did not create, the author either of their sin or of the condemnation of the innocent. And if you find what I have admonished you to seek, which I myself hitherto, I confess, have not found, defend it as much as you can, and assert that the novelty of the souls of infants is of such a sort that they are not derived by any propagation; and communicate with us in brotherly love what you find.

14. But if you do not find why or how the souls of infants become sinful, and having nothing of malice in themselves by which they are compelled to draw from Adam whence they are condemned, while you believe them not propagated from that first sinful soul, but new and innocent to be enclosed in the flesh of sin; let not your assent be so rashly deflected into another opinion, as to believe them derived from that one by propagation; lest perhaps another may be able to find what you yourself cannot, or you yourself may find at some time what you could not now. For even those who assert that souls are propagated from the one which God gave to the first man, and thus say they are drawn from parents, if they follow the opinion of Tertullian, they certainly contend that they are not spirits but bodies, and arise from corporeal seeds: than which what can be said more perversely? Nor is it to be wondered at that Tertullian dreamed this, who also opines that the Creator God Himself is nothing but a body.

15. Qua dementia repulsa a corde atque ore christiano, quisquis animam, sicuti est, non esse corpus sed spiritum confitetur, et tamen in filios ex parentibus duci; in eo quidem nullis coarctatur angustiis, quod omnes animas, etiam parvulorum, quos Ecclesia non utique in falsam, sed in veram peccatorum remissionem baptizat, vera fides praedicat trahere originale peccatum propria primi hominis voluntate commissum, et in omnes posteros generatione transmissum, sola regeneratione purgandum: sed cum considerari et pertractari coeperit quid dicatur, mirum si ullus sensus comprehendit humanus quonam modo tanquam lucerna de lucerna accendatur et sine detrimento alterius alter inde ignis existar, sic anima de anima parentis fiat in prole, vel traducatur in prolem; utrum incorporeum semen animae, sua quadam occulta et invisibili via seorsum ex patre currat in matrem eum fit conceptus in femina; an, quod est incredibilius, in semine corporis lateat. Cum autem fluunt irrita sine ullis conceptibus semina, utrum semen animae non simul exeat, an summa celeritate atque atomo temporis unde exierat recurrat, an pereat: et si perit, quomodo ipsa cujus mortale semen est, immortalis est anima; an immortalitatem tunc accipit, quando formatur ut vivat, sicut justitiam quando formatur ut sapiat. Et quo pacto eam Deus fingat in homine, etiamsi anima seminaliter trahatur ex anima, sicut fingit in homine corporis membra, quamvis corpus seminaliter trahatur ex corpore. Si enim non etiam spiritualis creatura fingeretur a Deo, non scriptum esset, Qui fingit spiritum hominis in ipso (Zach. XII, 1): et in eo quod legitur, Qui fingit singillatim corda hominum (Psal. XXXII, 15); si per corda significatae sunt animae, fingi eas posse quis dubitet? sed quaeritur utrum ex una anima hominis primi; sicut fingit singillatim facies hominum, ex uno tamen corpore hominis primi.

15. This madness being repelled from the Christian heart and mouth, whoever confesses the soul, as it is, not to be a body but a spirit, and yet to be derived into children from parents; in that indeed he is straitened by no difficulties, because the true faith preaches that all souls, even of infants, whom the Church baptizes certainly not for a false but for a true remission of sins, draw original sin committed by the own will of the first man, and transmitted by generation into all posterity, to be purged by regeneration alone: but when it begins to be considered and treated what is said, it is a wonder if any human sense comprehends in what way as a lamp is lighted from a lamp and without detriment of the one another fire exists from there, so soul from the soul of a parent is made in offspring, or is derived into offspring; whether an incorporeal seed of the soul, by a certain hidden and invisible way of its own, runs separately from the father into the mother when conception occurs in the woman; or, which is more incredible, lies hidden in the seed of the body. Moreover, when seeds flow vainly without any conceptions, whether the seed of the soul does not go out at the same time, or with greatest speed and in an atom of time returns whence it had gone out, or perishes: and if it perishes, how is the soul itself immortal whose mortal seed it is; or does it receive immortality then, when it is formed that it may live, just as it receives justice when it is formed that it may be wise. And in what way God fashions it in man, even if soul is drawn seminally from soul, just as He fashions the members of the body in man, although the body is drawn seminally from body. For if even a spiritual creature were not fashioned by God, it would not be written: "Who fashions the spirit of man in himself" (Zech. 12:1); and in that which is read: "Who fashions the hearts of men individually" (Ps. 33:15); if by hearts souls are signified, who can doubt that they can be fashioned? but it is asked whether from the one soul of the first man; just as He fashions the faces of men individually, yet from the one body of the first man.